Women in Higher Education: An Analysis of Narratives on Gender in the Workplace

by
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DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained is my own original work and has not previously, in its entirety or in part, been submitted at any University for obtaining a degree.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to evaluate the extent to which women in higher education experience or are aware of possible limitations placed on them as women in work contexts that historically were the domain of men only. The research critically analysed semi-structured interview responses from seven female participants from a South African university. The analysis aimed to investigate the participants' individual and shared perceptions and to present a view of how they discursively construct their own experience within an academic work environment.

The research draws on theories and methodologies developed within critical discourse analysis (CDA) in order to interpret the data. This study draws on Gee's model of CDA, which conceptualises discourse as inherently political and ideological, and therefore seeks to make clear the discursive connections between discourses and the sociocultural, historical and institutional contexts in which it is created and interpreted. Thus, a close analysis of discourses provides insight into aspects of social reality, including how individuals construct themselves and their personal experiences, as well as their attitudes and assumptions about their social contexts.

The study reveals that during their narratives the women participants addressed similar issues and themes relating to gender in an academic work place. The participants also used similar linguistic and discursive strategies to construct their narratives. Subsequent to an analysis of the data using Gee's model of CDA, it was found that the participants do experience limitations in the workplace, but they did not always directly attribute these limitations to gender. After a final analysis of the ways in which participants express attitudes to the issues being addressed, the study finds that the participants are not often aware of dominant ideologies related to gender, or of how the ideologies affect their experiences.

ABSTRAK

Die doelwit van hierdie studie is om die mate waarin vroue in hoër onderwys ondervind of bewus is van moontlike beperkings wat op hulle geplaas word as vroue in werksomstandighede wat geskiedkundig deur mans domineer word. Semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude met sewe vroulike deelnemers by 'n Suid-Afrikaanse universiteit word krities ontleed. Die ontleding is daarop gemik om die deelnemers se individuele en gedeelde waarnemings te ondersoek, asook om die diskursiewe vertelling van hul ervarings uit te beeld.

Teorieë en metodologieë wat ontwikkel is in kritiese diskoersanalise (CDA) word gebruik om die data te interpreteer, terwyl daar spesifieke gebruik gemaak word van Gee se model van kritiese analise. Gee se model konseptualiseer diskoers as inherent polities en ideologies en poog daarom om die diskursiewe verbande uit te wys wat vorm tussen diskoerse en sosiokulturele, geskiedkundige en institusionele kontekste. Dus, 'n noukeurige ontleding van diskoers bied insig tot aspekte van die sosiale werklikheid, insluitend hoe individue hulself en hul persoonlike ervarings, en hul houdings en aannames oor sosiale kontekste opbou.

Die studie toon aan dat die vroulike deelnemers soortgelyke kwessies en temas, met betrekking tot geslag in 'n akademiese werksplek, tydens hul onderhoude bespreek het. Die deelnemers het ook soortgelyke taalkundige en diskursiewe strategieë benut om hul verhale te struktureer. Na 'n ontleding van die data met behulp van Gee se model van kritiese analise, is daar gevind dat die deelnemers wel beperkings in die werksplek ervaar, alhoewel hul die beperkings nie altyd direk aan geslag toegeskryf het nie. Na 'n finale ontleding van die maniere waarop deelnemers hul houdings teenoor die kwessies uitbeeld, het die studie gevind dat die deelnemers dikwels nie bewus is van die dominante ideologieë wat verband hou met geslag nie, of hoe hierdie ideologieë hul ervarings beïnvloed nie.

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ABBREVIATIONS

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

HE – Higher Education

CGE – Commission for Gender Equality

BCEA – Basic Conditions of Employment Act

LRA – Labour Relations Act

CEDAW – Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

HEMIS – Higher Education Management Information System

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction to the Research Problem

For many decades, scholars in the field of Linguistics have directed attention towards discourses of gender discrimination (see, for example, Barát 1998 , Lazar 2005 and Wodak 1997). Such studies are primarily concerned with the notion that societal discourses about gender are emblematic of societal ideologies about gender. Because of this, discourse about women frequently construct women in terms of subordinance and difference, even when there has been notable shift in power relations. The aim of this study is to conduct a critical analysis of women's discourses of gender and gender discrimination in one higher education institution in South Africa

Historically, women's representation at universities has not been representative of their demographic share. In 1994, South African universities were predominantly male and women comprised only 31%[1] of the academic workforce, although this increased to 44.2% by 2009[2]. Universities are often seen as 'ivory towers', definitively meritocratic and removed from the sociocultural and historical contexts in which they operate. On the contrary, universities have specific histories of, amongst others, gendered conduct that is not isolated from societal influence. The concepts and practices of gender inequity are be imported from outside – the domestic sphere – but are nonetheless reproduced and perpetuated. Many studies show that middle-class educated women frequently still struggle with issues of motherhood and career, and that many face stunted upward mobility or harassment. Women academics' experiences are not removed from society and the effects of decades on gender inequity and inequality are often impressed upon them whilst they navigate the modern workplace.

1.1   SITUATIONAL CONTEXT

Feminist scholars argue that the traditional family structure forms the basis of a systematic process of male dominance in public society and in public sectors such as education, work

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[1] Higher Education South Africa, 2011:1
[2] Higher Education South Africa, 2011:3

and politics (Heywood, 2007:236). Although the concept of patriarchy is used to describe the subjugation of women, most would accept that it does differ in form and degree according to time and place (Heywood, 2007:236). Indeed, it is rarely the individual choice of adult partners and it allows for the exploitation of women's labour, potentially violent expression of sexual power and the entrenchment of questionable gender behaviours and identities (Shozi, 2011:1). Radical feminists see societal inequalities as having developed from domestic systems – the personal as political - thus as a public representation of the power structures in private lives (Heywood, 2007:235; 237).

During the time of apartheid, all women were relegated to a lower status, denied the right to property ownership, guardianship of children and an independent education (Andrews, 1999:431). Women's participation in the workforce mirrored the gendered divisions of labour within the home (Shepherd, 2008:5, 6). Black[3] women suffered most under the dual oppression of race and gender. Many were in customary polygamous marriages not only unrecognised and unprotected by the state, but also were legally relegated the status of children according to the Black Administration Act of 1927. Agriculture and domestic work were the most common forms of employment for Black women, but these offered limited income, low job security and often, poor working conditions (Andrews 1999:432; Shepherd, 2008:5; Bentley, 2004:254). Indian and, particularly, Coloured women had more opportunities in factory labour, but were still mostly unemployed (Shepherd, 2008:5; Andrews, 1999:431). White women were also excluded, though not through legislation, from most forms of formal employment and were exposed to policies that deprived them of guardianship and hampered their economic freedom. They did still have the privilege of class, and as this tended to determine the enforcement of policies, their experiences were less severe than that of other women (Shepherd, 2008:5). Nevertheless, all South African women were economically and politically disadvantaged in comparison to men (Shepherd, 2008:6; Constitutional Court, s.a).

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[3] South Africa's legal codes classified people as African, Coloured, Indian, or White. The racial classification terms used in this thesis carry particular historical undertones. The author acknowledges that these terms are contentious, but as a section of this thesis investigates the historical context of being a woman in South Africa, these terms are used to facilitate a concise representation of historical fact.

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1.1.2   Contemporary gender legislation

Subsequent to the 1994 democratic elections and a new democratic constitution, South Africa maintains a progressive legal system with various laws in place to protect the lives and dignity of its citizens. Gender inequality was wildly seen to as parallel to racial inequality and was thus a key point of change (Budlender, 2011:6). The new Constitution is based on the notion of substantive equality, that is to say equality of outcome as opposed to formal equality or equality of opportunity. This in essence recognises that equality may require different groups to be treated differently (Budlender, 2011:2). The Bill of Rights therefore prohibits both direct and indirect discrimination on various grounds, including gender and sex, pregnancy or marital status (Section 9 of the Constitution, 1996). This is designed to protect against discrimination based on biological and physical characteristics, as well as social and cultural stereotypes, for example, the stereotype that married people are more trustworthy than unmarried people are (Andrews, 1999:443). Harassment is included as unfair discrimination, while sexual harassment is specifically prohibited in Article 6 of the Employment Equity Act (no.55, 1998) and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (no. 4, 2000).

Workplace legislation includes the Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) and the Labour Relations Act (LRA) (Budlender, 2011:2). The Constitution also allowed for a Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), which was established in 1997 to promote public education, investigate complaints and evaluate the policies and practices of state and private institutions (CGE, s.a). South Africa is also a signatory of various international treaties and protocols such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1993) and the SADC protocol on Gender and Development (CGE, s.a). CEDAW is generally regarded as an international bill of rights for women (Budlender, 2011:1).

In terms of job security, domestic workers are entitled to at least four months consecutive unpaid leave and cash benefits. Those working in the public and private sectors are entitled to four months maternity leave, up from 12 weeks in 1994, at up to 60% of income paid from the Unemployment Insurance Fund (ILO, 2010:38, 7, 10; Republic of South Africa,

1997). Lastly, women are guaranteed the right to return to work after maternity leave and dismissal is prohibited under anti-discrimination laws (ILO, 2010:68). In the case of adoption of children up to two years old, maternity benefits are available but only to the mother (ILO, 2010:56, 57).

1.2   BETWEEN POLICY AND PRACTICE

There is a clear commitment to gender equality vis-à-vis policy, yet South Africa still faces challenges in ensuring that legislation is translated into *de facto* improvements. A revealing example is how fathers are included in childcare policies. South Africa has no particular law dedicated to paternity leave; instead, fathers may apply for three day's paid family responsibility leave (ILO, 2010:46). This is a general leave law and both genders may apply to take it in the event of death of family members or a sick child. Paternity and parental leave recognises that fathers also have caring responsibilities and can have significant implications for equitable opportunity and treatment. By presuming female-headed childcare, it undeniably affects women's ability to partake actively and effectively in the workforce and prevents men from sharing in a parental responsibility they may very well wish to share (ILO, 2010:56). Similarly, maternity leave is available for women who adopt, but not for men (ILO, 2010:56; 57). This negatively affects both genders in heterosexual relationships, as well as men in homosexual relationships or single men wishing to adopt. These are clearly discriminatory policies and should be amended.

A 1998 CEDAW report highlighted that entrenched traditional, cultural and religious factors were supporting inequitable treatment of women (Bentley, 2004:253-254). Women are still vulnerable to gender-based sexual violence and harassment, poverty and damaging cultural practices like ukuthwala (bride capture) and virginity testing (an illegal but still practiced custom) (Garson, s.a; CGE, 2010:13). Poverty is higher in female-headed households - which comprises 43% of the population - and tends to be concentrated in rural and traditional communities (Shozi, 2011:1; The Economist, 2010; Hicks, 2010:3). Poverty is a violation of human dignity and fundamentally ties with the lack of a basic capacity to participate in society. The continued absence of economic opportunities, decision-making power and resources also contribute to a cycle of poverty that prevents development (Gordon, 2005;

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Soubbotina, 2004:33). South Africa has high rates of gender-based violence – with 60,000 reported rapes in 2012 – coupled with a poor conviction rate and rarely enforced minimum sentencing legislation (CGE, 2010:13; UN Women, 2012; Freedom House, 2013). Of particular concern too are gender-insensitive and judgemental attitudes displayed by some legal representatives and police officers dealing with gender-based violence (CGE, 2010:13). Such comments serve to reinforce gender stereotypes and undermine women's access to justice and may be, problematically, indicative of wide spread beliefs (CGE, 2010:13).

1.2.1   Education

Primary education for both genders is very high, with only slightly less children completing primary education (93.8%) than those who enroll (98%) (Stats SA, 2010a:49). There are various statistics available for secondary education, none of which is particularly heartening. The overall pass rate for the National Senior Certificate is slightly higher for boys, but more girls attempt the examination and so in absolute terms more girls pass. Worryingly, the pass rate for both genders is very low (60% for boys and 57% for girls) and of those only 19% qualify for bachelor's enrolment and an even lower percentage for certificate enrolment (Stats SA, 2010b:7).

The latest data available on the Higher Education Management Information System (HEMIS) shows that in 2010 women accounted for about 62% of tertiary students (Republic of South Africa, 2012:2). Women are overrepresented at postgraduate level, but were underrepresented at master's level or above at Universities of Technology (previously Technikons) and Comprehensive Universities (the merger of one or more Technikons with traditional Universities) (Stats SA, 2010b:8; Republic of South Africa, 2012:3). The 2010 Millennium Development Goal (Stats SA, 2010b:11) suggests that women's overrepresentation at higher degree levels are a result of career expectations. Men were traditionally optioned a wider range of occupations, while women tended to stay in lower-paid jobs (such as nursing or teaching) (Stats SA, 2010b:11). Consequently, women entering tertiary education might perceive fewer decent income opportunities for themselves unless they acquire a higher degree.

1.2.2   The labour force

Women continue to be underrepresented in senior positions in HE. In 1994 women comprised 31% of academic staff, while this figure has increased to 44% in 2009 (Higher Education South Africa, 2011:9). This is a good improvement, but is equally curious given that women are overrepresented at postgraduate, junior lecturer and lecturer level, after which there is a steep decline in women's representation (down to only 33% of associate professors) (Stats SA, 2010b:8; Republic of South Africa, 2012:3; Higher Education of South Africa, 2011:9).

According to Shepherd (2008:27; 43) wage differentials in the labour market declined since 1994, but has stabilised since 2000 for all women. Women in lower paid positions in lower paid industries tend to be most negatively influenced (Shepherd, 2008:43). Upward mobility does equal higher wages, but movement within industries is not necessarily a viable option for increasing earning potential as male dominated industries tend to be better paid and men hold the top-paying positions in female dominated industries (Shepherd, 2008:42; Budlender, 2011:20). If a wage differentials analysis is confined to the formal sector, women earn more than men earn. However, this is reversed when educational levels are taken into consideration. Shepherd (2008:43) suggests that this indicates "a sticky floor" phenomenon, that is, where the gap is wider at the bottom of wage distribution than at the top. This is where a differential is not between men and women doing the same job but rather doing different jobs and following different careers. This is in keeping with the majority of women staying on the lower levels of career development; however, Shepherd (2008:38) states that even where promotion occurs women are not necessarily benefitting from proportionately higher remuneration. This is especially likely given that women generally have more tertiary education that men, yet receive lower wages at equivalent qualifications (Stats SA, 2010b:8-9, 11). It is necessary to make clear that only the grounds referred to in Section 6 of the Employment Equity Act (1998), namely race, gender, sexual orientation, etc., constitute unfair discrimination and that other differentials may be justified by, amongst others, levels of responsibility, experience or skill.

1.2.3 Harassment

Sexual harassment and violence in places of education and employment are rife. A 1997 governmental task team on gender equality in schools argued that exceptionally high rates of sexual harassment and violence make equality in education a pipe dream. This was repeated in a 2001 report released by the Human Rights Watch, which described the experience of girls, in secondary education in particular, as "embedded within a myriad of possibilities of sexual violence; harassment and rape" (Bennett, 2011:11). Prinsloo (2006) and others have highlighted widespread sexual harassment at schools and on university campuses (Van Wijk, et.al, 2009:170). In 1997, a Gender Equity Task Team stated that it is, by all accounts, an "indisputable fact that sexual harassment and violence exists in all educational institutions" (Coetzee, 2001:302).

In 2002/2003, a national investigation was conducted into the extent of sexual harassment in the workplace. The study found that 77% of South African women have experienced sexual harassment at work. A 2008 study by the Labour Research Service surveyed 116 women from, amongst others, the chemical, clothing, retail and agricultural sectors and found that at least 40% of all participants reported experiencing sexual harassment (Budlender, 2005:17). Little research has been done on the experiences of higher educational academic staff concerning sexual harassment (Joubert, 2009: 121; Bennett, 2011:11). Most available research deals with the existence and implementation of policies, rather than statistical occurrence.

As Prinsloo (2006:316) states, harassment is not merely physical, but it is also the threat of "unwanted pregnancy, emotional pressure [and] denied self-respect". The significance of this is that sexual harassment is a good indicator of general equality and gender attitudes. While the Constitution specifically outlaws harassment, it cannot ensure social responsibility or change individual and group assumptions, stereotypes and prejudices (Prinsloo, 2006:316).

The status quo of gender equality in South Africa is not ideal. Although a progressive legal framework exists and much progress has occurred since 1994, the failure to implement thoroughly, as well as questionable attitudes and prejudices, have hampered progress. The

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law does not take into account the socioeconomic and sociocultural contexts in which legal action should be implemented. For example, middle and upper class White women enjoy a level of economic and cultural equality that ensures they are less disadvantaged than women of other groups are. On the other end of the scale, Black women have to contend not only with the legacy of heavy racial discrimination in economic and educational oppression, but are statistically more likely to live and work in areas where conservative attitudes are likely common. While women are becoming more equal partners in public life, there remains a need to study how assumptions of and prejudices originating from gendered stereotypes influence experiences.

1.3   RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The aim of this study is to evaluate the extent to which women in higher education institutions experience or are aware of possible limitations placed on them as women in work contexts that historically were the domain of men only. It intends to analyse discourses of individual experience to illuminate, where possible, which issues are perceived and how women construct their own experience of such issues within an academic work environment. One key aspect of a critical discourse analysis is that discourses are not arbitrarily constructed, but are produced within sociocultural and historical contexts.

1.3.1   Research questions

I.   Do women in academic positions that were traditionally domains for men only, currently experience their position as equal to their male colleagues, or not?

II.   If they find that there are gender-related biases, how do they motivate this? If they find there are no gender-related biases, how do they motivate this?

III.   Where a woman experiences gender-related discrimination, can this be related to an ideology based on gender biased assumptions and power relations?

IV.   What are the linguistic and discursive features of the narratives that articulate experiences of gender-related bias in the workplace?

V.   What are the linguistic and discursive features of the narratives that articulate the convictions of women who do not experience gender-related bias in the workplace?

1.4   METHODOLOGY

Data was collected through semi-structured interviews with seven female staff members who qualify according to criteria such as age and length of employment and who work in the Engineering, Arts and Social Sciences, Sciences and Law faculties. Participants were asked to supply basic biographical information. To address ethical issues, participants had the option of opting out of the study at any time should they wish to. All information is kept confidential and pseudonyms are used when referring to particular participants, their colleagues or family and friends.

This study is qualitative, as it seeks to understand social contexts, and is therefore inherently interpretive. This thesis will use methodologies developed in critical discourse analysis (CDA). As an interpretative tool, CDA is a linguistic approach to the study of discourses and related socio-political and cultural factors. It is politically driven and aims to expose hidden power relations and inequality in society (Crystal, 2008:123). CDA examines both spoken and written text, but is an umbrella term that encompasses many approaches and allows for variation in subject matter and method (Cameron, 2001:7). However, the work of scholars like Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak have become particularly influential in the field as a whole(Cameron, 2001:140).

Over time, critical discourse analysts have broadened the theoretical framework of CDA, as well as the kinds of phenomena studied, but it remains in its essence a form of textual analysis (Cameron, 2001:137). Usually analysts search for regular patterns (structure or organisation) in a particular text or set of texts, propose an interpretation of the pattern and a description of its meaning and potential ideological significance (Cameron, 2001:137). Attention is given to surface linguistic features or what Fairclough calls 'discourse as text'

(Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:448). This involves purely linguistic features such as choices and patterns in vocabulary (wording, metaphor, grammar, cohesion and text structure); as well as what is said "beyond the sentence", that is, the assumptions or presuppositions that are merely hinted at (Cameron, 2001:128; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:448). This is the form and function of a text, or language in use. Any analysis has to be systematic, as a text may contain internal contradictions, and only the repetition of the same pattern in various texts shows its potential significance (Cameron, 2001:128,129).

This thesis investigates spoken discourse in the form of narratives that are rendered during the semi-structured interviews. In sociolinguistics, 'narrative' refers to brief, topically specific stories that are organised around characters, a setting and plot (Riessman, 2004:706). Narratives are events that are sequenced and have consequences and, like any form of discourse, are not randomly produced but are created and constructed for the contexts within which they occur (Cameron, 2001:148). As Thome (2000:70) states, translating our experiences into words 'transforms' the experience into a communicable representation of it. Engaging in any activity requires self-identification but Bamberg (2012) wrote of narrating as being a "privileged genre for identity construction" because it requires speakers to situate themselves as characters in a place and time. It enables speakers to disassociate themselves from the act of speaking and allows a reflective stance on the self as a character. A narrated experience is thus made meaningful for a particular audience through its organisation, while analysis allows us to identify how people understand and make sense of their lives and experiences.

As with CDA, there are various methodological approaches, and though many can be combined, the choice ultimately lies with the researcher and the types of data they use (Riessman, 2004: 706). This thesis uses Gee's model. Gee examines language with the perspective that it is never neutral, always occurs within a context and that language always contains multiple levels of meaning. Gee (2011:17) building tasks and tools of inquiry to be used when analysing discourse. The building tasks and the tools of inquiry are not stand-alone methods, but are theoretical devices based on a theory of language to help guide analysts to question discourse beyond purely language-in-use. The building tasks central to this thesis are the social practices reflected in discourse, the social identities constructed in

the discourse, the way in which connections are made or broken through the discourse and how social goods are communicated and commented on in discourse. The tools of inquiry relevant to this study are Discourse, Conversations, form-function connections and situated meanings. Building tasks and tools of inquiry are designed to break down how we discursively construct reality (Gee, 2011:17). In this way, Gee's model relates to the discourses under discussion in this thesis by connecting personal narrative with broader, social issues. For example, an identity is a personal construction of the self, but it is socially situated because it is influenced by external factors such as acceptability or relevancy. Gee's model therefore provides a way of linking an account of, for example, a participant's identity and her enacting of this identity to the social norms and conversations that involve women in academia - their careers and even their private lives.

1.5   CHAPTER OUTLINE

In this final section of Chapter One, definitions are provided of key terms that are used in this study. Chapter Two focuses on the literature pertaining to critical discourse analysis, the theoretical approach used in this study, as well as interdisciplinary research that is critical to this study. This last section of Chapter Two aims to draw attention to similar studies on the topic of gender and discourse, and the information presented here will be incorporated into the data analysis. Chapter Three provides an overview of the methodological issues pertaining to this study, including the nature of the interviews and the method of CDA used in this study. Chapter Four presents the relevant data and analysis if the seven interviews, applying the theoretical model presented in Chapter Three, throughout. Finally, in Chapter Five, the study presents comparisons between the findings presented in Chapter Four and addressed the research questions more succinctly. Suggestions are also made for further research of the same nature.

1.6   CORE TERMINOLOGY

1.6.1   Discourse

Discourse denotes both spoken and written communication, but is a versatile concept that includes discourse as the generalisation of conversation, discourse as the totality of language used in specific fields, such as medical discourses, and discourse as a representation of socially, culturally and historically influenced ways of action and interaction.

1.6.2   Ideology

A form of social or political philosophy that generally denotes a set of assumptions and ideas that constitutes individual and group expectations and actions.

1.6.3   Gender discrimination

Broadly defined as the prejudicial or disadvantageous treatment of a person based on their gender. It includes attitudes, conditions or actions that arbitrarily deny or grant rights or privileges.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

Chapter Two focuses on literature that is pertinent to this study. First, it is necessary to provide a clear overview of the theoretical framework, critical discourse analysis (CDA), as well as the theoretical approach to discourse, power and ideology that is incorporated into this study. Second, it is necessary to provide a summary of the literature that is related to and informs this study, that is, a summary of previous research that investigates gender issues the workplace or the higher education (HE) workplace context more specifically. The purpose of this summary is also to indentify key themes and concepts that will be used in the data analysis to follow, but also to gain a better understanding of the broader discourses of women in HE workplaces.

2.1   CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA)

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a linguistic approach to the study of discourses and the sociopolitical, cultural and historical factors involved in their production. It is interdisciplinary and problem-orientated and examines both spoken and written text (Van Dijk, 1995:17). CDA has drawn concepts from text linguistics and social cognition, amongst others, but generally encompasses many approaches and allows for variation in topic of interest and methodologies (Cameron, 2001:7; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:450). It also draws on numerous social theories, theories of language and methodologies for language analysis (Fairclough, Mulderrig, & Wodak, 2011:374). Although the work of scholars like Norman Fairclough, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak has become influential in the field as a whole, for the purposes of this thesis, the work of James Paul Gee is most applicable.

Inherent in CDA is the idea that language is socially constructed and socially conditioned (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:448). Language is not random and neutral and, as a result, elements like power relations and ideologies regularly appear in text and talk. These elements give meaning to our reality and CDA aims to reveal these hidden features by looking at the linguistic features of discourses, as well as the contexts in which they are

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produced (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:449). Analysts search for regular patterns (structure or organisation) in a text or set of texts and propose an interpretation of the pattern and a description of its meaning and potential ideological significance (Cameron, 2001:137). Texts can contain internal contradictions and repetitions across texts are often the only clue to significance. Attention is given to surface linguistic features, or what Fairclough calls 'discourse as text' (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:448). 'Discourse as text' involves linguistic features such as choices of and patterns in vocabulary (e.g., wording, metaphor, grammar, cohesion and text structure). What is said "beyond the sentence", that is, the implicit assumptions or presuppositions, is equally important (Cameron, 2001:128; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:448). While examining grammar, cohesion or vocabulary, analysts also look at speech acts, coherence and intertextuality to connect a text to its context (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:449). Intertextuality also allows analysts to reveal veiled ideologies - struggles over normativity, attempts at control or resistance against dominance - by studying the ways in which discourse is modified over time and locale (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:449).

Overall, CDA is a form of social action as it explores how meaning is created in social realities and examines and comments on the discourses that represent "injustices, prejudices and misuse of power" (Van Dijk, 2003:99,100; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011:373; Bloor & Bloor, 2007:12).

2.1.1   Clarifying the term 'discourse'

Discourse generally refers to a stretch of spoken or written communication, but takes on a more specific meaning in critical studies, where it refers to ways of speaking about a particular topic in a particular way at a particular place in time. This is a Foucaultian approach and presents discourse as the "production of knowledge through language" (Hall, 1997:44). Here 'knowledge' is action and interaction, social relationships, ways of thinking and valuing, social customs and personal identities and perspectives that produces and regulates a conventional reality for individuals and groups (Gee, 2011:34).

In Gee's work on discourse (2011, 29:34), he separates "small d" discourse from "big D" discourse. "Small d" discourse refers to a general idea of discourse, that is, representing

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ourselves through language. It is pure language-in-use, but it does not function in isolation. Regardless of what language we use, what we represent must be socially, culturally or institutionally accepted (Gee, 2011:16). This is "big D" discourse – the combination of language and social practices as defined by social boundaries. "Big D" discourses therefore tell us something about the speaker, the social institutions that they take part in, assumptions that they make and how they understand their experiences (McGregor, 2004; Tyson, 1999:281). They are interdiscursive and always contain multiple meanings (Mosley, 2009:3-4; Fairclough, 1992:39). They can also change over time – what was an acceptable Discourse many decades ago is not automatically accepted today - and draw upon and transform each other and compete to become legitimised ideas (Fairclough, 1992:39).

As stated above Discourses are the combination of language and social practices. Practices may be well established but are seldom fixed and there is often more than one practice contained within a Discourse (Gee, 2009:24; Bloor & Bloor, 2007:8). Gee (2009:24) describes social practices as "(partially) routine activities through which people carry out (partially) shared goals based on (partially) shared (conscious or unconscious) knowledge of the various roles or positions people can fill within these activities". Practices contain five elements, namely participants (and social roles), activities, times and places, dress and grooming and required tools and materials (Machin & Van Leeuwen, 2007:61). Participants engaged in social practice may be speakers, listeners, readers or writers. Each participant enacts a role and the role changes according to context, the different social practices with which they are engaged and the language used (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:10). Discourses therefore not only represent social practices, but also transform, legitimise and even delegitimise (or critique) them (Machin & Leeuwen, 2007:61).

A particular knowledge - gained from shared experiences - is needed to understand and participate in practices (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:7; Hall, 2007:44; Majer & Versteeg, 2006:175). Ultimately, anything that is conceptualised must be verbally articulated and so, although knowledge is not necessarily verbal, it is rooted in language. Foucault explained this idea with discursive formations and discursive practices (Hall, 1997:45; Fairclough, 1992:40-41). A discursive formation is a theoretical account of how written and verbal communication ("small d" discourse) that occurs often enough produces a social practice by creating a

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shared experience of what something means, and it is this meaning which affects our behaviour (Fairclough, 1992:40-41; Hall, 1997:44). As Malinowski (in Machin & Van Leeuwen 2007: 60) eloquently writes:

> Even in the most abstract and theoretical aspects of human thought and verbal usage, the real understanding of words ultimately derives from active experience of those aspects of reality to which those words belong.

A critical discourse analysis must always consider social practices. Non-critical approaches view social practices simply as social interaction and do not acknowledge the implications of particular practices for producing larger and more influential Discourses. The concept of a social practice is therefore significant to critical discourse analysis because it creates distance from social customs and allows the researcher to analyse behaviour from a neutral perspective.

The most important social practice under consideration in this thesis is being active in the labour force, here specifically referring to working in an institution for HE. Although this practice is not as rigorously defined as, for example, religious services, it does involve participants enacting socially acceptable roles in an environment with generally well-established goals and standards of activity.

2.1.2   Discourse and ideology

Ideologies as expressed and reproduced through discourse are "linguistic conceptualisation[s] of the world" (Fairclough, 2011:358). Discursive practices produce and reproduce power relations between groups, such as women and men or social classes, through the ways in which groups, individuals and things are represented and positioned. Van Dijk (2011:381) describes ideologies as being sociocognitive and forming the basis of beliefs shared by and distributed throughout social groups. The beliefs and assumptions that are made about groups, individuals and things are then misrepresented as common sense (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011:358). Ideologies are rarely directly expressed in discourse and are most apparent in other social practices, as well as in the attitudes

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expressed towards issues. Practices are enacted and events are interpreted according to whichever ideology serves the interest of the group, although individuals "apply, use or perform" ideologies in much less abstract and general ways. Van Dijk (2011:384) uses a sexist ideology as example, stating that although it "may give rise to sexist talk [discourse], [it also leads to] non-verbal sexual harassment, gender discrimination or violence.

As stated above, ideologies become apparent in the attitudes expressed towards issues. An attitude is defined as "ideologically-based belief clusters about specific social issues", such as abortion or freedom of speech (Van Dijk, 2011:389). Attitudes are more applicable in how ideology controls discourse and other social practices because it is much less abstract than general ideology. Individuals are often unaware of the ideologies that underlie their opinions and conduct and are more conscious of attitudes held by the group with which they align themselves (Van Dijk, 2011:389). As a result they will tweak their own opinions in order to fit with the group. For example, young girls may reject the ideological label of being feminist in the face of prevailing anti-feminist discourse even if they subscribe to feminist ideals (Van Dijk, 2011:389). In this sense, attitudes that express ideologies are also closely related to Conversations, as these form the broader basis of the discursive production, reproduction or representation of issues in society.

Attitudes serve an intermediary role by linking general ideologies to specific social issues and practices (Van Dijk, 2011:389). We express attitudes when speaking or writing about specific issues because they are closely related to dominant group discourse and are often objective in the sense that they are removed from our own experiences; experiences that may well change or transform our attitudes. Van Dijk (2011:390) describes the role of personal experiences in discursive manifestations of ideology as "mental models". He defines mental models are "subjective, personal representations of specific events, actions and situations" that can include "evaluative beliefs" (opinions) and emotions (Van Dijk, 2011:380). Mental models are socially shared and can be ideologically controlled by dominant group attitudes; however, they are representations of personal experiences and are thus influenced by subjective current goals and past experience. This is how individual attitudes can reflect individual opinions that vary from the dominant social attitudes.

Context models are a variant of mental models and are formed from the ongoing experiences of interaction and communication and so define the context of all text and talk (Van Dijk, 2011:391). Context models are subjective definitions of the communicative event and represents the identities of, and relations between, participants, information about the setting, the current social activity (for example, an interview or a parliamentary debate) or the goals, knowledge and relevant ideologies of the participants (Van Dijk, 2011:392). Context models are the pragmatic basis of discourse and are equally as ideologically influenced as mental models. Overall, context models define the "appropriateness" (politeness, relevance, fear of ridicule) of a discourse. We do not always explicitly express our ideologies, depending on the aims and interests of the communicative event, but because context models control what we say and how we say it, we often "leak" ideologies in our discourse (Van Dijk, 2011:392).

Van Dijk (2011:393) proposes that any ideological discourse analysis should be guided by three limitations, namely discursive, sociocognitive and social (including interactional, political, historical and cultural). Following this proposal Van Dijk (2011:395) suggests that certain types of meaning will tend to manifest in ideological discourse: group identity and identification, activity, norms and values, group relations and resources. These are the basic categories of how ideology influences discourse, but are still quite general (Van Dijk, 2011:397). Group members will tend to speak or write positively about their own group and negatively about out-groups and this can be seen in the semantic and formal structures of discourse (Van Dijk, 2011:397). For example, negative topics that describes the out-group in terms of negative values, general descriptions of the negative qualities of the in-group and specific descriptions of those of the out-group, emphasising the agency of out-groups or minimising the in-group agency or responsibility for negative actions (Van Dijk, 2011:398). Formal structures entail the syntactic structure of sentences, such as word order or order of clauses and active sentences to emphasise negative agency, pronouns (us versus them), sound structures such as intonation or pitch that emphasise negative words and definite expressions that may express unknown or false presumptions about the out-group (Van Dijk, 2011:398).

What is emphasised or underplayed is ideologically influenced. Ideology is thus a process that articulates a particular representation of reality and a particular construction of identity (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2010:371). It is socially shared, but changeable by subjective experiences and is often expressed in subtle or unconscious ways.

2.2   DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF REALITY

In his work on discourse analysis, Gee (2011:17) offers several building tasks and tools of inquiry to be used when analysing discourse. The building tasks and the tools of inquiry are theoretical devices based on a theory of language to help guide analysts to question discourse beyond purely language-in-use. Gee describes (2009:12) the building tasks as "reflecting a designer attitude" towards language. They are designed to break down how we discursively construct reality (Gee, 2011:17). The building tasks and tools of inquiry central to this thesis are discussed in the following sections.

2.2.1   Socially situated identities

Socially situated identities are how we use discourse to enact a certain identity. Our identities are never constant and context largely determines which identities are chosen (Gee, 2011:19). Social and personal dimensions such as gender, age, ethnicity, occupation, socioeconomic status or regional territory influence the choice in identity (Bamberg, 2012). Identities are socially situated because of the importance of context, but also because by enacting identities we either implicitly or explicitly assume an identity for others. This allows us to compare, contrast, and situate ourselves in appropriate positions at appropriate times, for example, as superior or inferior or an insider or outsider (Gee, 2011:18).

Bamberg (2012) wrote of narrating as a "privileged genre for identity construction" because it requires speakers to position themselves as characters in a place and time. It enables speakers to disassociate from the act of speaking and to reflect on the self as embodying a character. By participating in this research, the women interviewed for this thesis situated themselves not as academics in HE, but as women academics in a HE. This does not negate other identities, such as being a parent or a senior lecturer, but it immediately positions

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their identities in a specifically gendered way and so distinguishing their experiences from the general (though it might still relate to the general).

2.2.2   Politics

Gee (2011:9) defines politics as the "distribution of social goods". Social goods are anything that a group or society deems worthy of having or doing. Social goods are at stake whenever something or someone is judged 'appropriate', 'good', 'bad' or 'normal' (Gee, 2011:19). This means that social goods function as social currency and greatly influences who has power and status in society (Gee, 2010:90). For example, speaking and acting respectfully is a more influential social good than treating someone disrespectfully and is more likely to lead to power and status as it is a socially approved and supported action (Gee, 2010:91). Social goods are therefore distributed to or withheld from individuals, groups, other cultures and institutions that are not accepted. Social goods are also assumed. For example, if we assume that informality is the norm in an environment and we are treated with respectful distance, we might not feel respected but instead that we are being judged as "different" or "not worthy" (Gee, 2011:118-119).

2.2.3   Connections

Objects and ideas are not inherently connected or relevant to each other - we choose to connect or disconnect, or to make relevant, objects and ideas through language (Gee, 2011:19). Connections are important, because they tell us something about how a speaker or writer views their world and experiences.

Connections are made with grammar and wording, and are not always explicit. Instead, speakers can assume that a listener will make the connection to which they have only hinted (Gee, 2011:126).

2.2.4   Conversations

"Big C" Conversations are a broader version of intertextuality. In intertextuality, words and texts relate to other words and texts; in Conversations, words and texts relate to public debates or themes. These are the topics and discussions, such as discrimination or global warming, seen in society or a specific grouping and are alluded to or explicitly expressed in discourse (Gee, 2011:29). Some are well known in society, while only specific groups might know of others. Conversations, generally, is to know the various sides on issues and the kinds of people that are, usually, on one side or the other. This means that discourses are interpreted with knowledge of debates or themes and if we have no knowledge, we cannot accurately interpret or produce discourses (Gee, 2011: 28).

The themes and values that are expressed in Conversations are the products of "historical disputes" between Discourses (Gee, 2011:56). As stated earlier, Discourses change over time, and draw upon and transform each other. As Discourses change, so do Conversations. What was once an obvious struggle between sharply differentiated gender roles and feminist thinking has gradually changed as one Discourse became more widely accepted than another did. This in turn influences Conversations, where the concept of gendered roles and stereotypes of gender are now perhaps less influential in how we interpret daily discourses.

Various topics and concepts are conceptualised as Conversations in this thesis, for example the role of gender. It is related to broader debates on discrimination, but also involves the more exclusive question of a distinction between being an academic and being a woman academic in terms of experiences and expectations.

2.2.5   Form-function connections

There are two meanings attached to every discourse, namely utterance-type meaning and utterance-token meaning. "Form" here means the linguistic structures like morphemes, words, phrases, metaphor or any other linguistic structure and "function" refers to the communicative purpose of the form carries (Gee, 2011:64). Non-critical approaches to

discourse analysis look at only the general meanings, or the potential range of meanings, of forms. This is an utterance-type meaning. A critical approach, however, must take into account situated meaning, or utterance-token meaning. A situated meaning of forms is a more specific form-function correlation and is further discussed below. Importantly, although critical approaches tend to be more situated, any analytic claims about a discourse must adhere to a form-function theory, that is, it must take into account linguistic detail (Gee, 2009:13).

2.2.6 Situated meanings

Context plays a role in establishing situated meaning, but may still be ambiguous. Gee (2009:14) proposes that a particular form develops a "prototypical meaning" (function) through habitual use amongst a group or groups of people. This means that forms have specific meanings and can act as 'clues' or 'cues', but producers of discourse are still essentially inventing whatever contextual meaning they see fit (Gee, 2009:41). This is crucial, because whatever meanings someone gives a discourse within a context is highly reflective of what is viewed as important or their relation to the topic at hand (Gee, 2010:10). One person's Discourse and knowledge of Conversation is different from another's and this is reproduced in any given utterance-token meaning.

Situated meanings and building tasks are closely related. Building tasks are discursive, thus realities are built on what are, or what we take to be, the parts of a context that is relevant to interpretation (Gee, 2011:102). Looking at social goods, for example, we can ask which social goods are relevant in this context, how they are distributed and even how their distribution is viewed based on what the speaker has said and how it was said (Gee, 2011:102). Situated meanings do not reside in individual minds, but are negotiated between people and through social interaction (Gee & Green, 1998:122-123). Thus, to analyse discourse at the level of situated meaning, it is important to study the context in which discourses are produced and which it, in turn, helps to create. This means to study discourses that precede or follow the specific part of a text that is analysed, while looking at broader contexts like Conversations (Gee & Green, 1998:66).

2.3   DISCOURSES ON WOMEN IN THE WORKPLACE

Studies on North-American and European women in academia dominate the literature on gender in HE, and there is much less available on South African women and particularly studies that focus on discourse. For an overview of global studies, including West- and Southern-Africa, North-America, Europe and India see Mukherjee and Kearney (1993), Silander, Haake and Lindberg (2012), Acker and Armenti (2004), Bagilhole (1993) and Barnes (2005).

A 2012 study by Bhana and Pillay (83) noted that understanding the gender patterns seen in HE is important to attain equality. Although they focused on the lack of women doing research in South African, Indian and Brazilian universities, their identification of the gendered roles that women face is crucial to this thesis. Gender-friendly policies and employment equity has led to a higher number of women in HE, but being women and mothers is still regulated by "restrictive understandings of gender" (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:83). This contrasts starkly with the legal expansion of gender equality and equity and suggests that the options that are thought to be available to women are not always presented (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:83). Importantly, Bhana and Pillay (2012:83) note that gender relations are not static and that women are reproducing them at home and work while simultaneously transforming them. They list three areas of focus that together produce, reproduce and transform gendered relations; namely family arrangements and women's role in childcare, the workplace environment and women's agency in transforming gender relations (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:83).

2.3.1   Motherhood and career

The typical career paths of women and men in academia differ greatly. The most important years to establish an academic career coincide with the childbearing years and as a result women academics are not "ideal workers" (Kittelstrom, 2010; Pauw, 2009:73; Riordan & Louw-Potgieter, 2011:157). Childcare affects the productivity of women academics more so than men academics (Kittlestrom, 2010; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006:490). For example, they cannot spend long hours and weekends devoted to professional advancement, attend

conferences or move for short-term fellowships because supportive structures (such as a partner at home) are not always in place (Kittlestrom, 2010). Institutional features like flexible leave, flexible working hours and childcare accommodations are important, but even more so is how domestic duties and childcare are divided at home.

Although the alignment of women with domestic duty has weakened, qualitative research shows that this responsibility is still regularly placed on women. This occurs even in dual income families or families where fathers are described as participating partners. This burdens women with a "double duty" that is not as regularly shared by men (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:83,86,91; Pauw, 2009:73,74; Barkhuizen & Rothman, 2008:332; Riordan & Louw-Potgieter, 2011:159; Prozesky, 2008:62; Walker, 1998:344). Participants in Bhana and Pillay's study (2012:87) expressed their frustration with this "domination of thinking" and recounted how the majority of the burden falls to them, even if there are shared domestic duties. At best, the participants recounted that their husbands eased the workload but did not actively share in it. The idea of female-headed domestic duty can be conceptualised as a Conversation. It is a known theme in public discussion and the personal accounts provided in Bhana and Pillay's study underscore these debates.

Although conducted 14 years apart, there is little difference between the experiences expressed in Bhana and Pillay's study and those in Walker's 1998 study on the academic identities of women in South Africa. Walker provides (1998:342) some quotations from participants that indicate how societal ideas on gendered divisions 'leak' into academic careers:

> It's not just individuals. Society endorses it. I see it with my partner [a fellow academic]. If I'm away at a conference… [t]he neighbours, my family, my mother they all help out and tell me "isn't he wonderful". I know he is perceived as having this bit of a virago wife who expects him to look after the family while she goes to conferences. But if he say takes one of the children onto campus with him he gets nothing but admiration – from women as much as men. It's really irritating. He does help but I still carry by far the bulk of responsibility at home.

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> I don't think I have an equal relationship with my husband in my marriage… He still expects me, despite the number of hours that I am working, to work when I get home as well, sort of do all the housewifely things… 10 years ago living abroad I wasn't like this; I've become very South African in that respect again!

In a similar study by Read (2008) but based on the experiences of women academics at the University of California, USA, women reported feeling more pressure than their male colleagues feel to have and raise children, while maintaining an academic career. One participant described her experience with having her first child as follows (Read, 2008):

> I was determined that I would drop that baby on Friday, teach on Monday, and nobody would ever know. That's what I had to do. That was just how I felt like life had to be.

The above quotations reflect the attitudes that confront women academics. The situated meaning of "South Africa" signifies a culture-specific normative role division; while the implied values of "isn't he wonderful" and "bit of a virago wife" represent the Discourses that influence the sometimes reluctant ("like life had to be") performance of these roles.

Bhana and Pillay (2012:87) suggest that their participants' relatively greater negotiating power on domestic duties and childcare are a result of their education, social class positioning and economic power. This is generally the case in South Africa, where progressive legal frameworks do not take into account the inconsistent socioeconomic and sociocultural contexts in which law should be implemented; as well as its effect on the varied distribution of harmful attitudes and prejudices. Traditional stereotypes and assumptions commonly remain quite stable over time and changing contexts (legal or in practice) do not automatically result in radical changes in stereotypes (Pauw, 2009:64; Knowles, Nieuwenhuis & Smit, 2009:334). Education and social class often act as means of escaping undesirable social attitudes, but do not negate all entrenched ideas in all contexts. Many still assume that men have a partner at home who takes responsibility for domestic and childcare duties and so organisations reflect a division of labour that frees male

academics from routine tasks (Pauw, 2009:64; Kittlestrom, 2010). This is supported by women in Read (2008) who note that, amongst senior faculty, women were disproportionately picked for routine assignments that are time-consuming and do not allow as much flexibility for research. Mabokela and Mawila, in their study on the impact of race, gender and culture in South African HE, note that administrative services is an important aspects of professional lives, but does not lead to upward mobility if it is not acknowledged (2004:406).

2.3.2   Research and publication

Universities are seen as meritocratic institutions, but Bhana and Pillay (2012:84) conceive of universities as institutions that are embedded in Discourses of gendered division of labour, cultures and hierarchies of power. Travel and conference attendance are a source of concern, as women academics are tasked with childcare responsibilities that are either too expensive to manage (taking children along), not allowed (using research funding for children's travel) or too complex (conferences run for hours and do not necessarily have childcare facilities) (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:89; Prozesky, 2008:59-60). Furthermore, the academic system rewards research and publication, tasks that many women academics devalue in favour of teaching (Morley, 2006:268; Bagilhole, 1993:268; Prozesky, 2008:59). In Morley's (2006:416) study on women and quality assurance in HE institutions in the United Kingdom, one participant described herself and her colleagues as being less productive because they are producing fewer texts while they are focusing on teaching:

> We've all come in as quite 'hot' and quite 'sharp' and quite energetic and we're not producing at the rate that we should, in a sense, although, you know, in another way I think, why the hell should we produce in that kind of way? But we've all been pushed into convening classes, teaching classes, taking on pastoral care. All these things which, I mean I think are terribly, terribly important but you don't see the men getting pushed into them. … It's absolutely all down to research.

This is repeated by participants in Bagilhole (1993:267):

Women have more contact with the students at [the] coalface. They are more involved in explaining what we're doing and why.

The role is not different but the enactment of the role is. I'm given the pastoral side. I take more personal responsibility for students. This is difficult in this present climate because there's little recognition for this.

The dissemination of research in journals is also consideration in the literature. HESA (2011:11) reports that by 2000 nearly 50% of South African publications are authored by academics over the age of 50 and that almost 50% of professors and associate professors are due to retire in the next decade. A new generation of academics are thus soon to be the frontrunners of research. HESA (2011:11) also notes that the "intellectual discourse, teaching and learning, curriculum and texts, and knowledge production and research" at South African universities were shaped by the authoritarian regimes of previous decades and that such Discourses still shape knowledge production and, potentially, the production of new academics:

[A] Next Generation of academics must contribute to the intellectual and academic decolonisation, de-racialisation and de-gendering of the inherited intellectual spaces of South Africa's universities, and more generally, to re-orienting universities to serve, in accordance with their social purposes, new constitutional, economic and social needs and development challenges.

Some women felt that mainstream journals are not receptive to their "kind of work", which focuses on rural areas, non-Western perspectives or gender perspectives (Mabokela & Mawila, 2004:411). One participant in particular explained that she would not submit papers to a specific gender-focused journal because it is viewed as a "softer option" that does not lead to the same recognition of publishing in a "hard-core journal".

Maier (in Pauw, 2009:89) provides a counterargument to Bagilhole, and Bhana and Phillay, suggesting that the issue is not division of labour but rather accepting the status quo of

demanding organisations instead of establishing better work-life balances. He states that policies such as flexible hours or childcare facilities are not a solution:

> Allowing women to put in long hours of work and to act as though they have no primary responsibility for family does nothing to challenge the beliefs and values about traditional ways of working or recognise the reality of the interdependence between work and personal lives.

Prozesky espouses similar views (2008:61), stating that the incompatibility of academic-motherhood is an "empirically untenable stereotype" even amongst South African women whose careers have been forged by patriarchal and apartheid ideologies. Nevertheless, publication careers differs between men and women because of reproduction and so a more "reasonable and equitable" approach would be to compare the average output of academics in during the years in which they actually published papers (Prozesky, 2008:61). Kittlestrom (2010) also supports Maier's argument, stating that academia should acknowledge that women's productivity is slowed by reproduction in a way that men's productivity is not. In fact, while flexible hours or childcare facilities are important, the problem remains that academic mothers cannot be treated the same as academic fathers. Instead "we should stop acting like having children is a problem" and systematically acknowledge that academic women and men require different systems of recognition (Kittlestrom, 2010). By disconnecting normative ideas of the (expected) effects of motherhood and the actual influences of institutional culture, Kittlestrom, Maier and Prozesky are transforming sociocultural and institutional relationships by creating new Discourses and Conversations (Gee, 2011:96).

2.3.3   Mentorship

A 2009 study by Maürtin-Cairncross on women in leadership positions in South African academia classified participant responses into invisibility, isolation, and lack of support. Participants indicated that they had a strong sense of invisibility and exclusion from decision-making. One participant noted that she felt overlooked because of perceptions about her emotional intelligence and intelligence (Maürtin-Cairncross, 2009). Two others

stated that "[w]omen are listened to, without taking their points seriously" and that "[w]omen are made to feel invisible". They added that women "want to be heard" but are labelled "emotional" and "aggressive" if they act on these desires. By labelling the women as "emotional" or "aggressive", their detractors are denying them a social good, that is, anything that a group or society deems worthy of having or doing. By withholding a social good from the women, critics deemed their actions as 'unacceptable' and lessened their social currency (power) for eventually influencing change.

Maürtin-Cairncross (2009) states that it is the feeling of exclusion that leads to a sense of isolation. In particular, several participants noted the lack of women role models:

> [There is a] lack of critical mass of women in leadership positions, leading to isolation, which in turn often means that women do not have the confidence or support to take on styles and approaches [that differ] from male colleagues.

> There are not many women role models or people who have occupied similar positions… It is my perception that those who are out there are extremely busy or I do not know them.

A second theme which emerged from Maürtin-Cairncross' research is women's resistance to supporting other women (2009). Participants in Mabokela and Mawila (2004:404-405) also noted that they received "virtually no mentoring", but suggests that it is because there is no recognition for mentorship. Mentors are vital guides to junior academics for achieving success in academia. The role of the mentor is to provide insight into what underlies successful teaching, establishing a research career, introduction of and facilitating access to departmental structures and cultures, sharing strategies for course design and so on (Higher Education South Africa, 2011:16). Pauw (2009:78) suggests that because senior women had greater obstacles keeping them from academic careers, mentoring is seen as an extra burden or as too much of a risk to chance protégé failure. Others suggest that sharing knowledge threatens to disrupt set patterns of power (Mabokela & Mawila, 2004:410). A number of participants in Mabokela and Mawila (2004:405) also expressed grave concern that a disregard for collegiate mentorship is reflected in the lack of mentorship of graduates,

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observing that it hinders student introduction to a "culture of research" because lecturers feel that they are wasting their time being involved with responsibilities which will not lead to promotion.

2.3.4   Promotion

Another factor named as a point of concern in Mabokela and Mawila (2004:411) is the lack of clear understanding of the promotion process, as well as "pervasive discrepancies" in the treatment of women's credentials and contributions. Two common themes expressed are the arbitrariness and subjectivity of the process and the impression that women have to "prove, prove, prove themselves" whereas their male counterparts "just have to work" (Mabokela & Mawila, 2004:411-412). One participant described how promotions are "tailored for you". She explained that academic merits (lecturing, publication, degree level, etc.) are less important than "who you are" and that, in her experience, "who you are" should ideally equate to being male.

> When I came in from [another university] I was a lecturer, but when I got here they took me back to junior lecturer. I stayed in that position for one year and I was promoted to lecturer the next year. I have been in that position ever since. I did a bit of publishing but I was told that conditions of promotion are tailored for you. Other women here will tell you, don't look at the conditions of service and interpret them as they are. It depends on who you are…. Take my case, my department advertised a senior position that I was interested in. They said the minimum requirement was a Ph.D. and so many publications. Since I did not have a Ph.D. I did not apply. . . . Then I saw the applications, they were all men and not one of them had a Ph.D. I challenged the applications and made many people angry.

2.3.5   Women in academia

Bhana and Pillay (2012:90) state that women are not passive agents in the workplace; instead they are actively changing and challenging gendered relations at home and at work.

Bhana and Pillay (2012:90) note that while the position of women in HE can be complex, participants in their study provided viewpoints that show how motherhood and work can be negotiated. Extended family is regularly a crucial supportive structure when academics are required to travel or when completing research (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:90). Additionally, academic environments tend to be flexible and this allows for attention to both work and domestic duties. The participants stated that they enjoy teaching, although motherhood is important to them, and that they want to complete their research agendas (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:91). Other women expressed a commitment to changing attitudes (and presumably Discourses) towards mentorship, saying that they do not want new graduates to repeat their experiences with little guidance (Mabokela & Mawila, 2004:405). A participant in Brown's (2012) study summed up her experiences with a metaphor, stating that "when you enter higher education, you are at the beginning of the maze[…] As you progress obstacles are thrown in front of you like the walls and turns of the labyrinth." Brown (2012) concludes that many give up over the course of journey, and become stuck in the "labyrinth"; they do not strive forward and "appreciate all the twists and turns of the maze you've conquered".

Bhana and Pillay (2012:93) conclude that academic departments must become more aware of how gender is manifested. They state that all the participants noted how important motherhood is but that this requires them to align themselves with normative divisions of labour that limits their opportunities (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:93). Furthermore, their ability to negotiate between academia and domestic and childcare duties depends on their ability to exercise power in both contexts; however, both are social arenas that manifest unequal power relations. Women academics are also not passive actors upon which roles are executed. Instead, while they are reproducing the Discourses, they are simultaneously challenging the socially constructed assumptions of what life as women academics entails (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:93-94).

2.4   Concluding remarks

This chapter has three objectives. The first was to present an overview of critical discourse analysis as it is related to the study, while the second objective was to clarify Gee's model of CDA that will be incorporated into the analysis of the data. In this section, attention was

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given to core concepts that will be used to interpret the discourses on behalf of the seven participants. The third objective of this chapter was to present multidisciplinary research on gender discourses in the HE workplace. This overview aimed to highlight key concepts and understandings that will assist in the analysis of the data to follow.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

This chapter provides an overview of the method used to investigate the research aims and questions. First, these research aims and questions are clearly articulated. Following this, the chapter provides an overview of how the participants for the study were selected, how the data was collected, as well as ethical issues that arose from the research process. Given that the research is qualitative in nature, an overview of qualitative research and methods of qualitative data analysis are discussed, before directing attention to one method of qualitative data and critical discourse analysis to be used in this study.

3.1   RESEARCH AIMS AND QUESTIONS

The aim of this study is to evaluate the extent to which women in higher education experience, or are aware of, possible limitations placed on them as women in work contexts that historically were the domain of men only. In order to investigate this more closely, the research critically analyses interview responses from several participants in order to investigate the individual and shared issues perceived by the participants, as well as how women construct their own experience of such issues within an academic work environment. One key aspect of any critical discourse analysis is the view that discourses (in this case, the individual discourse about working in a higher education context) are not arbitrarily constructed, but are produced within social, historical and cultural contexts. Thus, a close analysis of these individual discourses can provide interesting insights into the historical, social and cultural contexts in which these specific discourses were produced. In particular, the research aims to answer the following questions:

I.   Do women in academic positions that were traditionally domains for men only, currently experience their position as equal to their male colleagues, or not?

II.   If they find that there are gender-related biases, how do they motivate this? If they find there are no gender-related biases, how do they motivate this?

III.   Where a woman experiences gender-related discrimination, can this be related to an ideology based on gender biased assumptions and power relations?

IV.   What are the linguistic and discursive features of the narratives that articulate experiences of gender-related bias in the workplace?

V.   What are the linguistic and discursive features of the narratives that articulate the convictions of women who do not experience gender-related bias in the workplace?

3.2   SELECTION OF PARTICIPANTS

The participants were selected from female academic staff members at a South African university who qualified according to criteria such as age, length of employment and appropriate faculty affiliation. The minimum age requirement was 30 and the minimum length of employment is 5 years. This did not include employment of postgraduate students, as the role of 'student' denotes a lack of authority in the workplace that is crucial to the study. Suitable participants were contacted via email; they were informed of the basics of the study and asked if they were willing to participate.

Participants were actively selected in accordance with the research questions. This particular way of selecting participants is also referred to as purposeful sampling (Marshall, 1996:523; Polkinghorne, 2005:141). According to Marshall (1996:523), purposeful sampling is similar to the demographic stratification of epidemiological studies, but is a "more intellectual strategy" that takes into account extant theoretical knowledge of the topic of interest. For this thesis, however, age, gender and level of education were important variables. This study also made use of static sampling, in other words, all data was gathered prior to analysis. Static sampling does not allow additional participants to deepen an initial analysis, but is a practical approach to data gathering that works well with limited studies (Polkinghorne, 2005:139).

Given the sensitive nature of the topic (gender and potential issues of gender discrimination), there was limited response from potential candidates which meant that the selection size was small. However, this is common in qualitative research where participants are not as much the objects of research as the social setting in which they operate and which is assumed to give rise to their personal ideologies and discourse (Marshall, 1996:523; Crouch & McKenzie, 2006:492-493). The ability to generalise about the answers to research questions is not the ultimate goal; rather it is to gain understanding of an experience (Polkinghorne, 2005:139). Participants are not simply a collection of certain variables, but are in a "perpetual dialogue with their environment" and are "doing or enduring a variety of things" that arises from either agency or structure (that is to say, what they do or what they endure) (Crouch & McKenzie, 2006:493). Any participant 'case' is therefore an instance of social reality and thus, even with small selection sizes, each new participant may bring new insights into the topic.

3.3   SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS

The interviews were face-to-face and semi-structured. Semi-structured interviews are useful when the topic of interest is sensitive, such as gender in the workplace (Adams, 2010:21). An interviewer sets general questions, which are usually asked in a somewhat similar order to all participants. This allows for comparison between answers, but still permits some flexibility to tweak, add or remove questions if a respondent offers unexpected information (ESDS Qualidata, 2011). Impromptu follow-up questions and spontaneous interactions are common in semi-structured interviews (ESDS Qualidata, 2011).

The advantages of face-to-face interviews are that a researcher can observe both non-verbal cues and verbal data. This is particularly helpful with open-ended or sensitive questions. Semi-structured interviews rely on a good relationship between the interviewer and the respondent, are respondent-orientated instead of questionnaire orientated and encourages respondents to express themselves in whatever way they are comfortable; for example, by telling stories or following digressions (Neuman, 2003:299).

I used an interview guide (Appendix A) to provide structure to the interviews. The questions were mainly to keep to the topic of being a woman academic and any issues that it might entail. Participants were encouraged to express their ideas and not merely relate their experiences. Some questions developed as the interviews progressed and as such not all questions were posed to all participants, though I adhered to the guide as much as the natural flow of the interviews allowed.

Different types of questions, as described by Kvale (1996:133-135) were used:

- Direct questions
- Follow up questions that prompt more responses
- Probing questions such as "can you tell me something more about that?"
- Structuring questions that introduce new topics

Some participants appeared to be more aware of social issues and theories on gender, but all had clearly taken time to think about their experiences, what it meant broadly as gendered interaction and specifically to a community of women academics.

3.4   INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

Spoken and written discourses are different mediums and cannot be entirely merged. Transcriptions cannot be a "full and faithful" representation of the reality of the interview (Cameron, 2001:39). They are innately interpretative approximations of meaning and the difference in medium emphasises this (Cameron, 2001:39; Pauw, 2009:140). Hence, there is no standard guide to transcriptions and researchers must decide for themselves what kind of detail – and how much of that detail - they view as important. A denaturalistic transcription is easier to read but it is not an authentic representation of the data, as prosodic and paralinguistic features are often more important to research on spoken data (Cameron, 2001:35).

For this study I developed my own transcription key (Appendix B), taking cue from designs by Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming & Paolino (1993), Humble (2013) and McCarthy (2001). As the potential sensitivity of the topic can alter how participants choose to speak the key contains elements of both naturalistic and denaturalistic conventions. This allows space for nonverbal cues – which can expose unexpressed viewpoints - while simultaneously enabling an extra consideration of the actual content of the discourse. Most grammatical errors were corrected, except in cases where I judged prosodic and paralinguistic features to alter, enhance or even challenge what the participant said.

3.5   ETHICAL CONCERNS

The ethical principles of autonomy, beneficence and fairness were adhered to in this study (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001.93). Cameron (2001:29) provides a great starting point for considering ethics in interview research:

> It is said that 'talk is cheap', but anyone who allows you to record their talk and turn it into an object of analysis is showing great generosity; they are giving you something of themselves, and trusting you not to abuse the gift.

Participants were asked to sign a standard consent form that indicated the particulars of the study. They had the option of discontinuing their participation at any time, without penalty, and were informed of the services provided by the Employment Assistance Program and the Health Promotion Programme of at the university should they feel any need to use these services. All participants were informed that any identifying information, such as names of organisations, family or colleagues, would be confidential and that pseudonyms will be used when referring to any such information. The interviews were taped and the participants had the option to review the recording, but only for a limited period after the initial interview. On completion of one of the interviews a participant requested that the original recording (on a cell phone) be deleted and only a copy on the researcher's computer remain. This was done accordingly. Only the researcher had access to the recordings and all transcriptions were done by the researcher.

3.6   QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Both qualitative and quantitative social researchers collect and analyse empirical data, although the nature of the data differs according to which approach is taken. Qualitative data can be labelled "soft data", as opposed to the "hard data" of quantitative approaches (Neuman, 2003:139). Soft data is impressions, words, sentences, symbols, etc, and hard data is numbers. Qualitative data is typically collected through interviews, audiovisuals, observations or written materials (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001:94).

Qualitative researchers focus on describing and understanding the experiences of people in their everyday environments and often rely on interpretative or critical social theories (Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden, 2001:93; Neuman, 2003:139). Participants are not intended to be representative of the distribution of an experience in the population; instead, all participants can provide data that expands and deepens the understanding of an experience (Polkinghorne, 2005:139). Researchers try to present interpretations that are sensitive to sociohistorical contexts, but still often question power, inequality or social relations (Neuman, 2003:139,140). Qualitative research always emphasises context, as removing data from the context in which it appears ignores the sociocultural meaning and distorts its potential significance. Qualitative researchers always describe what surrounds the focus of the study and notes the ideas or themes that connect one part of an experience to a grander whole (Neuman, 2003:146).

All researchers follow a design plan when conducting research. Qualitative approaches are ordered, but do permit change and the acknowledgement of subtle levels or contextual distinctions (Neuman, 2003:141). Researchers aim to be honest and fair in their research. They acknowledge the "human factor" and a firsthand experience of the research setting (Neuman, 2003:141). This acknowledgment does not permit researchers to include personal opinions or to have a particularly selective use of evidence. Instead, qualitative researchers ensure that the evidence is accurately reproduced and verified by additional evidence or internal consistency. As Neuman (2003:143) meaningfully notes:

A qualitative researcher's firsthand knowledge of events, people and situations cuts two ways. It raises questions of bias, but it also provides a sense of immediacy, direct contact, and intimate knowledge.

3.6.1   Qualitative data analysis

While qualitative researchers acknowledge a firsthand experience of the research setting, analysis is nevertheless organised and thorough. It involves finding patterns, analysing events and using techniques to present what is found in the data (Neuman, 2003:457). There are many accepted methods of doing this, but all have common features; namely inference, a public method, comparison and avoidance of fallacies (Neuman, 2003:439).

Firstly, inference in qualitative analysis is the logical examination of empirical evidence to reach a conclusion. The conclusion is somewhat removed from the data in order to simplify it (Neuman, 2003:439). A public method or process is the most basic research methodology - data is collected, documented and examined. There is no standard public method for qualitative research (Neuman, 2003:439). Comparison is another alternative. All researchers compare data is some way or another, either internally or with related data, in order to recognise patterns of similarity and difference (Neuman, 2003:439). Lastly, researchers always strive to avoid fallacies, such as speculation and blatantly misleading conclusions. Researchers must evaluate the merits of various explanations and discussions to identify those with the highest merit (Neuman, 2003:439).

Coding and analytic memo writing are generic but labour-intensive approaches to data analysis. Codes are the tags or labels used for assigning units of meaning, such as themes, to data and memos are any recorded notes on the data or methodology. Researchers vary in how much they code – some code every line, while others code only paragraphs. The degree of detail largely depends on the research question and the complexity of the data (Neuman, 2003:443). Many researchers keep extensive analytic memos - a particular type of note that includes the thoughts of the researcher on the coding process and perhaps discusses the themes or concepts that are involved in the coding (Neuman, 2003:445). Memos are the basis for data analysis and can form part of the final report if they are well documented.

Negative evidence and limitations by omission in data can provide very valuable insight for a thorough analysis (Neuman, 2003:457). Neuman (2003:458) lists seven kinds of negative evidence: (1) events that do not occur, (2) events of which the population is unaware, (3) events that the population wants to hide, (4) overlooked commonplace events, (5) effects of a researchers preconceived notions, (6) unconscious non-reporting and (7) conscious non-reporting. Points 2, 4 and 5 are particularly important to this study, whereas conscious non-reporting in an issue that all researchers should address to avoid potential ethical issues, such as the exclusion of evidence which does not support their desired interpretation.

An event of which a population is unaware typically involves issues that betray an ideology. Neuman (2003:458,459) uses the example of societal awareness of sexism and gender issues. At a point in time, professional opportunities for educated women were limited because of their gender; this was not viewed as problematic until the population *became aware of* gender issues, even though it was extensively common (Neuman, 2003:458). Overlooked commonplace events are everyday occurrences that presuppose an experience. For example, watching television programs are such a normalised experience to many that the frequency with which the programmes are mentioned in everyday conversation is not noticed by participants (Neuman, 2003:459). It is only until someone who may not have access to television says that they do not understand a reference or an entire conversation, that other participants realised their *expectations of an everyday experience* (Neuman, 2003:459). Lastly, preconceived notions or theories held by researchers are not negative per se, but may not influence how researchers view data. Strong expectations of what data will reveal may inhibit a researcher from acknowledging contrary evidence to the ultimate detriment of the research (Neuman, 2003:459).

Limitation by omission usually occurs when a researcher does not take into account the differences in sex, age, race, class or other social divisions (Neuman, 2003:459). Gender is a particularly relevant social category that is often ignored, particularly if a sociohistorical perspective is not important to the research. However, gender-differentiated social contexts or genders as a social variable are perspectives that cannot be disregarded. Even single-

gender or single-race studies must consider alternative perspectives to ensure that specific research connects with a broader social idea (Neuman, 2003:459), which is an objective of this study.

Researchers should always consider negative evidence and limitation by omission. Not only does this lead to more thorough and critical research, but it indicates whether researchers understand the complexity of social research.

3.6.2   Methodological aspects of Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

This study is qualitative, as it seeks to understand social context and is therefore inherently interpretative. As an interpretative tool, CDA is a linguistic approach to the study of discourses and the sociopolitical and cultural factors involved in the production of these discourses. As explained in Chapter Two, CDA is political and aims to expose power relations and inequality in society (Crystal, 2008:123). It examines both spoken and written text, but is a broad term that encompasses many approaches and allows for variation in subject matter and methods (Cameron, 2001:7).

In summary, the practical objectives of CDA is to analyse discourses that represent social issues, to investigate how language establishes and reflects ideology and to increase awareness of how to apply CDA objectives to instances of "injustice, prejudice and misuse of power" (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:12). Underlying these practical objectives are three theoretical objectives; namely, to demonstrate the significance of language in social power relations, to explore how meaning is created in context and to examine what roles the "authorial stance" of speakers and writers fulfil in the production of discourse (Bloor & Bloor, 2007:12).

This thesis investigates spoken discourse in the form of narratives that are rendered during the semi-structured interviews. In sociolinguistics, 'narrative' refers to brief, topically specific stories that are organised around characters, a setting and plot (Riessman, 2004:706). Narratives are events that are sequenced and have consequences and, like any form of discourse, are not randomly produced but are created and constructed for the contexts within which they occur (Cameron, 2001:148). As Thome (2000:70) states,

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translating our experiences into words 'transforms' the experience into a communicable representation of it. Engaging in any activity requires self-identification but Bamberg (2012) wrote of narrating as being a "privileged genre for identity construction" because it requires speakers to situate themselves as characters in a place and time. It enables speakers to disassociate themselves from the act of speaking and to reflect on the self as a character. The narrated experience is thus made meaningful for an audience through its organisation, while analysis allows us to identify how people understand and make sense of their lives and experiences.

There are various methodological approaches in CDA and ultimately the researcher chooses which methodology to use based on the narratives in the research (Riessman, 2004: 706). This thesis adopts the structural approach to narrative analysis. Structural analysis focuses on both form and function, that is, what is said and how it is said. The most influential structural approach to spoken narrative and was put forward by Labov and Waletsky in Oral Versions of Personal Narratives (1967; reprinted in Labov, 1962).

Labov and Waletsky divided narrative into sections identifiable by their linguistic characteristics, as well as their place and function in the narrative (Cameron, 2001:152). The sections are the abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda (Riessman, 2004:707). Not all narratives have all sections and they can occur in varying sequence, but all ultimately serve one of two functions – referential or evaluative (Johnstone, 2001:637). Referential sections are what the narrative is about; it concerns the events, characters or setting, while evaluative sections relate to why the narrative is being told and why it is important. The reasons why a narrator chooses to tell a particular story is highly important. In an interview, for example, respondents rarely answer questions without thinking about the reason for asking the question. As a result, answers about experiences or opinions convey not only information about the respondent, but also often what the respondent assumes to be the intention of the interviewer (Cameron, 2001:148). Respondents interpret events within a context rather than reproduce it as is, so the narratives they supply are presented as non-random. They are both a subjective and an authentic representation of reality. In this way, narrative analysis can bridge the gap

between personal experience and social structure and are exceptionally useful in social research (Riessman, 2004:708).

3.6.3 Gee's model and method of CDA

There are various ways of approaching a discourse critically. One theorist, Gee, is heavily influenced by American non-Hallidayian models of grammatical and textual analysis, but states that he developed his own theoretical frameworks based on sociolinguistics (specifically Hymes, 1974) and elements of literary criticism (Gee 2009:1). Gee examines language with the perspective that it is never neutral, always occurs within a context and that language always contains multiple levels of meaning.

In his work on discourse analysis, Gee (2011:17) offers seven building tasks and tools of inquiry to be used when analysing discourse. The building tasks and the tools of inquiry are not stand-alone methods, but are theoretical devices based on a theory of language to help guide analysts to question discourse beyond purely language-in-use.

In an interview with Melissa Mosley (2009:12) Gee describes the building tasks as "reflecting a designer attitude" towards language. The building tasks are designed to break down how we discursively construct reality (Gee, 2011:17). The building tasks of importance to this thesis are the social practices reflected in discourse, the social identities being constructed in the discourse, the way in which connections are made or broken through the discourse and how social goods are communicated and commented on in discourse. Not every analysis will incorporate all the levels of meaning and an analyst may select those they view as important to work with within the context of their discourse.

To analyse specific examples of discourse, the building tasks are used in combination with seven tools of inquiry to analyse how the building tasks function as discursive constructions of reality. Gee drew on various theories from different disciplines for tools of inquiry and those relevant to this study are 'Discourses', 'Conversations', 'form-function connections' and 'situated meanings'. A building task and tool of inquiry can be used as follows: politics (social goods) is a building task about which we can ask how situated meanings, Discourses,

Conversations, or identities are used to create, distribute or withhold social goods or are used to interpret distributions of social goods as 'good', 'bad', 'acceptable', etc. or not? Similar questions can be asked about socially situated identities, social practices or connections by using Discourses, Conversations or situated meanings.

Gee's model of critical discourse analysis is the examination of linguistic detail to illuminate how situated identities, practices and Discourses, etc. are 'designed', enacted or recognised in the data. Gee provides (2011:195-201) a list of linguistically focused tools for 'doing' discourse analysis. There are 27 tools and all generally apply to the same piece of discourse; but this does not mean that all tools will yield information about the discourse. The tools range from those that focus on linguistic detail to those that focus on what is 'beyond the text'. Some examples of tools are the deixis tool, intonation tool, vocabulary tool, topics and themes tool, identities tool, politics tool, and Discourse and Conversation tool. Gee (2011:186) emphasises an effort to achieve validity by using coverage (how an analysis can be applied to related data) and as much linguistic detail as possible.

In essence, a 'how-to' for critical discourse analysis, using Gee's model is as follows: Analysts search for regular patterns (structure or organisation) in a text or set of texts and propose an interpretation of the pattern and a description of its meaning and potential ideological significance (Cameron, 2001:137). Attention is given to surface linguistic feature, such as choices of and patterns in vocabulary (e.g., wording, metaphor, grammar, cohesion and text structure). It includes as well what is said beyond the sentence, i.e., the implicit assumptions or presuppositions (Cameron, 2001:128; Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:448). While examining grammar, cohesion or vocabulary, analysts look at speech acts, coherence and intertextuality or Conversations to connect a text to its context (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:449). Intertextuality allows analysts to reveal veiled ideologies – the struggles over normativity, attempts at control or resistance against dominance - by studying the ways in which discourse is modified over time and locale (Blommaert & Bulcaen, 2000:449). This is the form and function of a text, or language-in-use.

Gee also uses (2011:63) form-function correlations. Form-function refers to utterance-type meaning and situated meaning. Utterance-type meanings are how the form of an utterance,

that is, syntactic structures or phrases, carries meaning or a communicative purpose (the function of an utterance) (Gee, 2011:63-64). A critical analysis would only indirectly mention form-function connections, as it works at a much more situated level – that is, the discourse is created within context, with reason and with awareness of the situated levels of the discourse. Any analytical claims about a discourse must therefore adhere to a form-function theory (Gee, 2009:13).

3.7   DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURE

Using Gee's critical approach to discourse, each interview was briefly examined separately before a comparative analysis was attempted. With the research aims in mind, I read and reread the data to make note of details that appeared to be important and in doing so, I identified key themes in the text. After this initial stage, I relied on Gee's (2011) work and drew on specific questions, as articulated by Gee (2011). I paid particular attention to answers that converged on the same point or theme, regardless of the theme's relation to the original question of research interest. Some questions used are as follows[4]:

- What perspectives on social goods in this piece communicating? What is being communicated as 'good', 'normal', 'appropriate', etc.
- What Conversations are relevant to understanding this piece?
- What sort of relationships among different Discourses are involved – how are they aligned or in conflict here?
- Which socially situated identities are being enacted?
- How are the above enacted or recognised in the data (by participants or myself as analyst) – what linguistic detail appears to be important for how the above are being enacted or recognised?
- What institutions are supported or opposed by the text?

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[4] Please note that these are not the research questions, but rather guiding questions to assist with the analysis of the data. These questions are designed to help reach the answers to the research questions articulated in section 3.1 above.

- Identify the Conversations of the text - which cultural understandings are employed by the text by identifying reflexivity in the discourse that can point to other Discourses present?
- Identify phrases that stood out in the data, but are also repeated in the interview, for example, words like– "malicious", "prove myself", "woman academic" are important
- Cross-analysis of texts – see how different discourses and patterns or ideas developed or if there were any differences in the discourse.

3.8   CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main objective of this chapter was to present an overview of the research design of the thesis. This included an overview of the questions under investigation; the data; how the data was collected and how the data will be analysed. The chapter began with an overview of the core research aims and questions before providing a summary of how the participants were selected and how the interviews took place. The transcription process and ethical concerns of the research are discussed as well. Following this, an overview of what constitutes qualitative research, including the common features of various methods of qualitative data analysis, is given. Lastly, one particular method of qualitative data analysis – critical discourse analysis – is explained, particularly Gee's approach to the method and the guiding questions that he provides for a thorough and critical analysis.

CHAPTER FOUR
Data Analysis

As articulated in earlier chapters the aim of this study is to evaluate the extent to which women in HE institutions experience, or are aware of, possible limitations placed on them as women in work contexts that historically were the domain of men only. This chapter draws on Gee's theoretical concepts that were presented in Section 2.2, which include 'situated meaning', 'socially situated identities', 'social goods', 'Conversations' and 'conversations', and 'Discourses' and 'discourse'. These theoretical concepts work both as a tool to guide the act interpretation, and as tools to interpret the data. For example, the idea that reality is not a 'given' but is socially constructed is a fundamental premise of CDA research in general and this research in particular. Thus, the context (described in detail in Sections 1.1, 1.2.2 and 2.3) is fundamental to the ways in which the participants understand, perceive and discursively construct their work environments and how they understand, perceive and discursively construct the situational context and their own identities.

Apart from investigating how the participants construct the context and their identities, this chapter also investigates how the participants discursively construct, and thus perceive, social goods and how they establish connections between objects and ideas in the discourse. As the interviews were semi-structured, the topics under discussion were organised into the given structure after the interviews. The length of discussion on a single topic, e.g. motherhood, was determined by how much the participants were willing to share. The analysis aims to reveal the function behind the grammatical and linguistic devices used by the participants, as well as showing how their conversations and discourses are related to each other's conversations and discourses and, by drawing on the research in section 2.3, to the larger Conversations and Discourses on women in higher education.

4.1   Discursively constructing the balance between motherhood and career

The balance between motherhood and career spans years, but beginning of this phase is critical and starts with the experiences of participants who apply for maternity leave. In

accordance with South African law, the university offers four months maternity leave, six weeks of which must be taken before the expected due date of the child. All but one participant who applied for leave had positive experiences with the administrative process. Most participants insisted that the purpose of leave is to be able to work from home; that it does not equate to being on vacation and that academic responsibilities are not neglected.

Participant 5 did not feel that maternity leave was "an issue at all" (G:159). She explained that while colleagues or postgraduate students assume lectures, academic staff members are not 'replaced' as the responsibility for research still lies with the original researcher. This is an accepted practice and is reiterated by other participants. Taking maternity leave can be conceptualised as a social practice because it contains more than one participant, specific activities (filling out forms, organising substitute lecturers) and specific times and places (it is time-frame limited); and it is a partially routine activity (not a necessarily routine reoccurrence) with partially shared goals (early childrearing versus administrative management). When narrating this social practice, the participants often draw attention to how supportive their departments were in this process. For example, a colleague had taken maternity leave shortly before Participant 7 and so while it was a "major logistical influence" on the department, she explained that the process was "very easy" and that it is a "very supportive environment" (I:194). Her repeated use of the superlative 'very' underscores her positive representation of the ease of taking maternity leave in her department; while the term "logistical" references the partial differences between her goals and the goals of her department. She reiterated that those on leave are still regularly at work and stated that women are not given "special treatment" (that is, different from the usual) and that "everyone pulls their weight" (a representation of the shared responsibility in the workplace). She contrasted this statement with the views of some of her "friends who are moms", stating that "*their* perception of me being on maternity leave is that I'm not going to be doing any work at all" (I:199). Her emphasis on the 'their' disconnects differing contexts, one in which maternity leave is associated with employee responsibilities and another in which it is associated with the removal of external responsibilities that are not related to motherhood or childrearing. This also evokes the opposing societal Discourses on the role of women in childrearing, and the different conceptualisations of the importance of motherhood and career.

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Speaking of her experiences with maternity leave Participant 1 explained that the university expects academics to remain employed at the university for at least a year after maternity leave, but that it is not problematic.

> They don't want you to come from maternity leave and then you go "oh I want to be a mommy forever" or you know something like "arg I don't want to work here anymore" so... protecting their interests? But it's not such a painful thing to do... I didn't have any immediate plans to leave...

Participant 1's use of "mommy forever" is worth highlighting. 'Mommy' is an informal term meaning 'one's mother' and in this context references the common Discourses and Conversation of motherhood as greater than career, as well as the Discourses on women who leave formal employment after childbirth to become primary caretakers. The word 'mommy' is also reminiscent of a well-known informal term, the 'mommy track', which was originally used in primarily North-American studies on gender in the workplace, but has subsequently been used in studies in other developed nations. The term denotes a career path specifically for women who sacrifice promotions and pay raises by having children.[5] It thus also relates to Discourses and Conversations on career and the gendered effect of parenthood on career development – that is, there is no term related to the effect that having children has on the career developments of men.

Participant 4 offered a counter narrative to the previous participants, wherein her maternity leave responsibilities included not only the supervision of postgraduate students (an ongoing responsibility as confirmed by other participants), but also the teaching of all her classes:

> I taught my *full* teaching complement, I was in here teaching the day before I went into labour—I didn't know that at the time <laughter> but I ran a Thursday

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[5] The term 'mommy track' was coined in an article, *Mommy Career Track Sets of a Furor*, by Tamar Lewin and published in The New York Times on March 8, 1989. It discussed a previous article by Felice Schwartz, *Management Women and the New Facts of Life,* published in the Harvard Business Review (Kim, 2010).

practical class here, on Friday morning I went into labour, I gave honours lectures when my daughter was something like six weeks old… My parents were here, they would look after here, they would come to [the place] and push her around in a pram for the two hours, so I'd feed her—I'd come in, feed her in my office, focus on the lecture for two hours and then feed her again.

Her experiences, as referenced throughout Chapter Four, are more adverse than the experiences of other participants and should be contextualised within what she describes as "quite an unhappy department" (F:149) and one that is "*extremely* difficult on occasion" (F:136). This is significant, because it immediately shifts the blame for gender bias and discrimination to a problematic, but certainly less explicitly unethical, conceptualisation of a troubled work environment. In comparison to the other participants, Participant 4's experience is conspicuous and highlights the variability of social practices within differing contexts.

Regarding their experiences post-maternity leave, none of the participants indicated that their departments were uncooperative and most had no negative opinions on departmental culture surrounding family responsibility; however, they indicated that departmental culture does not function alone in creating environment accepting of child and family responsibilities and that both domestic circumstances and institutional structure are factors to consider. Participant 1 stated that her department has a relaxed atmosphere towards family responsibility, explaining that because the head of department is a father it allows all the parents in the department more freedom (C:105).

And as a dad who's also taking up *his* responsibility *fully*, he does… understand when things, when you need to go or something of the sort so we have quite a— it's a nice place to be in that way, where with your parental responsibilities where you don't feel like you are being discriminated against because you are a parent, or because you're a woman.

The use of "dad" shows how Participant 1 constructs fatherhood. 'Dad' is a more informal term than 'father' and indicates a more relaxed, familiar construction of the relationship

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between men (here specified as one man) and their children. Her emphasis on the head of department engaging with child and family responsibilities indicates that she perceives the role of fathers to be participatory in childcare. She contrasts the existing culture of acceptance with discrimination and through this distributes a social good. Social goods are at stake whenever something or someone is judged 'appropriate', 'good', 'bad' or 'normal' (Gee, 2011:19). By also describing her department as "nice", an adjective that suggests pleasantness but also implicitly states approval, she strengthens the granting of a social good.

Participant 2 similarly praised her department for being accepting of child and family responsibilities, but said that she still cannot aspire to be a top academic. She emphasised that she chose her career path in order to raise a family, but calls it "a dilemma" (D:116) and when asked whether she feels it is a gender-neutral situation, she claimed that it is not.

> P: I think it's being a woman academic <laughter>. As I've said I have a husband who's *incredibly* supportive but I'm still bietjie… homemaker care-giver to my children and I'm happy to do that, but=
>
> I: =But it does have inevitably, an impact.
>
> P: Ja, but it's a choice that I have made, it's the life I want, it's the choice that I've made.

Here Participant 2 situates herself as a 'woman academic'. This is a socially situated identity because it distinguishes her from the neutral 'academic' but also only functions this way in the group (social) environment of the workplace. 'Women academics' are understood as being more involved in these responsibilities, so much so that it becomes a defining factor in their assumed identities in the workplace. She contrasts this identity with that of 'academics', for whom she implicitly assumes an identity as people who are less associated with child and family responsibilities. Thus, 'women academic' is a gendered identification and is positioned as separate from being an 'academic', because it consists of specifically gender experiences of parenthood in the workplace.

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The use of the preposition "but" contrasts the involvement of Participant 2's husband with family responsibilities with her statement on the level of her own involvement with these responsibilities. She responds affirmatively to my suggestion of childcare having an effect on an academic career, though her twice-repeated usage of "choice", as well as the preposition "but" and the assertion of "it's the life I want" shows that she is aware of the effect but prefers to be less focused on her career. While this positions Participant 2 as an active agent in this decision, it also illustrates that she perceives women in academia as having to choose between fully pursuing either family or career. For example, she does not state that women cannot be both mothers and career driven, but she indicates that she cannot perform both roles to their fullest extent [being a "top academic" (D:116)]. The construction of her husband as "supportive", which shows giving assistance and encouragement but does not denote a primary role, emphasises this limitation as gendered.

Reflecting on her time abroad as a PhD student in the early 2000's, Participant 7 contrasted the experiences of non-South African women with the experiences of South African women concerning the balance between career and parenthood. Participant 7 feels that a "work-life balance" (I:189) is more important to women and that there are support structures in marriage for men to be more career focused.

> This is very much a national contrast – back then South Africa was very much like
> that. <LO It's slowly changing now LO> but back then it was very like that, we
> had these patriarchal roles. But they were probably about twenty years ahead

Participant 7 used the deictic 'this'. A word or phrase is deictic if its semantic meaning is fixed, but its denotative meaning is depended on contextual usage and readers and listeners must therefore infer its meaning. In the extract above the "[t]his" refers to the relationship between career and motherhood and the deictic "it" in "it's slowly changing" refers to the shifting of normative gendered divisions of labour. This can be seen, for example, in the construction of husbands as having a participatory role by Participant 1 and Participant 2. Participant 7 describes the roles as "patriarchal", a term that denotes a form of social organisation in which the eldest male is recognised as having authority. However, the

situated meaning of 'patriarchy' as a concept that arose during a discussion on gender suggests that it takes on a more specific meaning likely influenced by feminist theory. In this context, it therefore denotes a more entrenched and possibly harmful system of normative social practices. This relates to the Discourses of attitudes, prejudices and stereotypes, as discussed in Section 2.3.1. Gendered stereotypes and assumptions remain relatively stable over time even as legislation changes, for example, the assumption that men have a partner at home who manages child and family responsibilities (Pauw, 2009:64; Kittlestrom, 2010; Read, 2008). This supports Participant 7's understanding of support structures for men in marriage; Participant 2's understanding of a "dilemma" in which she cannot fully pursue both career and motherhood (D:116), as well as her construction of her husband in a supporting role.

Furthermore, Participant 7 stated that some countries are "twenty years ahead" (I:190) of South Africa regarding career and parenthood balance. The implied value of "ahead" as 'better' or 'more advanced' constructs the balancing of parenthood and career as an ideal situation. Participant 7 recalled the experiences of older women academics that she had met during her PhD who wanted to make young women aware of the pitfalls of this balance and that their choice of partner can have a great effect on the feasibility of having both a career and being a parent.

> So the women who were running the meetings had been through what is was like twenty years back, how things are currently in South Africa, and they wanted to make young women aware of how, if they expect that, it wasn't always like that. And that if you want to, as an academic, if you want to continue your career *and* have a family think about the partner that you choose and it has to be a man who's willing to be a team player because you can't do both. Otherwise it isn't feasible.
>
> So it was also coming out of this whole 90's Ally McBeal thing and the sentiment that you can be both a mother and have a career and do both 100% and those women had been through this and could tell you that you can't.

The term "team player" indicates that Participant 7 constructs husbands to be equal partners and that childrearing is a shared role because one person "can't do both" . This echoes Participant 2's understanding of parenthood and career. Participant 7 also references Ally McBeal in her narration on her experiences. Ally McBeal is a television programme that aired in the 1990's and features a young lawyer working in a Boston law firm. It is notable for its depiction of young and affluent professional women. The use of Ally McBeal as a construction of an ideal that can be achieved by professional women is significant. Firstly, Participant 7 is connecting real situations with a fictional idealisation of these situations. Secondly, this reference occurs within a discourse that expresses the insistence that women cannot reach that ideal ("had been through this and could tell you that you can't") unless they are actively aware of its limitations and consequently make informed decisions concerning life partners. Thirdly, the discourse is absent of any reference to men and a need for an ideal of balancing career and fatherhood. Therefore, "this whole 90's Ally McBeal thing" is a representation of the gendered nature of Discourses and Conversations on parenthood and career.

Participant 4 stated that women academics are supported by institutional policy, but that "it becomes an issue when children are involved". Here the deictic "it" refers to career and career development as it is influenced by the effects of having children. To illustrate what she understands as an effect, she spoke of a practice in her department of lecturers "[going] down to the pub and [talking] crap" (F:151).

> I think when you're a student, when you're a student it's okay. But when you're older and you have a husband and you have children. I mean I really notice it now that I have children, I just *can't* do that. And as a man… there are men who do, the wife even when she's working, she'll be the one who comes home and she'll still be the primary childcarer.

She explained that participating in this type of activity is more difficult when you are a parent and, in her view, particularly if you are a mother. She related this to a view of the activities of which she feels comfortable partaking ("I don't think I *could* do it") (F:151); nevertheless, she broadly connected participation in the activity to gendered child and

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family responsibilities, as well as the effect this has on careers. She asserted that many other women are both working academics and primary child carers and that the double role is "pretty hard" and "not very conducive to an academic career" (F:144).

Participant 4 also raised the idea of attitudes towards students and that she feels responsibility towards students in ways in which she believes male lecturers do not. She relates this sense of responsibility to a deceleration in her career development.

> I get involved in issues, that I feel strongly about that I realise are peripheral to my career development, shall I say. No one—fighting for better rights for black students and better assistance to black students is not going to get me job anywhere else. Publications is going to get me a job anywhere else. But it's hard to separate, I find it a little bit hard to separate.

Although Participant 5 stated that she does not feel discriminated against on a personal level, she stated that there are "these systems" that do not easily allow for flexibility in employment. The deictic "these" references her position as a part-time employee, which she started after having her first child. Part-time employment is rare amongst academic staff, but Participant 5 insisted she made "lifestyle choice[s]" that allow her to "do the things that are very important to me" (that is, raising a family), which she repeated several times during the interview (G:168). Her understanding of herself as an active participant in how her motherhood and career are managed links with Participant 2's insistence on 'choice', and consequently does not void her of responsibility for the effects of her actions and decisions. Nevertheless, she states that some choices are more likely to be gendered:

> You will rarely find that a man has to [pause 1] make, you know, compromises like that. It's possible, you could have a person who's looking after an elderly family member or *children* or whatever but it's rare and I think it's common amongst women and it's definitely a big limiting factor. If I wasn't married and didn't have children I would have continued as usual and I don't think I could have had any *reason* to complain <laughter>

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She further recounted how her insistence upon breastfeeding her children for a year complicated conference attendance as she could not travel far; and that it was an administrative difficulty to organise for her husband and other children to accompany her. She explained that her extended family acted as caretakers when she is at the university and when asked for her opinion on university-assisted day care, she stated that while she supports the initiative she would not make use of it if her extended family were available. She added that a central day care on campus would doubtless be a good option for many other academics. Institutionally provided day care is a first-line suggestion to improving the position of employees who are also parents, but is not common in South Africa. This was echoed by Participant 3. While she believes that academics have "good hours and good benefits" and that her department allows staff the freedom to organise their activities, she stated that it was "extremely difficult" to find day care.

> But what surprised me when I came here from a *family* perspective was that it was extremely difficult to find a day care or […] I mean we were so used to that the university would you know—many employers back home ((provide day care))… [I]t was very difficult to know actually what to do and how to do it

In many ways Participant 3's perspective on child and family responsibility links with Participant 7's conceptualisation of South African connections between career and parenthood as less progressed than other countries. Participant 3 is not South African and her dissimilar cultural background thus provides a contrast to the societal culture in which the university operates. Her emphases on "*family* perspective" indicates that she conceptualises a 'family perspective' in a distinct manner – in contrast to the South African participants, she is the only participant who represented a Discourse of institutional assistance as normative. Other participants spoke of university-assisted day care but did not discursively insist upon it. Participant 1 noted that other mothers at the university might feel that they should petition the university for day care facilities, but did not connect employer responsibility with childcare responsibility.

Participant 1 further commented that it is not only women who will use day care, but also younger fathers who "tend to be a lot more proactive" (C:106). Here Participant 1 again

indicates that she perceived the role of fathers in childcare to be participatory. Her explicit of identification of a shared role ("not only women") emphasises her interpretation of non-gendered childcare responsibility (C:105). This identification simultaneously references a changing societal Discourse wherein childrearing is more a shared role than in previous decades. Participant 7 similarly reported that many of her colleagues are young fathers who are involved parents. She contrasted this with what she imagined would be the reaction of her father's generation to her conversations with colleagues on "which prams are the best" and other child-centred topics, as well as the shared childrearing that she had witnessed overseas more than a decade ago.

> I would say that the majority of the guys here in the department who are young and have kids are very hands on and involved. And that's the norm. And so, if I think about my father's generation if you had to sit in the tearoom and talk about which prams are the best, whatever they'd be like <@you know "what are you talking about"@> but I can have those types of conversations with my male colleagues because they are involved in their child's birth and it's a part of their lives.

The use of "guys" shows an informal relationship, while its placement and the actions associated with it are positioned in relation to surrounding discourse, especially "norm". This signals an understanding of what constitutes acceptable behaviour in the department. The contrast of contemporary experiences with those of a previous generation ("my father's generation") references societal changes in the Discourses of shared childcare and, equally, workplace culture. The use of the "but" followed with an affirmative ("but I can have those types of conversations") reinforces the notion of changing Discourses in contrast to earlier Discourses and so the acceptance of new, legitimised ideas of family and childcare responsibilities.

Participant 6 also a part-time employee and when questioned on how her position influences her role as an academic, she stated that the academic environment is desirable but that the lack of benefits such as sabbaticals, pension funds or conference funding, is troublesome. Most importantly, however, is Participant 6's understanding of the

relationship between careers and having children. She called her status as childless an "advantaged position" (H:181) in that it allows her to stay at the university, which she states that she probably would not have done if she had had children. Here, she constructs parenthood and the presence of children as problematic. She is the only childless participant, and her acknowledgement of the effects of childrearing responsibilities as a childfree academic is telling of the widespread presence of a Discourse of gendered choice concerning career and parenthood.

While the previous participants related their experiences to their specific type of employment, Participant 1 expressed her disappointment in the management style of the university. She described her experiences in her department as positive, that she does not feel disadvantaged as a woman academic and that she is perhaps advantaged in comparison to colleagues at other institutions (C:144).

> …[N]ot only the intellectual resources but the physical resources of the library, the funds that are available to go and you know, to do research, the contacts the university has with other universities for teaching fellowships, the departmental level and at university level. So I feel advantaged here because there are lots of opportunities that one can use and within my department I feel that people are supportive and they encourage you…

However, she feels that academics – both men and women - are constrained by new management styles and that this has a detrimental effect on their performances. She suggested that it creates a pressure to perform which in turns creates feelings of resistance and anger, because staff "can do so much better" if they were not constrained by management.

> I don't feel here that as a women I am a thumb. I think we are all here under a thumb, we're under a different thumb. We're under the thumb of a… different way of thinking about how a university should run. The thumb of the new public management. Like, you know previously we didn't have to keep office hours, now we are prescribed hours to be in the office and all of these kinds of things.

So I think as men and women academics at the university we're coming under a thumb.

As she is elucidating her opinion on academic constraints, Participant 1 is simultaneously expressing a socially situated identity. She positions herself as an 'academic at (her university)'. This situates her within the space and resources of this institution. She compares this position to those of colleagues at other universities and makes a point of the benefits of employment at the university. Later she again identifies herself as an academic at (her university), but positions 'academics' as oppositional to the space in which they function. She uses the metaphor "under a thumb", meaning to be under someone else's control, or to be submissive. This expression has an unconstructive and, in its extremes, a harmful connotation and is well-chosen expression that ties with later her use of "feels trapped". To be trapped has a similarly negative denotation and its cohesion with 'under a thumb' as a metaphorical expression of negativity reinforces her perception of a lack of academic freedom.

She elaborated on her statement on a lack of academic freedom and provided an example of an interaction with a retired colleague which provided her with an understanding of a subject that she feels would not have been possibly because of the structures of organisation that she feels limits the capacity of academics to interact and learn (C:115).

We chatted for an hour and it was great because I was learning about things I would have *no* insight to, but because he is on the ground busy with something new… And *that* can be inspiration for future research, or for teaching. Because it gives you a different understanding of what is currently happening in South Africa that you were not aware of. But because he's, analytically astute, his analytical brain is constantly processing, he's *able* and *willing* to talk about what he sees and with his years of experience, life experience, he can offer so much more in terms of deepening my understanding, than I would be able to get from a book… right? So that's an example of how one feels trapped. There is an opportunity to learn something *quite* significant. But you're constantly checking your watch because you are supposed to be in the office. And in *his* day, they

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didn't need to be. And there are other universities who don't apply this kind of, management strategy.

She ends her account, stating there are "other universities who don't apply this kind of, management strategy". She compares her university to other universities, while her hesitation before "management strategy" (as shown in text by a comma) indicates her reluctance to connect what she perceives as a disadvantageous system with effective management. This is evidenced earlier as well by her statement of "the thumb of new public management" and that it "<SGH creates resistance SGH>". The sighing quality of her voice is a paralinguistic feature. Sighing often arises from negative emotions, such as dismay or dissatisfaction. It is noteworthy here because it is judged in relation to its surrounding discourse and is therefore conspicuous as an emotional indicator and not general speech patterns.

Participant 6 made the following observation on the changing role of fathers in childcare:

> Because there are wonderful men and that, especially with the economic switch in the country we have more women working and we have more fathers spending time at home with their children and <LO we shouldn't forget about that switch happening LO> the different kind of relationship between father and children happening out there at the moment as well.

She speaks about an "economic switch" that is transforming the traditional gendered division of domestic duties and employment. The lowered pitch level of "<LO we shouldn't forget about that switch happening LO>" emphasises the statement that more women are employed and more men are active in childcare. Additionally, Participant 6 talks about the "different kind of relationship" that is developing between fathers and children. This refers to the changing Discourses on fatherhood and childcare and the related, increasingly acceptable social behaviours and practices.

4.2   Career development

Three participants shared stories of their experiences with a promotions process. By the time of our interview, Participant 2 deemed her career to have progressed to the point where a promotion could be expected. She discussed her academic record, mentioned her years of teaching and publications, and speculated on a lack of promotion. Her head of department had agreed to a two-year development plan in 2010, in order to prepare her CV for a senior lectureship post. A year and a half later, she had fulfilled the requirements, but her request for fulfilment of the agreement was denied. She was given vague reasons for the delay, namely it being a part of departmental strategic and staff development plan, but was not given specific information on what the development plan entails and what that meant for her application. She alluded to the promotion of male colleagues, but did not make a direct comparison.

> I know that there is also a colleague of mine who—she for many years also sat at the lecturer level and she also kind of had to fight for eventually get to senior lecturer whereas if you compare some of the other people, some of the other colleagues, you know it seems that they get their senior lecturer a lot quicker.

She also questioned whether her situation is indicative of a gender issue, or a broader issue with institutional culture and the ways in which the promotions process is organised and managed.

Participant 3 insisted that she would not have been promoted had she not actively demanded that her qualifications and experience be considered. In her description of the process she made mention of the negative reaction of some of her colleagues, the implication that they thought of her actions as unacceptable and that she did not earn the new position, in contrast to the appointment of a male colleague.

> P: You know you would hear comments like uh you know "that was most probably a trade off". There was a man that also got his appointment at the same time and he didn't have a doctorate, but he was this

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[professional] that you know so… you there were all these rumours trying to downplay uh

I: The legitimacy of your appointment.

P: Exactly. And it pissed me off to be honest, in plain language because I put everything that I had done, all my qualifications on the table and I asked them to scrutinize it and I don't think they could look the other way but at the same time you kept on hearing these things // It was very uncomfortable.

Participant 3's account of her promotion process is an example the distribution of social goods. By labelling Participant 3's promotion as a "trade off" (E:127), the commentator is inherently implying that the promotion is less valid and less 'true'. The commentator is withholding a social good and therefore denying Participant 3 the true status and power that her promotion affords her. By virtue of comparison, the commentator is also affording the appointment of a male colleague with more power and a higher status. The gendered aspect of her comparison ("There was a man that also got his appointment") (E:127) implies that it is not only the act of applying for a promotion that is unacceptable, but also that is specifically as a women an act that is unsuitable. This is supported by Participant 3's reaction to my suggestion that women perhaps feel more uncomfortable with negotiation, for fear of being seen as aggressive. Her use of the interrogative and repetition of the word "aggressive" indicates her disagreement with the implication of acceptable gender normative behaviour.

And I mean the stamp or the reputation that you get if you're aggressive? I mean "aggressive"? You're not aggressive your just, kind of… you know I saw that when I asked for my promotion, it was not at all accepted. On the contrary, it was frowned upon […]

The extract above signifies both a social good and a social practice. The commentator denied Participant 3 a social good, but also judged her actions according to known social

practices. Gee (2009:24) describes social practices as "(partially) routine activities through which people carry out (partially) shared goals based on (partially) shared (conscious or unconscious) knowledge of the various roles or positions people can fill within these activities". As stated in Section 2.1.1, the most important social practice under consideration in this thesis is being active in the labour force, specifically an institution for HE. This practice is not as strictly defined as others are, but still involves participants enacting socially acceptable roles in an environment with generally well-established standards of activity. By ignoring the unspoken standards of activity and thereby behaving in a socially unacceptable manner, Participant 3 positioned herself as separate from the group. As a result, the group may judge her actions as it sees fit. By separating herself, Participant 3 also created a Discourse that comments on social practices and socially accepted behaviours.

She described the process as difficult and discouraging.

> I actually *applied* for my promotion because I would never have gotten that promotion if I hadn't applied for it I think… It was a *hell* of a battle. It was actually *awful*. The whole process was… you know I felt that I had to really come out and show *everything* that I had and you know and um but it was worth it.

She concluded by again summarising the experience, stating that she is glad to hold her current position, but that it was ultimately a disconcerting experience.

> But it was not a very, *pleasant* uh procedure, and uh ja… I'm happy that I've been through that and I <LO *don't have to go through it again* LO>

Participant 4's narrative must again be understood as relating an environment of which she acknowledges her experiences as being "a bit extreme". Her acknowledgement implies that her experiences are unusual and not indicative of the general experiences of academics at her university. It nevertheless presents an interesting account of the role of good collegiate relationships in the authorial structures of the workplace. She felt that male colleagues had been appointed above her, and cited her longer employment at the department, more teaching and administrative experience and more student supervision as reasons why she

was angry about the decision (F:141). She explains that her initial application for promotion had been rejected, ostensibly because she lacked NRF rating and PhD student supervision. She did not directly relate this to gender but rather to her relationship with the head of department, whom she described as "truly *awful*" (F:). This description is a suggestion that she judges his behaviour inappropriate. She is therefore withholding a social good from him and lessening his status and authority. When she reapplied a year later, her application was successful although she had not received NRF rating nor supervised PhD students in that year. She suggested that the change in faculty dean was the deciding factor (F:136).

> But it's just one extra year, I hadn't produced any more papers, I hadn't graduated any postgraduate student—my CV was in no way different I felt... [B]ut there was a change in the dean. And the dean, I know the dean—I had *heard* that the dean was pushing for me to be promoted because he looked at the books. So then I was promoted.

Her suggestion that it was the appointment of a new faculty dean that lead to her promotion connects her perception of good or neutral relationships as the desired state – the dean had "looked at the books", that is, he was impartial and meritocratic – and places it in contrast with her perception of bad or biased relationships – her head of department. Heads of departments are lower ranked staff than faculty deans are, and the perceived agreement of the higher authority with her distribution of a social good reinforces her conceptualisation of a connection between her experiences and poor collegiate relationship.

Participant 4 further stated that some colleagues had "expected" her to be "more docile" than she was when she was first appointed in the department, as she had objected to several ways in which the department is managed. Several times during the interview Participant 4 also referred to a female colleague whom she viewed as having had experienced no difficulties in the department because she "doesn't say no" (F:143). This again shows the distribution of social goods – Participant 4's behaviour was not regarded as likely to happen, and was therefore taken as improper. Her assessment of the female colleague as being willingly submissive correspondingly shows that she credits being

assertive as a social good, that is, as a quality that should be acknowledged. There is perhaps a link to be made between gendered standards of acceptable behaviour – that is, 'assertiveness' is not deemed as improper, rather it is assertive woman who are deemed as acting improperly. Participant 4 does not directly state this connection, although she alludes to this through her conceptualisation of her behaviour as contrasted with that her colleague.

4.3   Remuneration

Gendered wage differentials are often included in the broader literature on gender discrimination yet are frequently misunderstood. The causes of wage differentials are well known, chiefly the career breaks taken by women of childbearing age that are likely to influence many subsequent employment decisions. As stated in Section 1.2.1, this means that differentials are usually not between men and women doing the same job, but rather doing different jobs and following different career paths. Considering this, it should be noted that many universities, in keeping with the majority of the private sector, do not make remuneration public although guidelines to basic remuneration rates are frequently available on institutions' human resource websites.

Several participants maintained that the university should be more transparent about remuneration calculation. Only one participant insisted on complete transparency, with most participants expressing a desire for fairness, clear communication, and (at least partial) openness. Thus, they conceptualised, and simultaneously positioned themselves within a social culture of what is acceptable or not in terms of remuneration.

Participant 1 stressed that transparency is on principle a key to ensuring fairness.

> The problem I think, is that um one cannot really measure yourself up to other people because there's things that you don't know […] And so you can't make the distinction—you can't say for example, I cannot say that um maybe a male colleague on the same level, he's being advantaged above me *financially* because I don't know. So there is very much of a, you know, closed culture with

certain things and that prevents one from actually saying, "Oh but I, on a financial level oh but I feel like I'm being disadvantaged".

She stated that transparency is a means of ensuring that employees are "on the same level" and that there is a correspondence between qualification and remuneration. The denotative equality of "on the same level" represents Conversations on equality in the workplace. It is specifically gendered, as shown by Participant 1's example of a contrast between her position and that of a male colleague. The phrase "there's things that you don't know" refers to factors that affect remuneration of which individuals may not be aware because of a non-transparent policy. Together with a repetition of a state of lack of knowledge ("because I don't know"), as well as the implied negative value of "closed culture", it can be said that Participant 1 is constructing her position as an employee in terms of ignorance, additionally involving the university (as the employer) as the opposing other.

Participant 3 stated that she believes that her university has "*huge* issues" regarding salaries.

> You've got these uh levels. And I mean we all know that uh women, *in general*, are not *great* in negotiating because we are in general too—and I think *especially* in this environment. Many of my colleagues that would *never ever* negotiate. They just take what they get. And that's that.

Here "levels" refers to the basic remuneration rates. These rates function as a guideline to remuneration and are subject to negotiation. Participant 5 states that women are generally "not *great*" in negotiating. The inferred meaning of this statement is not that women are unable or too incompetent to negotiate, but rather that the environment of the workplace in which they function does not place a social good on individuals advocating for themselves. This meaning is implied by Participant 3's non-completion of the statement describing the why of women's mediocre negotiation followed by the sudden change in direction of the statement (as indicated by the em-dash), as well as the contextualisation of "*especially* in this environment". I suggested that women perhaps feel more uncomfortable with negotiation than men, a statement with which Participant 3 agreed. She related this

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gendered experience of negotiation to her experience requesting a promotion, during which her behaviour can be understood to have been viewed as improper behaviour for a woman. This refers to conceptualisations of gender normative behaviour and the gender-biases that can result.

As stated earlier in the Chapter, Participant 3 is not South African and thus has an uncommon perspective on the sociocultural context in which the university operates. This became especially clear during the interview when she discussed the option of academic unions and their relation to remuneration.

> I mean I understand that there is a beauty in every individual negotiating for their own salary… but it's also the strongest, you know the one that screams the loudest and is the most impossible that gets the biggest salary because you know… And that is *generally* not a woman I would say.

> And I really felt that the lack of a union to turn to to say you know—I felt that that was a very good tool to turn to back home because you could you know "look at this, this is what I earn, am I being underpaid, overpaid, under worked, over worked, you know what's happening here?" And they would have the information, to actually say "you know, what you are spot on" or "you should actually go and have your salary negotiated".

The phrase "beauty in every individual negotiating" is negated by the rest of the statement. The superlatives "strongest", "loudest" and "most impossible" are contrasted with individual negotiations and shows that Participant 3 constructs of individual negotiations as less likely to succeed. Additionally, the likelihood of a failure of individual negotiation is gendered by the phrase "*generally* not a woman". "[G]enerally" implies that Participant 3 views failure as the usual outcome of women negotiating in environments where they are competing with men who are, by implication, more comfortable with negotiation. This is an illustration of the constructions of the gendered expectations of appropriate behaviour. This construction is reinforced by Participant 3 referring to unions as being "good from a feminine perspective […] because you can actually have a little bit of bargaining power"

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(E:67). The implication is not that women cannot negotiate for themselves; rather the use of "power" suggests that Participant 3 views unions as helpful in transforming social practices. In other words, by mitigating the effects of social constructions of appropriate behaviour, unions, provide information on remuneration in a way that is removed from the social contexts, constructions and pressures of gendered normative behaviours in the institution.

On the question of remuneration transparency Participant 4 was "*absolutely*" in favour of transparency and stated "people who are performing the same job with the same level of experience should get the same pay". This alludes to the Conversation on gender equality in the workplace and the concept of 'equal pay for equal work'[6]. She added that she "*certainly* suspect[s]" that she is underpaid due to her gender. She elaborated on this by referencing a conversation with a male colleague during which they explicitly discussed remuneration as well as comments by another male colleague, who claimed that he "needed to be paid more because he has a family". "So ja, but past that you can't—I certainly suspect, but I don't know. " During her recollection she expressed her dismay at his comment and asserted that the existence of family or lack thereof should have no bearing on remuneration.

4.4   Harassment and critical attitudes

Harassment is a sensitive topic and should be approached with caution in any interview. I was initially hesitant to include questions concerning this, as I assumed that participants would be hesitant to discuss their experiences or, even, the topic. However, the deciding factor for the ultimate inclusion of such questions is that while harassment is violation of the right to bodily integrity, it is often passively accepted as the actions of individuals and therefore thought best to be ignored. Several participants chose to share their views and stories. Two participants shared stories of harassment and assault at institutions other than their own, but these will not be discussed here.

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[6] Equal pay for equal work or for work of equal value is a concept ensured in the legislation of the Employment Equity Act (No. 55 of 1998) and the Labour Relations Act (No. 66 of 1995) which aims to promote equality in the workplace. It is also found internationally in Article 7 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of the United Nations, Article 4 of the European Social Charter and Article 15 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights.

Of note in the accounts provided are participants' individual definitions of the term 'harassment' and the associations they made between attitudes as shown in how they chose to respond to the questions. For example, Participant 3 stated that she has not been harassed, but did note that she felt treated differently.

> No. Not in terms of body or you know *that* type of thing, I feel, that I have had comment—I mean I have been treated *differently* uh *definitely*, but not no I haven't been… no. I can't think of an occasion like that no.

Participant 3's use of the deictic "that" suggests that she is reluctant to engage directly with the topic. As stated above, harassment is often a sensitive topic and a reluctant attitude towards the topic is common. While the deictic distances Participant 3 from the topic, the sudden em-dash indicates her modification of her understanding of 'harassment' as she changes the direction of her statement midway. She does not position herself as the target of harassment; but makes relevant the attitudes that serve those who harass with the attitudes of those who enforce particular ways of interaction. She does this by connecting the concept 'harassment' with being treated "differently", meaning not in the norm or expected manner. Her use of the adverb "differently" also positions her in relation to other people – she can only be treated other than the norm if there is a group and group culture or practice with which she can compare and contrast her experiences.

> P: She understood that perspective and at the same time she also understood you know, the *complex* position that women find themselves in here. I don't know about other faculties but this is quite a strange place.
>
> I: Are you very aware of some sort of non-inclusive gendered culture here?
>
> P: Um I was *made* aware of that. I mean I think I was quite naïve when I came because I mean, I'm from _____ and we have a completely different set up.

P: No man I think the general kind of way of approaching things you would hear jokes in the tearoom. I don't remember specifically but I remember thinking these are not the type of jokes I would hear back home… That would offend someone easily.

Additionally, she spoke of the departmental culture, stating that she was "naïve" when she was first employed at the department, but that the support of an older, female colleague helped her to understand the "*complex* position that women find themselves in here" (E:69). She also stated that she was "*made* aware" of a non-inclusive gendered culture. This links with "naïve" and underlines her perception of herself as an uninformed subject. This is significant because, as stated before, Participant 3 is not South African and her dissimilar cultural background thus provides a contrast to the societal culture in which her department and her university operates, as well as highlighting the contrast between her understanding of situated meanings and those of South Africans.

By situated meanings I am referring to Gee's (2009:14) concept of the "prototypical meaning" (function) that a form (linguistic structure) develops through habitual use amongst a group or groups of people .Thus, linguistics structures like words, metaphors, and phrases have a general range of meaning but take on specific meanings within real, contextual usage. Thus, the linguistic structures that form what a society or group decides are constitutive of 'harassment' can be conceptualised as Conversations. They are socially constructed, meaning that what constitutes harassment in one context does not constitute harassment in another because linguistic structures are embedded with different meanings depending on context. As stated in Section 2.2.4, a specific knowledge is needed to understand and interpret Conversations. Regarding the narrative provided by Participant 3, her position as a foreigner – someone who is more knowledgeable of another culture than the one which she currently inhabits – implies that she may have an atypical knowledge of 'harassment' as a societal topic and consequently interprets South African-specific Conversations, Discourses and discourses in a different manner. This is shown by the phrases "we have a completely different set up" and "not the type of jokes I would hear back home" (E:124). Note again her use of 'different' indicating a comparison between cultures. It is also evident in the use of the description a "strange place", which

conceptualises the department as unfamiliar or even odd (E:123), and lastly by the phrase "the general kind of way of approaching things", which indicates normative interactions.

> I find this to be a very hierarchal system and then you add the gender aspect to that which, you know, it was extremely—I mean I didn't even understand first of all what was going on, I mean some of the comments were just… you know you couldn't believe that that could happen.

Participant 3 describes her department as "hierarchal". 'Hierarchal' denotes a particular conceptualisation of a system of authority that relies on a vertical distribution of power; the inference being that the relationship structures of the department are organised according to assumed importance or inclusivity (that is, the distribution of social goods to social players who are judged as 'good' or 'acceptable'.)

She expanded on this topic, explaining that people are kind yet patronising and that she feels it was a long time before she was taken seriously. She added that this was a combination of things, namely her status as foreigner, someone who does not speak Afrikaans and her field of specialisation, which she asserted is viewed as not a "proper [field]". This is how she conceptualises the normative culture in her department.

Harassment can be subtle but there is occasionally a distinction to be made between maliciousness and general banter. Participant 5 made this distinction in her response and observed that addressing behaviour or comments may "make an issue out of something that maybe is not".

> Ja, they would sometimes, you know there would be instances where someone would tell a joke, that he maybe afterwards thought that he shouldn't have told in my presence, that <@ I don't want to laugh about @> But it's not *malicious*. It's simply, they are ten men in the room and me and they don't see me as "o you are woman" they just continue <@ as they would have had @>.

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She made mention of one instance where a drunken colleague made remarks to which she took offence, but maintained that it was a once-off occurrence and that it is the frequency and suspected intention of behaviour that guides her reaction.

> If someone would insist on maybe always telling those jokes, you know on a regular basis, then I will definitely, I will most probably go to that person personally and talk to him. For example, I have talked to students of mine who have put up posters in their office that I don't like, "you can keep that in your room but not here". But I think I would refrain from doing that in *public* because others—the person probably just didn't think what he was saying and ja, and it's just embarrassing for him in public. *Unless* you can see that there is some intent behind it.

As stated earlier, harassment can be viewed as the action of individuals whereby the best course of action is to ignore it. Participant 4 disclosed such an approach to her own experiences stating that although they have occurred, improper comments have "never made a sufficient impression on me, that it's given me cause for concern." She elaborated on this and spoke of a colleague who made improper remarks but in the scope "*everything* he says being inappropriate". Framing this within the reference to the difficulties she has had in her department ("For all the trouble that I've had") she clarified that she has never been "*overtly* sexually harassed" at her university and the aforementioned colleague "says *lots* of inappropriate things in *lots* of different contexts to *lots* of different people". Taking into account one of Gee's tools of inquiry – connections – the emphasis that Participant 4 places on particular words is telling. Gee (2011:19) states that objects and ideas are not inherently connected or relevant to each other and that producers and receivers of discourse choose to connect or disconnect, or to make relevant, objects and ideas through language. Participant 4 emphasised certain concepts, using words such as 'everything', 'overtly' and 'lots' which place emphasis on the concepts. By framing any experience of harassment within the broader narrative of her experiences in the department, Participant 4 disconnects attitudes that reproduce harassment and those that reproduce unhappy collegiate relationships. In this way, she refrains from relating her experiences to 'gender'. It

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is clear that harassment has occurred to some extent, but participants disregarded talk of harassment in favour of matters that they conceptualise as more significant.

4.5   Perception of student discourses on gender

While discussing harassment and gender, Participant 6 observed that student culture is oftentimes discriminating. Although seemingly irrelevant to a discussion on gender in the workplace, the observations made by these participants nevertheless frame the context in which universities operate. It also provides insights into a mindset of a future generation of employers, employees and, importantly, academics that are moulded by, and will eventually perpetuate, unconstructive attitudes. Participant 6 contrasted the awareness of feminist and gender issues in her department to the seemingly indifferent attitudes of some students. She spoke of their interactions and the exceedingly negative comments on gender, race, and sexuality that students shared in class.

> They say terrible things about the opposite sex. The guys would, you know sometimes you allow them to be quite open in class and I'm thinking are we really making any progress with teaching them about gender issues?

Additionally, she talked about the changing face of feminism and the effect this has on younger generations. She spoke specifically about female students and their conceptualisation and perception of feminism. Although they outwardly hold feminist values and "love that life", they maintain a distance from practicing its tenets.

> And you know what, women enforce certain roles. I keep telling the students "stop seeing yourself against the backdrop", you know weighing yourself against men... And they love that life, oh I want equal rights and equal pay but they don't know how to open an account, they don't know how to, what to do when they have their car serviced, they can't even change a tire, they... you know.

The "roles" to which Participant 5 is alluding are the entrenched, normative gender roles and gendered distribution of social goods, that is, what is 'appropriate' or 'normal', etc. The

phrase "enforce certain roles" is noteworthy here. It shifts the blame of perpetuating unconstructive stereotypes onto women, or at least includes women as a participatory party, rather than only men or institutionalised structures.

Conversations are the products of historical disputes between Discourses. Discourses change over time and so do Conversations. Participant 6 references this in her interview during a stretch of conversation wherein she and I specifically discussed feminist identities. She spoke of female students and their conceptualisation and perception of feminism. Van Dijk (2011:389) uses the example of feminist identities when discussing ideologically loaded attitudes. It is relevant here because Participant 6 references not only the Conversation of 'being feminist', but also indirectly the ideological attitudes that serve the discursive production, reproduction or representation of issues in society through Discourse. Van Dijk (2011:389) states that individuals are often unaware of the ideologies that underlie their opinions and conduct, for example, young people who may reject the ideological label of being feminist in the face of prevailing anti-feminist discourse, even if they subscribe to feminist ideals. Participant 6 expresses this exact idea when speaking of her disappointment in the students who are, apparently, in favour of feminism but do not practice its tenets. Her use of the phrase "women enforce certain roles" substantiates the argument that she is disappointed in students who are, by most definitions, younger people. The use of "roles" is vital. Roles do not develop from nowhere and without influence, but develop and change over time. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that any new generation could potentially be more educated and tolerant and consequently less troubled by societal Discourses that hinder self-expression and personal and collective change.

Later on, Participant 6 references both a Conversation on 'being feminist' and the Discourses involved, that is, the ideologically loaded attitudes that inform our actions and ways of thinking about social practices and identities that are defined as acceptable by social boundaries. She expresses this idea with the phrase "it's a political conviction". 'Political' functions to distinguish a superficial belief from a deep-seated belief. The implication is that a superficial belief is more easily swayed by societal Discourses, whereas a deep-seated belief is not. A sincere principle is also linked to action, which Participant 6 makes clear in her response. She points to the difficulty of choosing to act ("it is not easy")

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and implies that it is sometimes appropriate to ignore societal Discourses, even if your desire is to avoid displeasure ("to avoid an argument").

I: Because they're not involved and if it doesn't really affect you or think it affects you personally then why should you worry.

P: Exactly. You have to live it and not just in front of your friend, because it's a conviction, a political conviction, you have to live that every day of your life and it is not easy. And going to – if you're bisexual and you're in a relationship with a man then he's going to have his friends around and they make comments and you know to avoid an argument you keep your mouth shut […] But I think one should always, we should always remember that there are marvellous men out there and that they should never be, in the process of gaining some rights, one should not otherise men.

Furthermore her use of the phrase "we should always remember" can be read as a recommendation of how to respond to or control the changing Conversations on 'being feminist' that conceptualise it as having turned against ("otherise") men. Here she simultaneously identifies the Discourses that discourages new generations from involvement in gender as a social issue.

Participant 3 also broached the subject of student culture and related it to broader representations of gender issues. She elaborated on an incident at a faculty dance during which some students felt that inappropriate comments were made about the female students attending the dance. She agreed and, along with a female colleague, raised the subject during a faculty board meeting. The reactions of her other colleagues surprised her, more so that the reaction of the students, and she stated "they couldn't really understand why […] this is important".

It was actually extremely interesting because we brought this up in a faculty board meeting to our, you know to our colleagues where there were student representatives from… And *how uncomfortable* our colleagues felt when we

brought this up. Saying they couldn't understand—ja "what's the problem?"… In which I tried to make the point that it's important how we actually analyse how we *relate* to each other and what we say in a… I mean [the student representatives] act in a formal capacity… and they are represented here at the faculty board and elsewhere.

The hesitant and discomfited reaction of the faculty mirrored what she feels is a trivialisation of an important subject. She compares the results of this incident to the consequences that could be expected from making racial comments; illustrating a difference in how valid or serious a gender-based complaint is taken to be.

Ja, I mean they wouldn't have gotten away with making a *racial* comment for instance, that would have been *discussed* and - so ja there is at least a lot of things that one can <@ deal with you know @> that's what's worth thinking about here.

She further indicated that it is only the statuses that she and her colleague occupy that forced the faculty and student representatives to take notice, again illustrating the relative indifference towards the subject.

And how you know, there were so many itching and twitching on the chairs because you know "arg what are they on again about those two now, do they have to do that all the time?"…

And pick on something so childish, "I mean don't they have any proper research to carry out?" so that was the feeling I got and the student association obviously they listened, because I mean, here we are two professors they can't really say "oh come on" but you could *see* that that was just flying *way* over…

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4.6   Gender roles and normative assumptions

Participant 7 presented a complex understanding of normative assumptions of gendered behaviour in her field. She presents a narrative that emphasised the development of her construction of gender in the workplace, specifically her identity as a woman in a male dominated field. Her construction of herself as a woman in her field changes over time and she recognises and comments on this change. This is important because her self-identification is a personal construction but it is always socially situated and therefore influenced by external factors.

> Ja, so coming back to [here] then I probably was quite interested in making sure that there is no such thing as gender bias in ((my field)) is incorrect – *there is* – but just because you acknowledge it doesn't mean that you are weak, doesn't mean that you are giving in to it, just that you are highlighting that there are things that need to change.

Commenting on her return to South Africa after completing her PhD study overseas, Participant 7 constructs her understanding of gender bias in her field as the outcome of a developing awareness. Both uses of the deictic 'it' ("you acknowledge it" and "giving in to it") refer to gender biases, of which she specifically states that acknowledging a bias does not equate with accepting a bias. This statement is a cross-reference to one made earlier in the interview, where she questioned the benefit of highlighting gender issues (G:187).

> I was still in this dichotomy about if you identify yourself with this group of women who are pointing out problems you are immediately alienating yourself from the community because you are saying that you are different from just being a [[professional]], you are a female [[professional]].

The contrast between the two statements shows the difficulty of enacting identities that may not be socially accepted. Here the use of "dichotomy" suggests a contradiction wherein she represents herself as interested in gender issues but is unwilling to legitimise her interest through social exclusion – this a negative distribution of a social good, whereby a

person separates themselves from what is normatively considered to be 'good' or 'proper'. This also relates to Discourses and Conversations on the merits of being politically and socially aware, whereby highlighting social issues can present us with a dilemma of choosing between social practices and identities that are easily enacted because they are deemed socially acceptable and those that are not.

Participant 7 further elaborates on the development of her identity and gender awareness by contrasting what she believed about normative assumptions of gendered behaviour and experience several years ago with what she currently espouses.

> When conversations came up like, "but you came through this and so why can't all girls be like you?", then instead of where, maybe seven years prior I might have been like "ag, I don't know why but girls must just get over it", I could then be "ja, but the reason I got where I got was because I went through a process of denying my femininity and identifying myself with a male persona".

The deictic 'this' in "but you came through this" refers to Participant 7's experiences as a student in a male dominated field, as well as her apparent ease (indicated by the connotative success of "but you came") in navigating this environment. Participant 7's conceptualisation of her experiences as a student is important to this thesis because she was a student at the same university where she now works, and can therefore connect those experiences with her current work environment. This situation is especially important because many of her lecturers as a student are currently her colleagues. Therefore, any connection that she draws or relationship that she highlights involves (mostly) the same social actors, in the same social roles and in the same social environment.

Significantly, the phrase "so why can't all girls be like you" shows an ideological understanding of gender issues and biases as irrelevant or trivial – "but" is used to contrast Participant 7's experiences of gender issues or biases in a male dominated field ("this") with the experiences of "all girls". The question stated by "so why can't all girls be like you" implies that it has been demonstrated (by Participant 7) that there are little or few gender issues in this environment. Participant 7's statement on what her original response ("girls

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must just get over it") to this question would have been underscores the understanding expressed by the question. It is also explicitly ideological because it expresses an attitude of alignment with a group. It simultaneously represents ideological Discourses and Conversations that reproduce and reinforce a particular understanding of or attitude towards gender. This involves the importance or unimportance of gender awareness and an acknowledgment or denial of biases or differences in subjective experience, for example, the gender-insensitive and judgmental attitudes displayed by some police officers and legal representatives when dealing with gender-based violence (see Section 1.2).

> It's only *now* that I am this age that I can recognise the sacrifices that I made, so don't think that I was just a cool chick and I could make it work. I made a lot of sacrifices and maybe I wasn't *aware* that I was making these sacrifices and that *is why it worked*, because women who are *aware* of the sacrifices then get afgeskeep as whining or whatever.

In the above extract, Participant 7 relates her reasons why she was successful in her environment. Significantly, she states that the women who are cognisant of the choices they must make in order to be successful are snubbed as being whiny. "[W]hining" has two significant semantic denotations, namely a feeble or a petulant complaint. 'Feeble' could be read as relating to a specific conceptualisation of a 'weaker sex'. Its connotation is as being lesser and therefore not deserving of legitimate acknowledgement. 'Petulant' too denies legitimate acknowledgement with a connotation of irrationality or unreasonableness. Someone who reacts petulantly can be described as being 'over sensitive', therefore implying that any complaint or critique can be rejected as not founded in reality. In essence, "whining" is not a social good, thus women who are viewed as 'whining' are accorded lower social status and less power. This represents Discourses that communicate a construction of appropriateness, specifically gendered constructions that attempt to control of critique women's identification of issues.

Additionally, the extract above relates to Conversations on gendered differences of career path and development. Participant 7 positions women in two categories – those who are aware of choices that must be made and those that are not. The inference that can be

drawn from her connection of being "aware" with "whining" is that it is inherently negative because it is contrasted with 'choice', which more often than not denotes a positive activity due to its associations with alternatives or variety.

As stated earlier, Participant 7 presents complex understanding of normative assumptions of gendered behaviour and the effects thereof as experienced in her field. She states that she initially thought of herself as having denied her femininity, thus the gendered assumptions of behaviour in her social environment were influential in her conceptualisation of herself. However, she later stated that she has become more "self-aware" and subsequently realised that she "wasn't lying" about "who I was" (G:192).

> I've now realised that there are some personality traits that I maybe thought of as male, but they're not they're just my personality traits. So I wasn't lying or anything that was just who I was as a person. I'm not someone who gives into my emotions easily, now it's not because I'm in denial, it's just who I am. It's not seen as a very feminine trait, but at the same time there are plenty of men out there who are emotional and deny that.

> I think, where the gender comes is in that there is an inherent nervousness before [the men] get to know you that because you are female you might not make it and equally so there is an inherent assumption that because you are male you're not gonna have any issues so when my male colleagues come up with what are termed as 'female issues', like being emotional *or whatever*, then it's almost like the rest of the colleagues are surprised and when on the converse when the female proves herself they are like "o wow".

Here Participant 7 again projects an identity of being a woman in a male dominated field but constructs it within an environment that she recognises as biased towards both genders by relying on "pseudo-gender trait[s]", that is, traits that are not true gender traits but have been categorised as male and female. Although not a directly corresponding Discourse, a link can be drawn between Participant 7's conceptualisation of pseudo-gender traits in her workplace environment and the legal ramifications of similarly unquestioned normative

assumptions of gender behaviour and characteristics. For example, (as discussed in Section 1.1.2) how fathers are included in childcare policies and the assumption of presuming female-headed childcare and the ways in which it affects women's ability to partake in the workforce and prevents men from sharing in a parental responsibility.

4.7   Women in academia: last words

Participant 2 stated that she feels that women have to prove themselves as capable, whereas men do not, but ended our discussion by stating that she feels that the university as a whole is fair and acknowledges that some opportunities for research, funding, and mentorship programmes might be available to her because she is a woman.

> "I do think that for women, that, where men can get away with doing 50%, we have to do 75%—or no we have to do 100% what are we talking about. We have to do over and above, and I think this is the whole thing with the work environment, there's almost this sense that you can't just be good you've gotta be *way* and above in order to be on the same competitive level as your male peers."

Participant 7 made mention of a similar perception, but related it to student reactions to her as woman in her field and that they do not "identify her as a ((professional))" because they make an implicit assumption of 'being male' being equivalent to being a professional in her field.

Participant 3 described her experiences at her university thus far as "interesting" but stated that she feels there is "no lack of issues". She mentions she took on a mentorship role, not because she necessarily wanted to, but because she does not want to perpetuate a system of which she is aware and feels is disadvantageous to some. She concluded that problems cannot be solved from the top down alone and that "we all have to (H) be prepared to roll our sleeves up and try to help out wherever we can".

Participant 6 placed her interview within the broader discussions that society needs to have on social issues. She concludes that there are many obstacles left to overturn and that women have "a long, long walk ahead".

> *It's a long* – can I swear? – it's a long fucking walk to (?). <LO Women have a long, long walk ahead LO> And if people tell me woman have achieved what they wanted, they can think again. Because we live in a place where we had a *sports council* who didn't know what to do with someone like Caster Semenya. We have a president who says, when an international journalist asks him "what do your wives say about this?" he says, "I don't know, they do what I tell them to". We can just walk outside in the street to see what a long way women have to go, we can go to all the shelters and see what is happening to women and they think that they do not have the right to speak up against abuse. They do not have the right to say "this is *my body*, I do not want this to be done to me"…

Lastly, Participant 1 stated that that she is "reasonably happy" at her university. She feels that she has a "good work environment" and that, although she has considered leaving for a "better job would allow me to do different things and more things", her university offers many benefits and that there is for her, ultimately, no reason to leave.

4.8   Concluding remarks

The aim of this chapter was to provide an analysis of the narratives of seven female participants from a South African university. In particular, I aimed to identify the linguistic and discursive features used by the women to talk about gender-related issues, and then interpret these features using Gee's concepts outlined in the first section of this chapter. In the following chapter, I comment on the similarities between the linguistic and discursive features, and elaborate on how the participants expressed an attitude towards particular issues, thereby drawing on dominant societal ideologies.

CHAPTER FIVE

Conclusion

This study set out to present a critical discourse analysis of data derived from semi-structured interviews with seven female staff at an institution of higher education. The main questions guiding the study aimed to direct attention to whether or not women in academic positions experience themselves as equal to their male colleagues, and whether or not they experience gender-related biases. In order to address these questions, the researcher identified linguistic and discursive strategies used by the women to talk about equality and bias and examined whether these strategies pointed to larger societal ideologies about gender and the workplace. These ideologies were discussed in Section 2.3. Chapter Two also focused on the central concepts and theoretical framework of this study. Particular attention was given to Gee's theoretical concepts, which include 'situated meaning', 'socially situated identities', 'social goods', 'Conversations' and 'Discourses'. These theoretical concepts were used as guides for interpreting the data.

Overall, due in part to the structure of the interviews, it was found that the participants structured their narratives around central themes which included motherhood and career, career development, remuneration, harassment, student perceptions of gender and gender roles. While Chapter Four drew comparisons between the participants in their interviews, this chapter draws more specifically on Gee's theoretical concepts in order to uncover shared linguistic and discursive features of the narratives. In addition, this chapter identifies the linguistic and discursive strategies used by the participants to express attitudes towards particular issues. Given the social-situatedness of the participants, these attitudes are considered representative of broader social ideologies regarding these issues.

5.1   Shared linguistic and discursive features of gender narratives in an HE workplace

In Gee's work on discourse (2011, 29:34), he separates "small d" discourse from "big D" discourse. "Small d" discourse refers to a general idea of discourse, that is, representing ourselves through language. It is pure language-in-use, but it does not function in isolation.

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Whatever we verbalise is still a representation of ourselves and must therefore be socially, culturally or institutionally accepted (Gee, 2011:16). This is "big D" discourse. It is the combination of language and social practices as they are defined by social boundaries. "Big D" discourses are essentially contextualisation cues – they tell us something about the speaker, the social institutions that they take part in, assumptions that they make and how they understand their experiences (McGregor, 2004; Tyson, 1999:281).

Socially situated identities are how we use discourse to enact a certain identity. Social and personal dimensions such as gender, age, ethnicity, occupation, socioeconomic status or regional territory influence the choice in identity (Bamberg, 2012). Identities are never constant and context largely determines which identities are chosen when, and where (Gee, 2011:19). "Big C" Conversations are a broader version of intertextuality. In intertextuality, words and texts relate to other words and texts; in Conversations, words and texts relate to public debates or themes. In this thesis, the role of gender conceptualised as Conversation because it is related to broader debates on discrimination. It also involves the more restricted question of a distinction between being an academic and being a woman academic, in terms of experiences and expectations.

Almost all the participants acknowledge or are aware of some sort of gender inequality or bias in their workplace. The participants use a wide array of discursive strategies to either orientate themselves toward the context (that is, to confirm gender differences, bias or discrimination), or to contradict the context (that is, by refuting or overlooking in some way that with which they are confronted). Where participants contradicted the context, some aspect of their narrative made it clear that gender roles and normative assumptions often become so entrenched in societies and institutions that the participants themselves consider these roles and assumptions as standard.

As established in Section 2.3.1, the typical career paths of women and men in academia differ greatly. The childbearing years coincide with the early years of academic life, the years in which an academic career is established. As a result, women are not viewed as "ideal worker" (Kittelstrom, 2010; Pauw, 2009:73; Riordan & Louw-Potgieter, 2011:157). Additionally, the productivity of women academics is more affected by childcare than men

academics (Kittlestrom, 2010; Wolf-Wendel & Ward, 2006:490). This burdens women with a "double duty" that is not as regularly shared by men (Bhana & Pillay, 2012:83,86,91; Pauw, 2009:73,74; Barkhuizen & Rothman, 2008:332; Riordan & Louw-Potgieter, 2011:159; Prozesky, 2008:62; Walker, 1998:344). This "double duty" can be conceptualised as a Conversation regarding the role of women academics, of which most of the participants are aware and allude to in some way. Further, socially situated identities were expressed in interesting ways during the interviews. It became clear that the participants were adept at switching between identities as women, identities as mothers, identities as women academics and identities as academics in general. Several times participants highlighted the distinction between, specifically, 'women academic' and 'academics'. They conceptualised and understood 'women academic' differently than 'academic', in that it automatically includes facets of child and family responsibilities and choice and balance. In fact, Participant 4 constructed the ideal position of "woman academic" as having achieved a work-life balance.

It was clear in all the interviews that the participants metaphorically constructed the career development of an academic as a "journey" that was more difficult or challenging for women then for men. For example, Participant 3 states "women have a long, long walk ahead". In doing so, the participants constructed the journey for men as not only easier but "the norm"; a progression from achieving a PhD to conducting research and attending conferences. In contrast, the participants constructed their own journeys as different from the norm and interrupted by milestones that do not apply to men. Similarly, while the participants often claimed that gender or gender discrimination was not a big issue at their institution, they often implicitly incorporated gender constructs or Conversations into their discourses. The most prominent example of this is reference to 'emotion' and the social construct that women are more emotional than men are. This was most evident in Participant 7's claim that she is "not someone who gives into my emotions easily", and her reference to "whining" women. But, it was also evident in Participant 3's mention of the idea that women who negotiate salaries are more considered more "aggressive" or masculine, thus alluding to stereotypical gender roles.

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5.2   Linguistic and discursive strategies used by the participants to express attitudes

As stated in Chapter Two, Bhana and Pillay (2012:84) conceive of universities as institutions that are embedded in Discourses of gendered division of labour, cultures and hierarchies of power. Ideologies, as expressed and reproduced through discourse, are "linguistic conceptualisation[s] of the world" (Fairclough, 2011:358). Discursive practices produce and reproduce power relations between groups, such as women and men, through the ways in which groups, individuals and things are represented and positioned. As stated in Chapter Two, ideologies become apparent in the attitudes expressed towards issues.

In all of the interviews the participants express some form of attitude towards the topic being addressed. For example, while discussing remuneration many of the participants expressed attitudes relating to justice and transparency in terms of pay. In ideological studies of discourse, analysts frequently pay attention to what is said in contrast to what is not said and how speakers construct complex issues in binary terms. Considering this, if remuneration is an issue that can be constructed in terms of justice/injustice and transparency/ambiguity, the participants, while drawing on their socially situated identities as women academics, frequently construct the topic of remuneration in terms of injustices and ambiguities, rather than in terms of justice and transparency.

Similarly, all the women used linguistic devices such as words, phrases and metaphors to discursively construct 'harassment', which was conceptualised as a socially-constructed Conversation. This means that what constitutes harassment in one context (inappropriate jokes and comments, for example) does not constitute harassment in another, but that the participants draw on Conversations about harassment that is specific to their cultures. In their narratives, most of the participants offer an attitude towards harassment that constructs it as an activity that, when confronted with it in an "appropriate work environment", the best course of action as "an appropriate worker" is to ignore it. Thus, an attitude of normalcy is expressed. This indicates that the participants are not entirely liberated from a patriarchal ideology that typically, and by definition, privileges men's voices and social constructions and behaviour over their own.

5.3   Summary of research aims and achievements

The suggestion that gender roles or gender discrimination is no longer evident in HE institutions was problematised in this study. By conducting semi-structured interviews with female academics, I attempted to provide an understanding of their experiences and perceptions in an institution that was previously considered the domain of men. In my analysis, I found that the participants used a variety of linguistic and discursive strategies to construct their work contexts as a complex mixture of sociocultural, gender and institutional issues. However, it was often clear in the way that some participants expressed attitudes towards topics like remuneration and family that they themselves were not aware of the role that historical and contemporary gender inequalities influenced their narratives.

5.4   Suggestions for further research

This concluding section offers a number of ideas as to how the research presented in this chapter can be taken further.

While Gee's model of CDA was a useful tool for analysing the discourses of women in higher education, the study was limited to seven female participants from one university. Discourses influence and are influenced by their contexts and so a cross-referential study of various universities could prove to be interesting as the experiences encased within institutes of higher education may not alike. Additionally it could be interesting to see if, and how, the experiences of academics at historically advantaged universities contrast with the experiences of academics at historically disadvantaged universities. Such a study would present an opportunity for more detailed or more complex research.

Furthermore, most studies on gender in higher education have investigated only women. Further studies should therefore include male participants, or a male-only sampling. This would not only add significantly to the literature on gender in higher education, but would also provide an understanding of whether the experiences of women academics are largely gender-specific, as well as where gendered experiences overlap with the experiences of men. An additional dimension of sexual orientation can also be added to further studies;

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specifically how same-sex partners are affected by these ideologies, as well as how the ways in which they are perceived may affect their roles and function. Overall, there remain many rich areas of research for the linguistic and discursive construction of experiences in higher education.

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APPENDIX A

Interview guide

- In your opinion, are men and women treated equally at [the university]?

- Do you feel that men and women at [the university] are treated equally in the following areas? (Mention potential areas of interest such as remuneration (lower salary), family-friendly policies, IT services, promotion opportunities, annual leave, flexible working)

- If you feel any of these areas as where men and/or women are treated less favourably, please elaborate.

- Do you feel the staffing gender balance of your department is about equal/too many females/too many males?

- Do you feel that your department and/or faculty affiliation has a gender inclusive culture?

- Have you been unable to access any services, or participate in any activities because of your gender? For example – classes or meetings clashing with childcare arrangements.

- Do you feel that your department and/or faculty affiliation has an established gendered pay gap?

- Have you ever applied for maternity leave and if so, what was your experience?

- If you, personally, were ever unfairly treated, discriminated against or bullied at work did or do you feel it was due to your gender? (Ask for elaboration on the circumstances pertaining to the event, the date, time and/or place)

- Did you feel that you were experiencing indirect sex discrimination (applying a condition or requirement that is to the detriment of the person in question who cannot comply with it, but cannot be justified as applicable regardless of the sex to whom it is applied), so this is, e.g. do you feel you have had to 'prove' yourself more that a male colleague for, e.g. promotion?

- Marital status?

- What steps did you take to resolve the issue (if any)?

- Were you satisfied with the way your issue was handled and resolved?

- Are there any issues with students?

- Have you ever been unfairly treated, discriminated against or bullied at an institution other than [the university]?

- Have you ever been sexually harassed at [the university]?

- Are there any other important gender issues or topics (for one or either sex) that you view as important?

- Are there any particular gender equality issues (affecting both genders) that you would like to see [the university] address?

APPENDIX B

Transcription key

(?)	Inaudible speech
( )	Words in (brackets) are best guesses as to what was said
Emphatic	Emphasis is italicised, indicated by either loudness or a pitch change
,	Comma indicates slight pauses
.	Full stop indicates final pitch glide. May apply to the end of a sentence, the end of a turn or some other discourse unit.
?	Question mark indicates normal interrogative (also when an appeal would be unclear on paper)
[pause]	Indicates lengthy pause (one second or more, time included in bracket)
…	Indicates trailing off speech (particularly at end of sentences) OR extension of a word
{ }	Non-verbal communication
_____	Indicates replaced words (e.g., the name of a speaker, other people a speaker may know, places a speaker has visited, faculty, etc.). IF a first name is used it is a pseudonym.
(( ))	Indicates replaced word – usually a generic term or description if not left blank (see above)
—	Em-dash indicates when a speaker doesn't finish an utterance or word, e.g. changing their mind mid-sentence
=	Latching, when one speaker follows another without overlap or pause.
//	Onset of simultaneous speech

These following notations were used sparingly, to indicate just those phenomena that are of special interest and consequence for the spoken interaction.

(H)	Audible inhalation
(Hx)	Audible exhalation
<WH WH>	Voice quality: whispered

<LO LO>	Voice quality: lowered pitch level
<TRM TRM>	Voice quality: tremulous
<@ @>	Voice quality: laughing quality over a stretch of speaking; that is, laughter during the words enclosed between the two @ symbols, otherwise non-verbal communication in {brackets} at end of utterance
<BR BR>	Voice quality: breathy
<SGH SGH>	Voice quality: sighing

Common words in spoken dialogues

Filled pause	Um + uh
Agreement	Okay (kay, mkay, umkay)
	Uh-huh, uh-hm, mm-hm, mm
Word pairs	lemme ("let me")
	Wanna ("want to")
	Gonna ("going to")
	Gotta ("have to")

APPENDIX C

Participant 1

I: So you obviously know [the place] quite well then // having been a student here. So what do you feel about the institution in general, do you think there is an equal balance, do you think men and women are treated equally at an institutional level?

P: // Yeah

The problem I think, is that um one cannot really measure yourself up to other people because there's things that you don't know. Like you sign a contract saying that you won't discuss your salary with anyone else, so you do not know what anyone else earns. And so you can't make the distinction—you can't say for example, I cannot say that um maybe a male colleague on the same level, he's being advantaged above me *financially* because I don't know. So there is very much of a, you know, closed culture (with certain things) and that prevents one from actually saying, "O but I, on a financial level o but I feel like I'm being disadvantaged".

I: Do you think that's a good thing, that there is a closed culture or do you think it should be more open?

P: Well I think for transparency purposes it should be more open. Um there should at least be some way uh of um ensuring that all of us are on the same level you know, when it comes to qualification and remuneration, that there is some correspondence between the two. I don't know if anyone has done any research on it but you would need that kind of transparency when someone does research on this as well.

I: So you can't talk obviously about a financial aspect but is there something else maybe that you have noticed, something in your department just the way people are treated? Or maybe in a broader scale, uh you know, flexible working hours or family friendly policy or…

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P: This department is very family friendly. The head of department has two young kids, most people here have had children or have children. People are really aware of what it means to have kids. And we don't have a situation where people frown upon you when you get pregnant or something, it's very supportive. I mean they had a baby shower for me in the department. So those are the kinds of things we have and all colleagues come to the baby shower and people bring you gifts and—we have a very collegial department. And everyone does their work as individuals but when we get together, you know, we do get together we support. So, I don't feel as if in my department, that there is any kind of um gender discrimination, you know. Because we do, I feel free to go to my head of department and say to him look I'm having this this and this issue. And as a dad who's also taking up *his* responsibility *fully*, he does… understand when things, when you need to go or something of the sort so we have quite a—it's a nice place to be in that way, where with your *parental* responsibilities where you don't feel like you are being discriminated against because you are a parent, or because you're a woman.

I: That's very nice to hear because from what I've read had, it seems to be yes the department—work is supportive but more of the fact that, sort of, you are doing a women's role, you are raising your children you have to do this you have to do that, there's no sort of… "O I am a man I also have children hence I know", it's "o I have a *wife* hence *I* know". It's more like that=

P: It's not like that here it's more, it's mainly I think from our head of department's side, it's more like he knows what it means to have kids, he's raising two *very* young children at the moment, so he knows the demands and he has complete understanding for it and also I know some of my colleagues or one of my colleagues has kids in school. So she has to go and pick them up and drop them off at aftercare or things like that and there's, you know you never have it in a department meeting or anything where it's mentioned that "o so and so had to go do so and so" there's nothing like *that*. So on that level no, but just thinking on the university level I know that there are some people, some women, who feel that there is a need for us to start lobbying the university for… childcare facilities because that is something—and it's not

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only the women that are gonna use it I mean, younger daddies or daddies who are having children now tend to be a lot more proactive?

I: Ja I agree, ja.

P: So, I think that they would also start to to think about (you know…)

I: There was apparently… // a couple of years ago.

P: // Yes yes, there is… It was, it was affiliated to ((local day-care centre)) I'm not sure how, I'm not sure what the arrangement is, and I'm not sure what the current debates are? It may be that they want one dedicated to academic staff… or *not to* academic staff, to every, to every staff member but, probably a facility that offers a certain level of uh... could I say education?

I: O yeah yes yes of course // that would be supported ja

P: **//** We are educationist. Ja they would look at that and go "ooh we don't want our kids to go anywhere"… maybe, I'm not sure whether that's the case but that is one thing that we lack here is is, um *that* childcare for the university. Like for us staff here because that would make life I think a lot easier for many people especially if you have something like *aftercare*, where you can pick your kids up from school and take them to a place where you know they're going to be safe and and you know you can pick them up after.

I: And hopefully maybe close to campus…

P: That's it. Close to campus is one that *you* feel comfortable with. That's always the thing for parents (?)

I: So you say you've, you obviously have a very inclusive culture here, but just in general what is your relationship like with your male colleagues, or even if they're not male colleagues but they're post-grad male students, masters, doctoral students…

P: Well I don't have any male masters of doctoral students, I only have women. I… don't find—I don't have a… I don't know what, <@ I don't know how to explain @>, lemme think. I don't have an *odd* relationship with them. As in…we will stop along the road and chat, as with some of my—with my older male colleagues no. *But* when it comes to academic stuff I feel free to go and knock on their door and ask for advice always, so I just walk up the corridor 'hi!' {waves} and chat.

I: So professionally there is an open relationship, //right?

P: //Yes yes yes. We don't see each other socially. Occassionally you know someone will invite you to a uh birthday or something, but not too much. And but professionally we're fine. You do feel that you can go and ask your questions or you can tell your colleagues "o there's this problem and that problem" and ask for advice about research and things like that. But you don't feel like you're a… a woman (?) you know. We don't get that feeling around here and also I think we're the _____ department we're not going to – ja, look I don't think we're the type of women who are going to sit back and allow ourselves to be steamrolled we—and also I mean, we're um my work is in, some of my work is in gender equality promotion and _____ is here and she is very orientated towards gender equality promotion so we, we are going to see the signs when they are there, and we will respond appropriately but in this context I haven't seen anyone actually respond from that perspective. To you know, "I have to stand up for my rights as a woman", I've never come across that in my years that I've been here.

I: Do you know of anyone else who's maybe seen that?=maybe not something like overt discrimination but, you know an odd comment that someone makes…a blonde joke or something.

P: We tend to be quite, we tend to take jokes quite lightly, most of the time. If someone does make an inappropriate joke, they will know {laughter>. So…um no I don't=

I: Do people make inappropriate jokes?

P: *Rarely*, rarely. And they will also tell you, it's usually in the context of something else, like, "someone thought that I would find this funny"//

I: **//**O… all right, okay.

P: **"**So I think I should share it", in that context, so occasionally it would be something like that.

I: So more an interesting story than "o I heard this really funny joke" type thing=

P: =And the funny jokes are usually very funny and *not* discriminatory or anything.

I: In your years at the university not just as a lecturer in this department, have you ever been sexually harassed?

P: No.

I: Have you ever seen it, have you ever heard of the story of a colleague or a friend?

P: Um…[pause 3] I've heard, but it wasn't people who say they have been sexually harassed. It's more like people who don't like comments, certain comments that some people may make or uh ja. In that context, but never uh, o someone, as in verbally or physically (?). It's just some (?), but it was more students…than um…

I: Student to student? Or…?

P: Student to me.

I: Student to you?

P: Ja, but it was it was, it wasn't *saying* sexual harassment or something, it was just making a comment "o I don't like how someone talks or something".

I: O, okay

P: But not, it's not, uh…

I: But did you feel—you did not feel it was sexual harassment?

P: I didn't feel it was sexual harassment. I know, the context, I know the person. And the person doesn't mean it in that way because I've known him for *years*. So um it was more like, they just don't like it, the way the person sometimes says things. But it isn't overt or directed at them in that way=

I: =Orraait.

P: Ja.

I: In your department, do you have, do you have that huge age gap, between people who have been here a long time and people //who are just starting?

P: //Well, we are the youngest ones um in their thirties. The oldest one… in their 50s.

I: So it's not such a big gap, because that seems to lend itself to issues.

P: Uh no, and also as I said I think things are very different here. We have, with each other, we have a very different relationship—collegial relationship ja, and there's nothing there that, of that nature that I know of.

I: Do you have any work experience at a place other than [the university], as a student maybe, a part-time job?

P: Yes, when I was—well there was work experience but it wasn't really remunerated it was uh I did the degree so I did um an internship at the provincial administration for a year, ja we did that kind of work.

I: How was that?

P: Interesting.

I: Interesting?

P: Ja, I worked with a gender unit so it was interesting. I worked for the office on the status of women and um [pause 2] at that point I only had a deputy director.

I: Only a deputy director?

P: Ja. And then a researcher, I was the researcher and um and then they had uh, a few administration staff and a few other deputy directors for other portfolios.

I: Did you have any issues there ever?

P: Yes, I actually did.

I: Did you?

P: Ja, I've never told anyone about that.

I: Okay… do you mind talking about it?

P: Yes and no {laughter}. I've never told anyone about it but I *should*. I did have an experience there of sexual harassment like physical. One of the deputy directors there came into my office and kissed me, and said "considering it your birthday" and then he walked out. And I just sat there and I went "Omg omg omg, <@ what am I supposed to do about this?" @> But I just wrote it off and I thought—he never tried anything again and he never, you know, made any untoward advances or anything and <WH I thought that was just super WH> [Hx]. And so I left it at that and I never told anyone about it because I thought "ja… he's not bothering me and it's over and he didn't try anything again"—but I think at the time I was kind of nervous, because I was working in an environment where, I was working in an office *way* at the back and their offices were all like that <gestures a rectangle>.

I: So you were stuck //in that little corner

P: Yes, so if he had tried anything I would have to beat him up because *no one* would hear, or no one—unless they come to the office to look for me or something I was quite in the back ja. So I think at that time, I was very um nervous. And I was a bit worried about whether he would come back.

I: So you were obviously uncomfortable there.

P: Very uncomfortable. But I worked my year out there and um everything turned out to be fine because he never tried to do anything and I <BR felt I don't quite understand where that came from BR> from his side, but ja… I was grateful that it had never happened again but it was an uncomfortable period.

I: You didn't hear any stories from other women who were working there?

P: No because there weren't any.

I: You were the only one?

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P: No no no, I wasn't the only woman. The others were deputy directors, so they were colleagues. And then there was an administration lady in there and a lady doing admin, so those were it. So… that was the only experience I had from, you know, from work experience other than the—and ja…

I: Thank you for telling me... So this is obviously a very different department from here to that.

P: Ja, well it's a very nice place to be and I've been considering for a few years now I should make a change in my job. Um because teaching just doesn't pay and I have my daughter and I have, you know there are things that I want to do for my family, maybe getting a better job would allow me to do different things and more things... But then I think about the nature of my job and my department and how I feel when I come to work and I wonder whether I'm going to get that somewhere else?

I: Ja, and should you leave that for this idea that maybe…// it does and maybe it doesn't.

P: //Yes, exactly. Because money *cannot* replace good collegial relations, it cannot replace (?) that you have, you know, in a work environment if you have a good work environment then that's something you really must consider. It's a desirable thing. It's desirable. So then you weight things up and you say to yourself "no one watches over me here", if I have a problem I know who to talk to. Um I get to do things that I like doing, I like my teaching, I like my research, these are things that I enjoy doing— reading and working on… I have my own office. Nice view… there's all of these benefits. [The place] is a lovely town to be in, and so there's, you just go on the checklist, where's your reasons to go?

I: Someone in my department said that "academics are the most well travelled poor people."

P: Yes, we are the most //well travelled poor people.

I: //Which was a lovely description I think ja…

P: I think about my colleagues (all in _____), most of them are, for the—our international conference and… I am not ready to leave my baby yet, to go away for so long and everything.

I: How old is=

P: =She's eleven months. Ja so, and also I didn't think about going last year, or else I may have gone because my friend is _____ and she's expecting twins. That would have been lovely to see her and her husband again but ja, that's the thing. My colleagues are gone, sometimes, during the year. They're going to _____, they're going to _____, to _____, going to teaching fellowships and so on and so forth. And ja, well-travelled poor people is *definitely* the right phrase.

I: You said you uh you never had an issue in your department with maternity leave and sort of family-friendly policy stuff um. Did you take maternity leave?

P: Yes yes, 5 months. I took my, I kept my leave and then I took four months from the university. And the only thing they have here is if you take four months you have to sign a contract to say that you will stay here for a year. Or else they only give you 75% I think of your pay to work for…

I: Okay sort of to work back those months?

P: Something like that ja. They don't want you to come from maternity leave and then you go "o I want to be a mommy for ever" or you know something like "arg I don't want to work here anymore" so… protecting their interests? But it's not such a painful thing to do, but uh to sign and I did because I didn't have any immediate plans to leave, ja so I took, I have five months. Nice thing is they find someone to teach my course work, the rest of the stuff I've done myself already and moved whatever I could to the first semester so I could um could block teach and teach everything

finished, so the majority of the work I did *myself* and then the next month that I was off only one person had to be, had to come in to teach my course.

I: So that was fine actually, there were no issues at all.

P: Ja, that's the thing here, if you need to be off then they make arrangements. You've just, you've just early enough time you say "oh I need to be off at this point for da di da di da", and usually it's legitimate reasons. I want research leave or this leave or that leave and then the arrangements are made.

I: Okay. Do you have any last comments, about working as a woman academic or working at [the university]?

P: I'm *reasonably* happy at [the university]. As a women academic here I don't feel that I'm being disadvantaged, I think maybe in comparison to my colleagues at other universities I may be quite advantaged, with the resources that I have and not only the intellectual resources but the physical resources of the library, the funds that are available to go and you know, to do research, the contacts the university has with other universities for teaching fellowships, the departmental level and at university level. So I feel advantaged here because there are lots of opportunities that one can use and within my department I feel that people are supportive and they encourage you to, to do your best and and so forth, so I don't feel here that as a women I am a thumb. I think we are all here under a thumb, we're under a different thumb. We're under the thumb of a… different way of thinking about how a university should run. The thumb of the new public management thumb. Like, you know previously we didn't have to keep office hours, now we are prescribed hours to be in the office and all of these kinds of things. So I think as men and women academics at the university we're coming under a thumb.

I: There's not that freedom anymore.

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P: No, no, you feel sometimes, you feel a bit trapped. Or I feel a bit trapped. Because I met one of my old lecturers the other day and I told him "o how are you?" and "I have to go off to the office" and and, we chatted for an hour and it was great because I was learning about things I would have *no* insight to, but because he is on the ground busy with something new—retired man. And willing to share.

I: Which unless=

P: =I took that hour to sit there, hour and a half to chat to him=

I: =Would never have happened.

P: *Exactly*. And *that* can be inspiration for future research, or for teaching. Because it gives you a different understanding of what is currently happening in South Africa that you were not aware of. But because he's he's, analytically astute, his analytical brain is constantly processing, he's *able* and *willing* to talk about what he sees and with his years of experience life experience, he can offer so much more in terms of deepening my understanding, than I would be able to get from a book… right? So that's an example of how one feels trapped. There is an opportunity to learn something *quite* significant. But you're constantly checking your watch because you are supposed to be in the office. And in *his* day, they didn't need to be. And there other universities who don't apply this kind of, management strategy.

I: Do you think it works?

P: No! I mean, it works in the sense that it… <SGH I think it creates resistance SGH>, and feelings of of um what do you call it? Feelings of anger I think, towards management for trying to box us when we can do so much better—I wrote my PhD sitting in the lounge of my flat. So there is a different kind of pressure—there is a different, and it's not gender related but it is, it is affecting us all, male and female academics.

APPENDIX D

Participant 2

I: I've looked at the departmental website, and um… you seem to have an equal number of females and males in the department. Is there a gender inclusive culture?

P: Yes.

I: Okay… does that translate to other aspects such as, equal promotional opportunities, flexible working hours? Or is it just a comfortable workspace but there are still these issues to be dealt with.

P: I think in terms of flexible working hours, it's it's one of the reasons why I am in this job and why I the academics. Um I have two children and I think having a boss who's also male, he has young kids and his understanding of that. So like it was my child's birthday yesterday—I came in late. And I left early, you know no one's asking me where I am or what I'm doing, you know there's just that environment that, that you are not micromanaged and especially when having children and trying to juggle.

I: So it's all supportive of that. Of having to look after a family and having family stuff.

P: Ja, so there is that and that's why I feel that I can do both. And I really appreciate the environment that I work in and I *love* the academics and it's for me great however, there is a dilemma for me that I realise that, I cannot aspire to be a top academic. And I mean, listening to a conversation the other night with the dean and him explaining that there's a colleague—and she's a woman—in our department who publishes ten journal articles, probably international and she's just one of our top academics. And I can never aspire to that you know, and and I, I want the balance in my life. And=

I: =And you don't want to kick one out to get the other=

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P: =No. No, 'cause my family is more important than my job. And I love my job because I have an interest in it but, but there is a choice and my choice is that I cannot become a top—I cannot produce that kind of work, I just can't.

I: Do you think that's, that's more being a woman academic or do you think that is just being an academic? With a family.

P: I think it's being a woman academic <laughter>. As I've said I have a husband who's *incredibly* supportive but I'm still bietjie… homemaker care-giver to my children and I'm happy to do that, but=

I: But it does have, it does have inevitably, an impact.

P: Ja, but it's a choice that I have made, it's the life I want, it's the choice that I've made.

I: That's an interesting thing, most people I've interviewed make that very explicit. It's literally "this is a choice I made, I *know* this is the impact it's having this is the choice I made" which I find very interesting because I don't think, male academics with children will say the same thing. It's not 'I had a family and that is the choice I made' **//** it's just "I have a family and I'm still here". Alright=

P: **//**Ja they don't have to… = But you had another question, there were two parts to that, the one…

I: Well the promotional opportunities of course?

P: Well ja, I think there… and I'm not sure, I'm not sure if there is uh if it's a faculty specific thing, if it's a university specific thing or if it's a gender thing. Um but I find— and I've also spoken to colleagues, I mean, I've been lecturing for ten years. Um I… I've had my doctorate for the last three years, I've published you know, I publish at least one or two articles every single year so I mean I've published at least eight articles, I'm

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busy with a book, done my PhD… I mean I've done all the things and I'm still here on lecturer level. And that I, that I wonder about.

I: Okay…

P: I know that there is also a colleague of mine who—she for many years also sat at the lecturer level and she also kind of had to fight for eventually get to senior lecturer whereas if you compare some of the other people, some of the other colleagues, you know it seems that they get their senior lecturer a lot quicker. Now, if I compare myself to my husband, my husband is also an academic, and this is why I wonder if it's not a faculty thing because he is on the _____ and… he's a _____ and when he was appointed he was directly appointed as a senior lecturer. Whereas I was, I've been working my way up from a junior lecturer—temporary, junior, to lecturer and I'm still on the lecturer lever whereas my husband when he was appointed he was appointed *immediately* into senior lectureship. But it could also be because he was a professional, being a _____. But it still, it does make me wonder.

I: Okay, have you talked to anyone about that? Have you tried to figure that out?

P: Ja, my head of department and I we have chatted and I am—and this would also be—I mean I would like to tell you how it goes, because I, we discussed that this year I would apply for it, but it depends on my book. The book is coming out, so my expectation is that I will get it, this year, as soon as my book comes out. If I don't get it that is going to be highly problematic. But ja then again it might be a budgetary constraint, I'm not sure.

I: But do you know? That is the question // Is the system transparent?

P: // *I don't know*. I don't know. Well their not gonna say well you know "look you're a female" <laughtering>=

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I: =No of course not, but there are some other ways to work around that, thinking up some other excuse and you have to "o but you published only two articles instead of three", etc. So, having, but ja—being in _____, it must, it must make it, well, not easier, but you know if someone is being discriminated against or just something is not right, you just feel something is a little bit unfair or you could have a legitimate complaint, for a promotional opportunity… Do you think, being a _____ // being just— I should think, generally being more aware of issues like that // Do you think that does make a difference in this department?

P: **//**Mm-hm

//Mm-hm

I do. I do. And I think—we've got one of the top gender specialists, so if there is any unfairness she is going to pick up on that and she's gonna go with it. So as I said, as I explained in terms of my department environment I don't feel in any way that there is kind of a disparity or inequality and as you said if there is anything like that our department will pick it up. I think the nature of what we do, I mean if we can't be=

I: =Then no one else is going to.

P: Ja.

I: Um have you ever been sexually harassed, at this university or sexually assaulted or know of anyone…

P: No <shakes head>. Not at all.

I: Have you ever experienced anyone making, not overt comments but maybe just a joke that could be misinterpreted or comments about women academics or…?

P: [pause 1] No.

I: Alright, that's awesome. Do you have um any stories from ((previous employment))?

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P: I had one… but it was a combination. I taught _____, and I had one gentleman who stood up, and obviously he was black African and a male, and he stood up and said "how can you tell me anything about ((my culture))" and I *know* that it was more than a race thing, it was a gender thing as well. Um and I think, no, I think for me, it is important to go in and look like a professional and then you get the respect of your students. I do think that for women, that, where men can get away with doing 50%, we have to do 75%—or no we have to do 100%—what are we talking about. We have to do over and above, and I think this is the whole thing with the work environment, there's almost this this sense that you can't just be good you've gotta be *way* and above in order to be on the same competitive level as your male peers. And that's also when you go and you lecture because if you come with people looking at you=

I: =Immediately sort of thinking "really?"

P: "We're gonna receive from this person, this woman?"

I: Have students here been accepting or have they done or said anything?

P: No, no I've *really* never experienced that.

I: Do you think students here are really apathetic in general?

P: Ja. I don't really follow what they're doing and what they're up to in that way. Um but ja, I've never felt in any way that the students are discriminating against *me*, being a woman. I don't know if they discriminate against each other, but… ja.

I: If you were in another department do you think that it would be the same story? Do you think women academics in general—I mean you've said you think there is some extra issues to being a women academic, but what do you think about the other departments here or what do you think about the university at an institutional level, treats… different genders?

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P: Ja, I think because it's only my fourth year here I don't know, like administratively, I don't know those kind of management levels, I don't know there. But we can just see you know, the figures and then wonder and perhaps that says something. I would assume that perhaps that, that more in the _____ departments I would assume that is probably a more difficult environment for women. But I'm just assuming, I have no idea. I just know… The other thing that I would just like to say for the university, I have received a number of wonderful opportunities. And um like when I apply for funding I get the funding, if I apply for—like I'm on a mentorship programme where they really open doors and opportunities for me and I think part of that is also based on the fact that I am a woman that they've opened these opportunities for me.

I: But so there is a system for=

P: =Ja ja, for encouragement, for encouraging women. I must actually give that. My concern is the promotional. That's where I wonder if there's fairness. And otherwise in terms of opportunities and funding that *does* seem to be fair.

I: You are not the first person who mentions the promotional opportunities. That does seem to be an issue in other faculties as well. And I think that's why, that was interesting for me because I picked universities for a reason *because* they're so steeped in tradition and it does change very very slowly even if it doesn't look that way from the outside, but it does, especially in any other faculty besides _____, where there are much more men than women.

P: I would imagine their experiences are a lot more problems than ours ja.

I: Ja ja, so it does unfortunately—there still seem to very much issues in some places. Okay. Any last comments about anything, the [the university]?

P: Ja no… as I said, I have—I must give the other side because it's been wonderful…

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APPENDIX E
Participant 3

I: So working at [the university], in this faculty, is that a comfortable position for you?

P: It is comfortable, from a work perspective. I mean I think that we've got quite, I mean we've got good hours, we've got good benefits, I mean from that perspective but it was quite difficult for me to find a role here, in this quite Afrikaans environment. That was very challenging for me in the beginning.

I: Was language an issue in terms of maybe staff meetings, people not speaking English, or sort of just ignoring the fact that they should be speaking English?

P: I think it was twofold that on the one hand, I felt that people didn't take me seriously in the beginning, like I was this tourist or visitor that was just flying though. That was probably going to leave within the next year. So once I passed that hurdle it became better, when people realised that I am actually here to stay. Um and then the language issue was very difficult in the beginning, because as you said we had staff meetings that were conducted *only* in Afrikaans and I had to use an interpreter service um which I still do actually even though my Afrikaans has improved, I mean I can understand *most* of a discussion these days. But it made me feel like a complete outsider, you know you'd sit with those headphones and you'd get the jokes five minutes after everyone so it created that barrier.

I: Quite literally the last one to laugh.

P: *Exactly*. However I've got wonderful people in my department that I uh that in my department we speak English in all the meetings so it's quite different, but it was difficult to fit into that structure.

I: The age-range of your department, is everyone sort of around your age or is it a lot of older people and a lot of younger people?

P: In the last two years we had a bit of a change—in the last year actually. When I came I think everyone was much older than me, but we have had two appointments since I came in which have kind of helped // Level it out a bit. One of which was a younger woman uh which, felt like that changed things quite dramatically actually but we are still in the minority so…

I: // Level it out…
How many women are you?

P: Okay well we are nine in my department, so with these two we are four women so… and we've got a person in the department, an older woman that has been a *tremendous* support.

I: So you do have someone up top someone who's been there someone who's been // at [the university] for a long time.

P: // Yes.
And that also came—even though she's South African, that also came from the outside with a quite English background. So she had both the language—I mean even though she spoke much better Afrikaans than I could dream of, she understood that perspective and at the same time she also understood you know, the *complex* position that women find themselves in here. I don't know about other faculties but this is quite a strange place.

I: Are you very aware of some sort of non-inclusive gendered culture here?

P: Um I was *made* aware of that. I mean I think I was quite naïve when I came because I mean, I'm from _____ and we have a completely different set up. Not only when it comes to gender but also hierarchy, I mean I find this to be a very hierarchal system

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and then you add the gender aspect to that which, you know, it was extremely—I mean I didn't even understand first of all what was going on, I mean some of the comments were just… you know you couldn't believe that that could happen.

I: What type of comments would people make?

P: No man I think the general kind of way of approaching things you would hear jokes in the tearoom. I don't remember specifically but I remember thinking these are not the type of jokes I would hear back home… That would offend someone easily. Or you would feel that people were kind, but yet kind of patting you on the head you know=

I: =O yeah slightly patronising // little girl

P: //Exactly. Exactly. It was very long before I felt that people took me *seriously*. Even though I think that's a combination of many things, being a foreigner an outsider, not speaking Afrikaans fluently and the fact that I teach a subject that—I mean I teach _____, which is not proper _____ in many people's eyes here. So I think it was a combination of many things, so there was a lot of times that I felt I had to prove myself in all sorts of different um in different settings. But I must say that the colleague that acted as a uh I mean she volunteered to be a mentor. I think that was the difference between, quitting and continuing.

I: I can imagine that makes a huge difference because if you did not have that person you might *never* have been taken seriously just because people are very stubborn // and traditional //, especially in a situation like this and especially in an old faculty like this. But just back to uh to what you said in the beginning, with your family, is it easy for you? Are there family friendly policies here to uh maybe go pick up kids or have to do this or have to do that?

P: //Mm-hm
           //Mm-hm

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Ja, ja I think, I mean… I actually don't think that the policies are family friendly, I just think that they are quite friendly to… people doing what they want <laughter>. So uh in that sense I feel that we've got a lot of space to organise our day the way we want to. So time wise, even if you work a lot you can work whenever you—I mean I usually work when the kids have gone to bed or um things like that so… But what surprised me when I came here from a *family* perspective was that it was extremely difficult to find a day care or, schooling was nothing that—I mean of course, schools are different here than from back home but just that whole kind of day care… I mean we were so used to that the university would you know—many employers back home=

I: =There is a day care facility _____ but it's not being advertised and it's not an official, a little bit of an informal…

P: And they don't wanna to take really small children. I mean we had a two and a half year old when we came here uh and they were not at all interested. And as you said it was very difficult to know actually what to do and how to do it and I see with my children now, my biggest boy he's five years old and he's started school and it surprises me that school is so much centred around stay-at-home moms still in 2012 that um I mean I just received an email now if we could not come and help out tomorrow between eight-thirty and eleven.

I: Assuming you have nothing to do // assuming you stay at home…

P: // Exactly.
I've got two classes at that time plus a whole lot of other issues that I have to deal with and *that* is something that would never happen.

I: This is great for me because you have this outsider perspective, so for me to see issues—because you lived in a completely different world "actually no this is a very patriarchal, traditional system"=

P: =*Extremely*

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I: Do you feel now that, now that you *are* taken seriously here as a women academic, do they act differently towards you or is it just in terms of formal situations that you feel taken seriously?

P: I think it's—there is a group of people that you've kind of gotten to know, that has accepted you for the person, I think for the person that I am. I think they um they respect me and they know what I can do. For the rest of the lot I think they just couldn't care less. I think they just ignore me. When there is a formal situation where you have to um where we have to engage they will engage and it helped a lot when I was appointed associate professor, before that=

I: =Because then you have some sort of official status.

P: Ja *that* is kind of something that you can't really… I mean before that you can just kind of…

I: Ignore someone…

P: Ja <WH "she doesn't have a qualification from [the university]" WH> you know… And then that mixture of ((my field of specialisation)) which isn't "proper" you know… But you know—okay so I was appointed and I had to go through that procedure you know when you appoint—I actually *applied* for my promotion because I would never have gotten that promotion if I hadn't applied for it I think. Uh so I forced them to look at my merits and once you've gone through that process *here* you know it's difficult really for them—for *anyone* really to say that you are not qualified enough.

I: If we decided you are // then you should be.

P: // Exactly. So I felt that that helped. It was a *hell* of a battle. It was actually *awful*. The whole process was… you know I felt that I had to really come out and show *everything* that I had and you know and um but it was worth it.

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I: So you felt you had to do more than someone else might have had to do?

P: (Hx) I don't know it could be… just my—I think I was very *sensitive* at that stage because that was two and a half years after I had—you know when you come to realise what this <@ place was about @> so I think on my part, I was most probably sensitive about it but at the same time, you know you would hear comments like uh you know "that was most probably a trade off". There was a man that also got his appointment at the same time and he didn't have a doctorate, but he was this _____ that you know so… you there were all these rumours trying to downplay uh

I: The legitimacy of your appointment.

P: Exactly. And it pissed me off to be honest, in plain language because I put everything that I had done, all my qualifications on the table and I asked them to scrutinize it and I don't think they could look the other way but at the same time you kept on hearing these things // It was very uncomfortable.

I: //Mm-hm
So these were your *co-workers* who were sort of… // saying these things?

P: *Ja*. You know you hear things. But it was not a very, *pleasant* uh procedure, and uh ja… I'm happy that I've been through that and I <LO *don't have to go through it again* LO>

I: Your other female colleagues, have you talked to them, have they ever had uh a story to tell?

P: <BR Ja BR> I um (H) I mean you try to—I think it's also because of my interest in these issues you know you try to listen in and hear and I mean we've had colleagues in other departments who have been denied uh promotions, even though it is quite clear that

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they should have been promoted… I really believe that we have a *huge* issue with salaries

I: Ja… and it's not transparent there's no system // in this university for viewing salaries ja

P: // (Hx) *Nothing whatsoever*
You've got these uh levels. And I mean we all know that uh women, *in general*, are not *great* in negotiating because we are in general too—and I think *especially* in this environment. Many of my colleagues that would *never ever* negotiate. They just take what they get. And that's that.

I: It's still sort of that idea of "men are assertive women are aggressive" and also the //, (H) women are raised to be very kind and nice and you don't sell yourself=

P: **//** Mm-hm
=Mm-hm. And if you do=

I: And this is exactly the environment in which you *should* be selling yourself.

P: Sure. And I mean the stamp or the reputation that you get if you're aggressive? I mean "aggressive"? You're not aggressive your just, kind of… you know I saw that when I asked for my promotion, it was not at all accepted. On the contrary, it was frowned upon like, "why? Why are you asking for this when you should wait? Until…"

I: Until what until?

P: Until someone forgets that=

I: =Some arbitrary…

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P: *Exactly*. So I mean, I believe that we have got a *huge* problem with that. And also the lack of a union. I mean from where I come from that is something that can balance that whole—I mean I understand the there is a beauty in every individual negotiating for their own salary… but it's also the strongest, you know the one that screams the loudest and is the most impossible that gets the biggest salary because you know… And that is *generally* not a women I would say.

I: No.

P: No. And I really felt that the lack of a union to turn to to say you know—I felt that that was a very good tool to turn to back home because you could you know "look at this, this is what I earn, am I being underpaid, overpaid, under worked, over worked, you know what's happening here?" And they would have the information, to actually say "you know, what you are spot on" or "you should actually go and have your salary negotiated".

I: Not just sitting here wondering…

P: Ja, *you don't know*.

I: Have you ever tried, not obviously an official union but have you ever tried to organise something, talk to women and get some sort of community?

P: Ja, I tried to talk—I mean I wouldn't say that this is only from a female perspective I tried to talk to my department and I raised the issue that I think that you know, faculty wide that we should have some sort a… *something*. Then of course, at that point they just laughed, you know <@"haha a union here in South Africa"@>, "erase that don't do that" because then you will be seen as a troublemaker.

I: That's very interesting considering we have unions, but, I suppose the idea of unions are very sort of…

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P: Ja I think its that whole idea of unions is something that would upset the whole thing and they just come around, turning over dust bins and doing horrible things [pause 1] Even though in most civilised countries the unions are the builders of…I mean for workers that—I mean even for academics, for people that have got higher educations I mean we—everyone belongs to a union which is a beautiful thing I think. Because you can you know—and I think it's good from a feminine perspective as well because you can actually have a little bit of bargaining power that you don't=

I: =You have a huge supporting set behind you ja.

P: Mm-hm.

I: Have you ever while you were here at [the university] you ever been sexually harassed? // or inappropriate comments—seen inappropriate comments happen…

P: // No.
No. Not in terms of body or you know *that* type of thing, I feel, that I have had comment—I mean I have been treated *differently* uh *definitely*, but not no I haven't been… no. I can't think of an occasion like that no.

I: Okay, do you have any stories about your students, a male student maybe questioning your authority… [pause 1] Or not calling you by your title?

P: *That* happens quite often, you know that they would call you uh "mevrou" instead of professor. Uh even though… okay so we've got mainly Afrikaans speaking white students, the thing would be, how I've come to understand the culture is… As long as I am a bit older they would still be somewhat respectful even though it might not go very deep, but they've got that=

I: Hence "mevrou".

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P: Exactly. So I think from the students vis à vis me I've actually never had any real problems, but I from time to time pick up on the problems the students seem to have with each other. I think basically… I mean some of the female students know that I am interested in women's rights, I make no fuss about that I use those examples in class all the time (H) I mean sometimes they do approach you and tell you a story about something that has happened or something that they find difficult.

I: So would that be another student uh // having trouble with a student?

P: **//** Ja

I mean I think many of the complaints or issues relate to the fact that the female students feel that the males are very dominant in class, for instance, that they don't feel that there is any space for them they're usually the quiet, hardworking ones. Usually the ones with good ideas and very clever (H) And they feel that they don't get space or that you know—sometimes I've had one or two indicating that they come and ask for notes and say, almost *demand* the notes because they know there are one or two women in class that, you know they're very… you know they take all the notes and they colour code it and they've got this fantastic file and they're like "give it to me" kind of thing. Also I've heard one or two things you know about, how they feel, you know they feel from the male res's that is a culture, or a subculture that I'm not *that* familiar with because we don't have that at home and how they've felt—you know I've heard sometimes that they've got quite aggressive way of introducing the first years you know, in terms of introducing themselves as you know uh the men as wolves and the women as prey and, you know those type of things, (H) (Hx) *ja* I don't even know how to, how to *approach* that.

I: Ja, I was in res for two years and I saw that, it's very um…

P: Extremely disturbing

I: … it's based on I think "be a man" and "be a women" but in very stereotypical terms and that does come across in class as well

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P: It is ja, and I… We've also had issues here, I think it was last year, a colleague of mine and myself we brought up one of the publications of the um what do you call it the _____ society, you know the students' association… where they had this ((faculty dance)) I think and then gave a report of that ((faculty dance)) and I also heard from a few of the female students that actually participated where this leader of the society had stood up on the stage and praised the faculty for having *the prettiest girls*. You know saying at least we're good for something you know we've got the prettiest girls and here we have all these accomplished uh=

I: Simply denying their=

P: =Exactly. "But they are so pretty" and I mean, that's why they're here, obviously for that purpose an uh when we brought it up with them and it became so... it was actually extremely interesting because we brought this up in a faculty board meeting to our, you know to our colleagues where there were student representatives from… And *how uncomfortable* our colleagues felt when we brought this up. Saying they couldn't understand—ja "what's the problem?"

I: Was it "o we were just giving them a compliment" type=

P: =*Ja*. And how you know, there were so many itching and twitching on the chairs because you know "arg what are they on again about those two now, do they have to do that all the time?"

I: Typical women and/or threatening our status quo…

P: Exactly and pick on something so childish, "I mean don't they have any proper research to carry out?" so that was the feeling I got and the student association obviously they listened, because I mean, here we are two professors they can't really say "o come on" but you could *see* that that was just flying *way* over, they couldn't understand that that could be, perceived as a bit, you know… It was just something

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that could be um what do you call it, not patronising but it's actually, I mean it's a very negative thing to say.

I: Ja ja, it does sort of uh *negate* all of the potential in women in that they're just being sexual objects // again, in that that's what you are you are only here for us.

P: // *Ja* you're just pretty
         // *Ja exactly*

I: So you would not be surprised if that happened again?

P: *No*! And I was less surprised with the reaction from the students and *more* surprised with <@ the reaction from my colleagues @> The fact that they couldn't really understand *why*... you know why is this important. In which I tried to make the point that it's important how we actually analyse how we *relate* to each other and what we say in a… I mean they act in a formal capacity, they are supposed to act on behalf of the students, and they are represented here at the faculty board and elsewhere. So of course they must now also be *mature* enough=

I: To deal with this if we think it is an issue.

P: Ja, I mean they wouldn't have gotten away with making a *racial* comment for instance, that would have been *discussed* and - so ja um there is at least a lot of things that one can you know um <@ deal with you know @> that's what's worth thinking about here.

I: Do you have any last comments about being a woman academic, in general, maybe?

P: [pause 1.5] I think it's *interesting*, I mean after I grew a bit of a thicker skin and actually felt that there was at least one or two, people that felt the same here, it's actually quite an interesting place to be this uh here in [the university] because you are constantly, I mean there is no lack of issues that you wanna // that you can and want to participate in…

I: // <laughter>

P: ...so I... I enjoy it um but if you had sat here um three years ago when I had just gone through my first year or perhaps just after I was promoted I would most probably have said that uh <@ I wanna go and do something else @> (H) What doesn't kill you makes you stronger so…

I: So it is getting better?

P: I think so. It's getting interesting at least and you can at least be part of changing something, and… I find it very interesting to engage with the students, you know to find out how they perceive themselves you know, and especially in the legal profession and at least we've got—I think we've got some sort of dialogue started here even if it's just in the initial phase… and I take it quite serious to try and support younger female colleagues, not to say that I necessarily want to be <@ support (?) that @> but you try at least to contribute to, the next level=

I: =Like that you don't feel that you're sort of perpetuating the system by, by not helping someone or mentoring someone else

P: Exact—I think you have to… I became *very* aware of the different levels of power structure here and I try to work everyday to change that. I mean we have just now had our first female—woman dean appointed…

I: O okay?

P: …which overnight changed many things here.

I: Like what changed?

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P: Um, I mean she's just *much* more sensitive towards these issues that we hassle with and has already started to interrogate you know, and ask and find information about how, how people feel about these things in the faculty which never happened before. And uh it creates a different feeling… when you know that you can actually go to someone and express these things without having to beat around the bush… You can call a spade a spade and someone understands, that makes a huge difference.

I: I can imagine that makes a huge difference.

P: [pause 2] Okay I think she's got *huge* expectations now to live up to and I think we all have to (H) be prepared to roll our sleeves up and try to help out wherever we can, but from my personal—from my perspective I think it's made a huge difference, when she came into the picture.

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APPENDIX F

Participant 4

I: Alright. What about at institutional level, do you have anything to tell me about [the university] at institutional level that bothers you?

P: At institutional level I am quite happy with [the university]. I got a bit of a run around from the research office initially but I think they were also building themselves up at that stage—but in general I would say that the research office is very supportive. Um I had recently had a lot of support with the faculty office and make contact with the HR lady there, Robyn, she's been very helpful. I think I have a good relationship with Amanda, who is the faculty manager.

I: And your department? Do you feel it is gender inclusive, too many males too many females?

P: Definitely too many males. My department has been *extremely* difficult on occasion… well um seeing as this is confidential—I am currently being treated for depression… my head of department is truly *awful*.

I: Okay

P: If I go back *further* when I first arrived, I was the first female appointment in this departments one hundred year history in 2004. And I was also the first, non-Afrikaans speaker ever. The first staff meeting that I had, which was about two weeks after I started, maybe a week before term started. The head of department basically started the staff meeting by saying well welcome to me and then "I hope you can just follow as best you can" and then just switched to Afrikaans of which of course I understood *absolutely nothing*. They had given me two subjects to teach, the practical class of which was at exactly the same time so I had to be—I had classes, something like 76 _____ students and 30 students for _____ and they, both their practicals were at two

to five on a Thursday afternoon and [pause 1] nobody seemed to think this was a problem. I had teaching for subjects that were *not* actually my research speciality. No one gave me any lecture notes… so I was buried in, seriously *buried* in lecture preparation. I developed a spasm in my neck that I had to go see a physiotherapist for because I couldn't get out of bed, without my husband's help. Because, she said it was because I was sitting here <moves to desk in from of computer> and I had the book on the side that I was working from here <gestures to spot next to computer> and I was just moving my neck side to side that the whole time. So constantly so that had given me this neck spasm and couldn't get out of bed… I was super stressed out, I didn't get good student feedback, they gave me a hard time about that (?) struggled to get back my (?) time. I was under a lot of pressure the first year to get grant applications in and (?) and I ended up writing three in the first year which all were rejected, basically on immediate submission for various technical reasons. Uh at the time uh I was under a lot of pressure to collaborate with staff members in the department who were all male (H) and two professors encouraged me to get involved in _____ work they were doing in _____ so I was doing that. I read up a lot on (?) grant application then when I went to go and submit it, they rejected it because they had also written a grant application on _____ and, *under pressure* I withdrew the grant application to become a co-author on their application. So I withdrew my grant application which I never subsequently resubmitted for various reasons. Um at the end of the second year we'd had some political turmoil in the department, the head of department had changed and I was, I think I—I think people expected me to be more *docile* than what I actually was. There was a lot of things I objected to the way the department ran and the way the students were treated and (Hx) anyway, I started bucking heads with a few people, I wasn't getting out any research which was making people unhappy um so when I submitted a grant application the next year, I had to then put—because I had initially been appointed on a three year contract. I then had to—when you go to the NRF site to submit something you have to say what your position is and then I had to say that it was a three year contract, it had started in _____, I was admitting the grant application so then it would start one year later and I'd only have one year of my position. So when I submitted the application the research office said we need some clarification of what your position in the department will be and I went to the head of

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the department at the time and I said—who I'd been having difficulties with—and I said I need some clarity on what my position will be because I had a two year probation period and I got the two-year probationary letter which said that I had *failed* my two-year probationary period [pause 1] and I wasn't quite sure what to make of this because I wasn't aware… like I didn't know *anybody* who had failed their probationary period, so that sort of—that was why I needed clarity because you know if there's not a problem with your probation period you expect your position to be continuing, but because they had elected to *not* pass me on the probationary period=

I: But were you informed before hand or was that the first time you found out?

P: From the research office?

I: Yes.

P: No no, I had received a letter so I knew about this, so this is why when I submitted the grant application the next year uh the timing was out… it's hard to remember exactly the timing, the order of things is correct but my timing might be out slightly. Uh so the research office wanted this clarity so I went to the head of department and he was of course "listen we've discussed this and we're waiting until the end of the year where we will discuss it", so I went back to the research office who said "no we need clarity" so I emailed—I forwarded the email that I had received from the research office and he then—this was a Monday I'll remember *this*, he emailed back and said okay, he is going to organise the meeting with two other members of staff and they will discuss my position and make a decision on whether or not it will be continued at the end of the year. And they will let me know on Wednesday. The meeting was Wednesday at four and they will let me know afterwards and on Wednesday's we had the departmental seminars and I organised the departmental seminars at five o'clock so Monday I went home, I was very upset because *now* suddenly I was in a position where I was gonna find out in two days time whether I had a job or not.

I: Very suddenly.

P: Very suddenly. I had been teaching my guts out… I had honours students, I'd had masters student, I didn't publish anything in ___ but I had a paper out the next year and two after that so they were already submitted in a year before… <SGH Anyway SGH> he came into my office at about ten to five on Wednesday, and he said—the first thing he said when he came into my office was "hi, how are you doing?" I was just like "well how do you think I'm doing". He was just (H) he was just being a bit of an asshole about it… Anyway he apparently had wanted to discontinue but the other two staff members had said no way and said we'll take it to the dean if you try and do this.

I: So the head of department and the other two staff.

P: The other two members said my position should be continued. So it was continued. And I submitted the grant application, ja… I wasn't particularly productive… That was 200—the end of 2005. 2006 sort of went okay, and then in 2007 I felt like I was starting to get on top of things again and then with all this political goings on and the head of department changing, the department had committed to running a large conference on _____, which is not my research field but it is a very prestigious conference. It runs every four years. And so the people who were committed to running it were no longer here actually, and there had been a lot of regime change and there was some turmoil over how it was being organised so in the end of course I ended up getting pulled in and doing lots of the uh nuts and bolts, organisation—despite of the fact that I had a conference of my own that I had committed to organising=

I: =Why were you called to organise this?

P: Because I can organise things.

I: Was it because of that or was it because no one else wanted to it? [pause 2] People assumed you were willing and you were able...

P: Um it's probably a little bit of both. I can organise things, except my office, not very good at organising my office <laughter> but other things I am very good at organising and… I guess to some extent I am easily coerced. You have to remember that at the time I was going through large bouts of feeling very unworthy unappreciated so people coming to me saying "we need your help to organise a conference" I was vulnerable to. And I did it. And it went off very well everyone was very happy about it but it was at considerable personal cost because I had a conference of my *own*, a _____ conference that I was running in September, I was teaching in September, I was teaching in the second semester, I ran a student careers' fair for 300 students in August. And the department, when I agree to run this _____ conference, I expected that I would get more help running *my* conference which of course didn't eventuate and I ended up running it almost singlehandedly [pause 1] and then there was, that was in September and then in October the baby—I found out in July that I was pregnant so after the _____ conference, before my conference and then in October I found out that there was <TRM problems with the baby and we elected to abort, that was 2007 and then 2008 was just a terrible year TRM> I was dealing with the repercussions of that, we'd made the decision very quickly, <LO I really should have had counselling and I didn't and we'd been asked to leave LO>, we'd been renting a cottage on a farm and we'd been asked to leave very unexpectedly because the farmer, we'd made a lot of improvements to the cottage and I'd built up a garden and it looked really nice and then the farmer suddenly decided that it would make a nice place for his son to stay, so we got asked to leave, that was in December. So when we, we went back to _____ for the December, for the Christmas holidays and when we got back in January it was (?) finding a place to stay and with all the upheaval and turmoil I just went into a very severe depression… had to get treated for depression. Later that year *twice* my current marriage came very close to falling apart… but we managed to keep in on track and then Philip arrived [pause 2] and initially I found that extremely difficult to cope with, I didn't get a lot of support in the department.

I: Were people aware of your relationship with him?

P: Everyone was aware. Um it was very awkward… many people were sympathetic to my position, to my situation. I initially felt *extremely* threatened but Philip is uh a fairly bitter, unhappy, pessimistic person—one of the things that had led to the downfall of our marriage and I think that that had *worn* on people here and I think that my feelings of insecurity with regards to Philip has dissipated somewhat because people have started to say "well Philip, you can't ask him to do anything because he freaks out about it" So… ja, so now this year I've got one paper out, I've got two papers submitted. I've been to the field for the first time since my children were born. I thought that I would miss them dreadfully initially and in fact I didn't <laughter>. It was just you know, a bit of a relief getting away and getting back into the field, doing the parts of _____ that I really love. But the department is very male orientated, we had three staff members who were female, myself, Maggie and Jocelyn. Maggie—all of whom were lecturers. Um we appointed two new staff members, Robert at senior lecture level and Peter at senior lecture level and both Peter and Robert were at the time of their appointment, which was recently—I had been here since 2004, I was a lecturer, I had more publications and more teaching experience, I had more student supervision, I had done more administration, but the head of department wouldn't support my application for promotion.

I: Did he ever give you a reason?

P: Um he said um he said that he'd discussed it with _____ who was the dean at the time and he copied a section of ((the dean's)) email which said—which gave the impression that I needed to have a few other things, one was NRF rating and the other was PhD student supervision. But it made me wonder what the rest of ((the dean's)) email had actually said, I think this was… it was after Robert had been appointed and I had taken offence at the fact that he'd been at senior lecturer and I was still a lecturer, so… *but* I was pregnant and I was still struggling a bit with this depression and I couldn't deal with the stress of motivating or *fighting* for promotion so I chose to withdraw—I don't think I've produced anything in 2009 maybe 2010. Probably 2010 because there's always this lag, you submit something in 2008 it comes out in 2009, so 2009 was traumatic and I don't think I produced anything in 2010 and then I had ((my second

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child)) and we were completely stone broke. My husband wasn't working, he still does not have a income. Uh we just couldn't make ends meet. My parents from _____ were helping to support us. My mother was trying to get me to apply for promotion and I was just… I was angry that my application for promotion was rejected and I didn't want to apply but eventually economic—my economic situation forced me to and I was appointed without any questions asked despite the fact that my CV looked *no different* because of the trauma of trying to apply for this promotion and then falling pregnant and having the baby, I actually had progressed no further than one extra year. So I had more honours students but that was only because another year had passed, I *taught* another year =

I: But it's just one extra year…

P: But it's just one extra year, I hadn't produced any more papers, I hadn't graduated any postgraduate student—my CV was in no way different I felt.

I: Was there a change in head of department at that time?

P: No, but there was a change in the dean. And the dean, I know the dean—I had *heard* that the dean was pushing for me to be promoted because he looked at the books. So then I was promoted. But Maggie was a lecturer, she actually had a _____ background but she had enough, she applied for a position in _____ and she left and then um there's Jocelyn… now Jocelyn is an Afrikaans meisie, she's married to a much older man, she's a nice person but she's a conservative Afrikaans meisie. [pause 2] Under direction from the head of department I left off ((degree identified name)). And I sent it in to the faculty and the faculty of course added it in and sent it back to me for confirmation and when they sent it back to me they also sent a copy to the head of department (H) and he of course crapped on me… But what actually happened is he sent an email to _____ who was the chair of the program committee and he said in the email that I was being "deliberately disobedient", those were the words that he used, "deliberately disobedient", like I'm a five-year old. But the only reason I found out about this is that ((the chair)) responded to Andrew's email and copied me on the

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response. Basically saying he understands the point of view but it's important to have these degree identifiers, blah blah blah. After that, on top of everything else I resigned from the program committee uh there was some emails between myself and ((chair)) saying this is very unfortunate and I said look, it's just a ridiculous situation for me to be in in terms of my career development if my head of department is accusing me of being deliberately disobedient so I resigned. So the head of department then made Jocelyn the program coordinator… Afrikaner meisie, she doesn't say very much, she keeps making mistakes which I keep having to rectify… I think one of the reasons that I get along well with Amanda is because Amanda doesn't tolerate fools easily, she calls a spade a spade and she likes efficiency and I think she knows that if she phones me she'll get a proper answer and she can phone and *ask* me these things and we had one just recently where the students had winter week we were supposed to teach them and she had emailed all the departments saying that can you (?) this blah blah blah and it goes to Jocelyn and it gets copied to Andrew and Jocelyn didn't act and she didn't act and she didn't act and eventually Amanda just phones me and I'm thinking I'm seeing Robyn and she's saying "you are *not* the program coordinator, this is *not* your job don't do it" and I'm like okay I'm not gonna do it I'm not gonna do it and then Amanda phones me and says *"please help me"*… So round and round it goes so now with the evaluation, the three evaluators of course are not idiots and they worked this out straight away and I know one of the people on the evaluation committee—he's actually a very good friend, but we were very professional, we deliberately didn't email at all about our work or anything personal during the time of the evaluation so we wouldn't accidently say something, but of course afterwards ((my friend)) was telling me a lot of what happened—he wasn't the chair but the chair had said to Andrew directly, he said "why is she not the program coordinator? She clearly is the best person for the job". And Andrew gave him some sort of vague answer and he turned around and said "well did you make Jocelyn the program coordinator because she doesn't say no to you" and apparently Andrew just changed the topic of conversation. Didn't respond. Anyway… so I'm spending all this time early this year, it was like a *month* of my time sorting this out, with Jocelyn just saying "thank you so much" and Amanda sending snarky emails to the head of department saying "you were aware of this, you should have done this la lallalla" and she copied me in an

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email and I responded saying well Amanda I'll try and—I'll try and keep an oversight and make sure it gets done but then afterwards I thought, why am I doing this? (H) so yeah, so partly I guess I am my own worst enemy, I had a very difficult run of things in this department, I—it's not a very friendly environment for women. But through this I have met some people who are very supportive in the university. Simone from _____ said that she had been thinking for some time of organising uh a women academic support group and she did so—o no sorry it's an academic *mums'* support group so she did that and it's been quite helpful, particularly in terms of finding out the situation for other working mums in other departments which is *so* much better than my situation, it's actually unbelievable.

I: Tell me a bit more about that, about being a woman academic or a *mother* and an academic.

P: It's pretty hard (?) I must say. I think that's one of the things about being an academic—or actually one of the very difficult things with this department is we have ten staff members, of those ten—well there's Jocelyn and I who are female, Jocelyn doesn't [have children], then there's three with no children, then one of the other professors had adult children, so different story completely and then two other members of the staff have teenaged or almost teenaged children. So, it's a very difficult environment because my life now revolves around get up, get dressed, get up the babies, dress them—change them, dress them, get their bags get them off to school get to work, by some very random hour at the moment—I'm gonna have to get that working better <@ but this is a start @> I have to leave by 16.20 to get home, to get to the crèche in time to pick the kids up… so from then it's time to play with the kids because they need attention, getting them dinner, getting them to bath to bed their bottles and once they're down to sleep and get downstairs clean up all the, *mess* they make, wash all the containers prep their bags for school the next day and then fall into bed… It's not at this stage, it's not very conducive to an academic career because an academic career I think is different to many other careers in that you end up working—you have to work all the time, you know the university does these performance evaluations where they say you know you have a certain number of

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hours you must do this and the other thing and it's just not physically possible to just, to do it. And, so you know you end up working, you're trying to scan this here and fax that there=

I: In every little possible space where you can

P: *Ja*. And you know when you're a *guy* and you don't have a wife or children, like my ex-husband he just works all the time…

I: Yeah, there's nothing else keeping him busy.

P: There's nothing else. So they produce more and so last year, this is another thing that we can add to my list of aggrevances, so last year I was on maternity leave for four months, with my second child. I taught my *full* teaching complement, I was in here teaching the day before I went into labour—I didn't know that at the time <laughter> but I ran a Thursday practical class here, on Friday morning I went into labour, I gave honours lectures when my daughter was something like six weeks old… My parents were here, they would look after here, they would come to [the place] and push her around in a pram for the two hours, so I'd feed her—I'd come in, feed her in my office, focus on the lecture for two hours and then feed her again.

I: So you were doing all the lecturing where usually for maternity leave you still have all the research but someone else is brought in to do the teaching.

P: No, I did all my teaching. I did the external evaluation. I published a paper, I supervised four honours students and my teaching is a lot, I have almost I think last year I had something like a 190 contact hours, the faculty norm is a 100. So I did all my teaching, I published a paper, I was on maternity leave for four months with two little children, I ran the careers day for students which I ran again last year with 300 students. I was the chairperson of the _____ society, of the Western Cape branch of the _____ society. I was the external moderator to the University of _____. What else did I do—I

did, like I do a lot of things and I didn't get a performance bonus last year… and, it's a lot of money, R26000.

I: Makes a huge difference.

P: Ja, especially with my husband not having an income. And I was very unhappy about is, but it was about a month after the evaluation and Jocelyn got a performance bonus… Robert got a performance bonus because he had a lot of postgraduate students, on the books. And this year, probably more than half of those have been discontinued.

I: Well that doesn't count at all then.

P: I know. But he got the performance bonus last year and well, Jocelyn I object to. I think Robert works hard, I'm not 100% sure that it was worth a performance bonus. Francois got a performance bonus which I object to, he got that simply because of the number of hours of teaching that he does but he had an army of demonstrators who help him, and I don't have any demonstrators *and* Jocelyn teaches the first year class, which is a big class, it's 400 students and she has to give each lecture three times so it's nine lectures, but it's the only teaching that she did right, it's one semester and she has an army of demonstrators who run the tutorials and mark the practicals. Now, I teach—I taught other classes, 60 other students, but I have no demonstrators, at the same time I have three weeks of an _____ class, I give three honours modules, run field trips and give classes in one of the _____ And that's all me. And it's actually *harder* to give two weeks worth of lectures in three different courses than it is to give six weeks of lectures in one course. You have to keep changing your mind—so anyway so I write an email to Andrew saying I was unhappy about this, because several of the staff straight away said that this=

I: =Sorry are you told why you don't get the performance bonus or are you just told that you don't get it?

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P: No, you're not informed why you don't get it, you're just informed—the head of department elected to email and say who *had* got it, so I complained. I sent him an email and he gave me some blah blah blah and that it was the dean's decision and he didn't think it would go anywhere and then I was in the position of well if I want to go further I have to go to the dean, so I discussed it with George and we agreed at the time that okay I would let it go because I knew that the head of department had got a caning in the external evaluation and that I though that it would be unfair to then go to the dean and complain and basically go over his head.

I: Did you think it was unfair or=

P: No, we agreed, I though it was unfair, but I have *since* of course now realised, because at the time it was only a month after the evaluation… I realised the *extent* to which the head of department was blaming me for the outcome of the evaluation and *now* of course I view it quite differently.

I: What about the dean?

P: Well I don't know, it's not to say that the dean would have changed his mind.

I: Wasn't this the dean that supported your promotion?

P: The dean did support that yes, he understands that I work hard he knows that—I think at the faculty they know that if they're getting a run around, they know that there are certain members of staff where they can go to get information and I'm one of them. But I mean if Andrew *had* appealed to the dean it's not to say that I would have got a performance bonus, however I felt that given that I had essentially worked two-thirds of the year and I'd come *just just* short of the score that was needed—so I basically done a lot in (all three areas). We were still using the old evaluation where I think you needed something like 8100 points to get the bonus and I got something like 7992.

I: And the 8000 is based on a whole year of work.

P:	Ja, so I <SGH was pretty unhappy about that SGH> And that Jocelyn had got it and she gets that because if you add up all the hours she did for the first year teaching by a big factor because she has a huge class and she ends up doing—and of course she gets put on all these committees, because she's a "yes sir" "no sir", very (?) sort of gal.

I:	Sorry it seems to me that you have some support here in this department, still though.

P:	It's changed over the years. I had a very bad relationship with George, he was actually the person who didn't want to continue my position but his position has also subsequently changed. And we've had some long chats in the last year and I think he acknowledges that, in his younger career he fairly arrogant, he was very driven and politically motivated, I think he feels more relaxed and confident about his position now and we get along much better. I'm under no illusions that if Michael, that Michael comes first but he is *much* more sensitive and sympathetic to my position on the basis of how things have turned out with Andrew, who's caused a lot of problems for him.

I:	But he is leaving, is he not?

P:	He's not leaving. He has a professorial position at [the university] but he hold the current position of head of department but that position is coming to an end.

I:	O right

P:	Yes and so we have to elect a new head of department and he wanted to be the new head of department and we had this ongoing discussion and in fact George had called a meeting with all staff but without Andrew, to discuss what we were going to do with Andrew's activities as head of department, but nobody was willing *to be* head of department so we were in this catch 22 situation. And funnily enough that meeting that he held was… something like two days before I got the first letter, (?) my message to the dean to say that "well Michael had a meeting where he discussed the head of

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department so how come Michael's not—I mean, why am I getting a disciplinary letter" so ja…

I: Do you feel, well it seems very obvious that there is at least from Andrew's perspective a very straight-forward 'you are the enemy' type of view // but you obviously have other people who are backing you up in the department but when you first arrived, being the only women here…

P: // Mm-hm
No one.

I: Were you immediately sort of outside the loop?

P: I was a lot more naïve, shall we say. And… didn't understand the politics and how deep the politics ran and I didn't understand that the department I was joining was actually quite an unhappy department. And a lot of it was to do with English / Afrikaans, because at the time everybody spoke Afrikaans, now we have ten staff members and only two were born in South Africa. I think it's very good for the students but it makes the whole English / Afrikaans language thing difficult in the department because more than half of the department doesn't, speak or understand Afrikaans.

I: Were people—when you came here and it was more an Afrikaans department in terms of the language of the lecturers, were people welcoming or would people just talk over you or in Afrikaans, you know "if she doesn't understand it she doesn't understand"?

P: Ja.

I: Do you think they would have done the same if you were ((a foreigner)) but you were a man?

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P: (H) That's a *very* tricky question to answer… As a woman you—there's no getting around the fact that you behave differently, so whether they would have treated me differently if I were a man or whether I would have *behaved* differently if I *had been a man*… You know I'm not quite sure=

I: Well, there is a gendered culture, if you are very much in the minority you are stepping into a 'masculine' culture.

P: Mm but in *my* experience it's been very hit and miss. There are very few female academic staff in _____ departments in _____ and in South Africa.

I: There seem to be very few female staff in the _____ n general.

P: In the _____ in general ja. I don't know if you're interested in this but my PhD supervisor at my old university. He told me in the _____ faculty, that on the appointments committee they've had to place one of the secretaries one the appointments committee because they did not have—in the whole of the _____ faculty they didn't have enough female staff members. They had to place a *non-academic* just so that they would have a female person on the appointments committee. Had to be a non-academic person, they didn't have enough… And I know in *my* department when I was a PhD student, which was, I started in 1995 there's something like 60 postgraduate students, more than half were female, the department had one female academic member of staff. We are now nigh on twenty years down the track, the department has *proportionally* less female staff because they have *more* academic members of staff now and they only have two female members of staff.

I: Do you think it's because women academics in the _____ are simply not supported or do you think it's because that (Hx) that it basically comes down to an old male, masculine culture that just keeps perpetuating itself because people don't feel welcome. Because there is a difference, there is sort of—there is a different between

if there's a female lecturer or… there's not that overtly, I hate to use the word "mothering" // but that's basically what it is.

P: // Ja… a good example is for example, _____ tend to drink vast amounts of beer and they'll go down to the pub and they'll talk crap. And I don't drink beer… and you know I can swear and talk crap as well, but it doesn't come as naturally to most women as it does, as it can to a lot of men so that's—it's *hard* to just go and talk shop and shoot the breeze and..

I: It might feel a bit forced=

P: I think when you're a student, when you're a student it's okay. But when you're older and you have a husband and you have children. I mean I really notice it now that I have children, I just *can't* do that. And as a man… there are men who do, the wife even when she's working, she'll be the one who comes home and she'll still be the primary child carer. Now, I don't want you in any way to think badly about my husband because I have an outstanding husband. He—I mean when I said I wanted to go do fieldwork again, the only way I could do that was if he was willing to look after the kids on his own for two weeks. Which he did and not only that, my parents wanted to come over and see us and my father wanted to go on safari, you know he's ((a foreigner)) so <@ he wants to go see elephants @> So I said well listen I'm going to be in _____ so let's go to _____ and then there was some debate about how the logistics of that would work and the cheapest way of course was for me to stay in _____ and then for them to meet me there. So then there was some discussion of should mum and dad fly to _____ to help my husband take the kids to _____ and he said "you know that will just be like having four children". So he flew, *on his own* with like a two-and-a-half year old and—she was fifteen months at the time, *on his own*. Two-hour flight. I mean you can't get much better than that. So he does 50% of the nappies and I phone him and say I've got a _____ society meeting tonight so can you look after the kids. He's cool, he does that. But, *as a man*, you could go and talk shop down at the pub every night and not worry about it. I can't do that. And even if my husband said yes you can do it, I don't think I *could* do it. So it's *hard*. And I know talking with the

other female members of staff, one of the things is the attitude towards the students. You do—it's not much mothering but I feel a sense of responsibility towards the students which I think a lot of the male staff don't. Students are students. And for me… I look at the students and I see a person who's trying hard and wants to go somewhere and particularly with, the issue between black and white students. We have a problem with, which I guess is not unique to us, but if you look at our first year intake of black and white students and our honours year. But in a class of twenty-five honours students this year we have two coloured students, one of whom is not South-African. There's no black students. And so obviously there's *something* systematically going wrong and I feel that we should be trying to address this but a lot of the male staff members have just been no, the students are useless or blah blah blah and I think well=

I: But fact it might not be as simple as that, you may be dealing with someone who comes from a very=

P: =a very very different background who has (?) in their home and we say see this all the time, the first generation. We see a lot where if you give them a very straightforward task they can do it, but if you ask them to learn what they've learned from that task and *apply* it to a different task they struggle, they struggle to think lateral like that. And I think a lot of that is to do with the way you've been brought up. I know with my parents have been pushing me to do this and that and my mother now with my children, she's—we live in _____ and the electricity was off in _____ all day yesterday Eskom was working on the system. Now, my son is two-and-a-half and my mother is explaining to him how electricity makes the lights work. And I'm like <@ "I think he might just be a little bit young mum" @>, so… there's a lot of, ja… I get involved in issues, that I feel strongly about that I realise are peripheral to my career development, shall I say. No-one—fighting for better rights for black students and better assistance to black students is not going to get me job anywhere else. Publications is going to get me a job anywhere else. But it's hard to separate, *I* find it a little bit hard to separate.

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I: Can't just turn your back on a student who could be brilliant in this but just does not have the support.

I: (H) (Hx) Ja. I know—I only recently found this out, there's not a lot of transparency when it comes to salaries // in faculties, so you would have no idea of a gendered pay gap unless… you explicitly talk=

P: // Mm-hm
=Unless someone explicitly told me what their salary was, no I don't know. I…

I: You suspect.

P: I suspect, and the only reason this is is because—if you take Robert for example. They have two children. Now… *we*, battle to make ends meet but they don't—you know it's all what you see, but they don't—I haven't heard anything, seen anything that may suggest that they are struggling. But otherwise, Jordon is single so no commitments and no matter what they pay him it's gonna be more disposable income than what they pay me. I know that Mark, he was paid more than I was. I know that, because I asked him outright. And we, we discussed it and I *know*, one of the other male staff had said to me that he needed to be paid more because he has a family and I though whether or not you have a family *has nothing to do with your pay*, what you *do*, your *job*... So ja, but past that you can't—I certainly suspect, but I don't know.

I: Do you feel it should be transparent?

P: Yes, *absolutely*.

I: Would you start a process of transparency in your department, lobby for transparency?

P: Given the problems that I've had I'd be reluctant to lobby on anything that I wasn't *seriously* passionate about.

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I: I can understand.

P: And I doubt that I would get any support. If—you know with this academic mums group, if they came to me and said we need to lobby for something, I would support it but I feel that the university should have complete transparency with salaries, that people who are performing the same job with the same level of experience should get the same pay. I think that the university is moving—is trying to move into that direction, I've just got a letter, in this latest round <reads from letter> "adjustment to cost of employment, disparities and remunerations", I've got uh a R20 000 increase (H) which suggests to me of course that I was—they're trying to remunerate all staff funded against (?) levels at atleast 90% of the approved uh what do they call it, base remuneration level? Basic remuneration level. So there trying to remunerate all staff funded against (?) funds at at least 90% of the approved basic remuneration level, now so my salary as a result has gone up 20 000 which suggests to me that I was=

I: =Underpaid

P: According to the basic remuneration level. Because I know Emma, who's in _____ now, she got um it worked out something like a R100 a month, <@ her adjustment to cost of employment @> Mine's a thousand.

I: So of course ja, understanding your history in the department I would also be reluctant the start something… Um promotional opportunities? You got that promotion.

P: I got that promotion but I've been talking to _____ about moving to, for promotion to associate professor in two of three years and what I can do to improve that. I feel that in my *current* point of time I am not where I should be, for various reasons. Some of which are personal reasons because of the stress that I've been under… having children—having children is not conducive to producing publications. Simone told me that I should wait until my youngest child is five <laughter>

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I: Ja, I was having a conversation, an interview with someone else two weeks ago and she figures about two years per child and that's just the bare minimum that she's getting, there's four years lost. And you're part time and you're left with the fact that you are being rated against someone who's working full time, who's probably male and probably doesn't have children and if he does he's probably not the one taking care of them // so it's rather… it gets a little bit more complicated after a while // once you get into the institutional support of it. Uh [pause 2] Have you ever been, while you were at [the university], have you ever been sexually harassed? [pause 6] You can provide your own definition of sexual harassment.

P: // Mm
        // Ja
        [pause 6] I'd have to say no. There's only one time someone said something I took offence to but he was drunk at the time… And that was only once. So I don't think so no.

I: So there were never any comments made? Maybe something that someone said that you might not think is *harassment* but just something you weren't entirely comfortable with—not necessarily about you but maybe about women academics or women in general=

P: Uh ((colleague)) has a cartoon on his door down the corridor, about climate change, that I don't like <laughter> <@ It's a cartoon that shows @> "positive proof of global warming" and it shows women's underpants going from the 1800's to now, I think it's funny but I don't think it's appropriate in an academic environment.

I: What do you think would happen if you took action against that? Not big scale, just a private talk with him, you know "do you think"… "we have female students" or something.

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P: Um, they'd probably laugh at me but they'd take it down. [pause 2] For all the trouble that I've had in this department, I really don't think that I can say that I've been *overtly* sexually harassed. Um I've certainly had times when um I've been *more* emotional than I should have been (Hx) and that's, there are certain staff that find that difficult… Which I guess is a, it's to do with the sexes. Women tend to cry more often than men—I seem to cry—you know there's been some times, with the stress and depression that I'm very very—easily prone to tears. And the male staff are looking and saying "weak female", but that—it's not *really* sexual harassment. Do you, do you understand what I mean?

I: I understand what you're saying…

P: Nobody's ever made a truly inappropriate comment, nobody's tried to pinch my bum… uh no no. Nothing, yeah… no.

I: It's called [pause 1] sexual categorical remarks... When comments—that's what the legal definition is, when comments like that are made about women, in general. And it usually happens, a lot more often than people think because you tend to ignore it—precisely because it *isn't* overt.

P: Ja ja, I understand where you're coming from. I would say, *yes*. But it's never made a sufficient impression on me, that it's given me cause for concern. Um the head of department has definitely made inappropriate remarks but that's in the scope of *everything* he says being inappropriate. I mean, in a staff meeting that he had—so we merged with _____ and then we demerged but we're still in the same building and… in one of the first meetings we had after the evaluation he starts the meeting by saying "the external evaluators told me that we have one problem, and do you know what that problem is, it's called *cancer*. And you know what, cancer has a name in this building and it's called ((other department)). <@ So there's a number of us looking at each other @> and the I was like "Andrew, I don't think that's an appropriate way to start this meeting, I don't think it's appropriate to call _____ cancer in a public meeting" and he goes "I'm just repeating what the external evaluator said" and I'm

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"well I don't think you shouldn't be repeating that". So Andrew has said sexually inappropriate things, I couldn't actually recall one of the top of my head but I know he has but he says *lots* of inappropriate things in *lots* of different contexts to *lots* of different people, so he's not, it's not a great example. And nobody else (H) Peter would rather, cut of his left arm than make any sort of sexual reference uh…

I: But do you think that's an excuse, I mean if someone's "o he's generally offensive so he should not be taken seriously", as though he's not *aware* of what he's saying?

P: Uh, no he's definitely aware of what he's saying, but he [pause 5] I think it's a question of, I feel, let me qualify that, I feel what I've learnt in the last 9 years is that you have to fight battles that can be won, Andrew is in his fifties, he's not gonna change his ways. If he was, if there was a male academic member of staff who was 29 and was making these comments then I'd do something, but Andrew, he's an old dog, you can't teach him new tricks. So, in conjunction with all the other problems with him, it does not stand out and certainly in *my* situation, many of the other things he said, calling me "deliberately disobedient" in an email to the dean is far more significant to me than making some crack (?) So that to me is more significant, I *had* been in a situation once, not at this university, uh which would constitute sexual harassment. It was at my old university when I was a PhD student, one of the professors came into my office—I was the only person in my office—he came into my office and *locked the door behind him* and started telling me off… He was standing between me and the locked door and started telling me off about my behaviour with regard to a seminar. Now, it doesn't sound on the face of it like sexual harassment but it was=

I: It's very threatening.

P: It's very threatening and it's completely inappropriate behaviour for a male professor to lock the door, behind him, in a female student's office. And I was very upset, I was *very* nervous, I was very very uncomfortable. But that's probably the only thing that truly stands out. [pause 2] And that was dealt with. Ja, I was very upset when I got out of the office and my supervisor saw me, almost straight away and when he found out

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what had happened he went straight to the head of department and the head of department um ja took action.

I: Any last comments… about this department, this university, anything?

P: Um [pause 11] (Hx) I guess the only thing [pause 2] I don't know whether it's relevant for your study, but I definitely find now, with postgraduate students, find it very hard to encourage to female postgraduate students to go on in academia.

I: Because of your experiences?

P: Because of my experiences, but not just mine. Okay, I think mine are a bit extreme. Um but also a lot of… other experiences, that some women have had, I think it's a very hard, it's a very difficult environment and on the one hand I think you're right that if there are a lot more women in academia, in the _____, in would be easier, but there aren't and rather still a lot of men, which is hard.

APPENDIX G
Participant 5

I: Okay, so having been at [the university] for quite a while, you obviously know the university and the institution quite well, do you feel that at an institutional level woman and men are treated equally?

P: Ja I do feel so, in general I think there are quite a number of women in academia in senior positions and personally I've never felt that somebody looks down on me. There may be, you know, there may be individuals that don't treat you the same and I've once been irritated at a uh higher level meeting that people were addressed with their surnames except for the women *but* those are uh ja, there are some habits that are sometimes <@ irritating @>. I was in the audience and there were people on stage and they were addressing—would address the men by professor uh Brown but the women were addressed as Professor Elizabeth so I just felt it was awkward. I don't know how they felt about it <@ laughter @>

I: And I saw on the departmental website there are actually quite a couple of men—there are quite a couple of women there compared to some other departments?

P: Ja, I'm the only academic staff, the other women are all in the administrative (?)

I: Ja, it tends to be all women in administrative and then one or two, if you're lucky, in teaching staff. Do you feel that your—being the only female faculty member, do you feel that there's a gender inclusive culture because there are other women there or do you feel that the staffing is very masculine, is very male orientated?

P: I feel very comfortable in the department and I have a very good relationship with all my colleagues, so personally I feel I am very much included. It may have to do with the fact that I have a very good relationship with the staff member who has been my PhD supervisor and he sort of looks out for me—what makes it difficult for me is not that I

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am a woman it's because I am working part-time so I'm not there always to—but he is to some extent looking out for me if there is an opportunity he'll let me know and that kind of thing. I've not experienced that the women who are working there are I think always respected and they are also always doing very well. Um I've never felt that people are excluded because they are women uh and also among the students we [pause 1] we try to—we definitely <laughter> we are one of the departments where we try to keep students because in _____ in general we have few postgraduate students so we definitely don't make <@ a distinction @>.

I: A student is a student

P: Ja a student <@ is a student and we look at the *marks* to see whether the student uh @> is going to be a suitable candidate for postgraduate studies and there have been quite a number of good female students in the department but they all went elsewhere so we haven't succeeded in getting anyone in the department.

I: You said you were on maternity leave. What was that like, how was that handled?

P: The maternity leave itself is not an issue at all, although I think like in most departments you are not really *replaced* so it means you are working from home actually… but I think that is general in academics you can't replace an academic staff member. You can find somebody to give the lectures but you can't find somebody to take over the research. So your research is just continuing, you have to apply for the funding and you usually have to write a report, you have to see that the funds are allocated so that just carries on. But my classes that I would have given in this period were given to PhD student to do so ja, I think that's fair. And, as I say uh it's up to you, you have to keep up to an extent. You have to stay aware of what is going on in the department and so I have somebody that is really good at telling me what is going on but there is no real *mechanism* <laughter> you still have to read your emails to find out what is going on.

I: So do you think that if it were a man in your position, in a part-time position, if he was on parental leave, do you feel that he would have been excluded as well if he did not have someone there?

P: Ja I suppose so. Um what I maybe want to say [pause 1] is that the maternity leave is obviously not that rare, what is very rare is that an academic staff member has a part-time position <@ that is very rare @> And that is [pause 1] um a bit difficult. The (?) doesn't have a good way to handle that, for example I'm measured against a full position when it comes to evaluation (H) because they can't see their way out—I moan about it every year but they can't see their way out to change the form that I have to fill in. So there is an electronic form that I have to fill in, so in principle it would be possible to change it in such a way so that it takes into account that, you know that it is divided (?) by fractions so that you are measured against half-time positions but I think because it is so rare they don't want to go through the trouble. I don't really have a problem, I usually get a rating that is good and my supervisor will always put it up one step, so you know it is treated in a *sensitive* way but it's not—there's no formal way to handle it nicely.

I: So it's between you and your department // there's nothing from the university that goes this is what we do is this situation.

P: // It's an agreement between

No, they don't have an elegant way to handle part-time positions in the academic staff; I suppose they have that for the administrative staff because it is more common. My lecturing load has to scale on to what is suitable for my position but obviously research you can't scale but it's my choice how much research I take on. My supervisor or the head of department also told me that he doesn't want to keep me from doing anything, but he will always understand if I say no but it's my choice. So it's up to me to how much I take on and I always take on too much <@ laughter @> It is difficult to manage um I work more hours than I should be on the books, but that is all my choice, nobody forces me to.

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I: So you work more hours because of the workload that you choose // to take on?

P: // Well ja because it's all what I choose to take on, I could scale my research down to much lower but=

I: =Do you feel that if you do that it would affect your role in the department?

P: Yes I think it will... I feel that you need to set out a certain set of critical mass of research going, if you have only one little project and there's something that—some sort of problem in that project then it sort of stops everything. Whereas if you have— we used to have two projects in parallel. So I have two in parallel, some other=

I: =So there's always something going on if something happens.

P: So there's always something going on so I just always try to keep that going.

I: Are you aware of the pay in your department, are you aware of a gendered pay gap in your faculty maybe even, not just department?

P: No, <@ I'm not aware @> I think I'm um I'm obviously being paid less now for my part-time position but I do think—I've had several salary increases in the last few years... It's not being said to me but I think I'm being paid more per hour now than is usually the case, but I've no—because my head of department knows I work more than (?) But that's nothing official… I just know I'm being paid *fairly* well for the hours—for the official hours.

P: Okay. That's good. Uh I asked you about maternity leave, but I wanted to know… when it comes to stuff like meetings—well for you this is obviously a bit different because you are part-time, but being able to get to meetings or classes or if there's a conference or something, have you ever been not been able to do that because of your duties as a mother or because of some other outside role?

P: I've problems with things such as conferences because it involves outside travel. Because I insist on breastfeeding my children for a year which means for a year you can't do anything, unless I take my baby, and my husband and other two children along for a holiday, <@ which we have done once @> but it becomes=

I: =A bit of an administrative hassle?

P: Exactly. So yes, and even you know, even between one and two years—well my son I've been away for ten days when he was over two years and when I got back he was (?) and it took *months* to go away so that stress *really* does do something to them, so I'm reluctant to leave my children. There is an age where they are fine and my oldest is definitely there, my second one not quite. So it brings you down to at least two years per child where you can't just pack a suitcase and travel and go to a conference for a week. So I find that is limiting because a conference is a place where you stay up or get up to date with the latest research and it's difficult to compensate for that in another way. So to some extent I rely on my colleagues because they go and I would hear from them what's the latest <@ but that's a bit second hand @>

I: And that is a choice that you made.

P: That is a choice that I make. You can leave a three month old at home with a bottle but I don't want to do that.

I: Do you think that the University should have—do you think that it is possible for the university to have more family-friendly policies in place to allow women who have very young children to be able to go to conferences such as these? Especially if there are quite a couple of them you end up with some sort of day care system *at* the university *itself* where staff members aren't left to their own devices?

P: That is always mentioned as the sort of first solution to more family friendly policies. Um there are people for whom it will work, for whom it would be nice to have a day care centre central in campus. There are people for whom it will not work. In my case

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my mother is looking after children and I don't want to take them to a day care centre if she is still available to do that so I won't really make use of that but I will support something like that if there—a few years ago there was a big effort to get something that.

I: Really?

P: There's uh I can't remember what we called it, but there was a meet—I think it was university wide, there was a sort of club of academic women and we had a few meetings and one of the projects was to—I think it was _____ who was, I think she was in the management—anyway one of the big projects was to get a child care centre on campus and then one of the issue was where it was to be because the university (H) (Hx) they were very worried that it will disturb the rest. So it may apparently not be *near* any academic building because the children will make a *noise*. So then their solution was that is had to be near um what's the place called, I think it's _____ or something, it's still on the green route but it's opposite _____ way beyond (?) and for me that would never have been an solution and the eventual outcome is they didn't do anything, they just said that they made an arrangement with _____ that university children get um sort of voorkeur. They get priority. Now personally _____ is not someplace I would have taken my children. The position of the childcare centre is near *those* flats and it just doesn't *look* nice…

I: So you obviously don't want to leave your children there.

P: I don't want to leave my children there. So I think for most academic people that wasn't any solution at all. So that is the history of that, but as I say I have a comfortable solution, we live close to campus now and my mother is available to do that. Um ja [pause 2] you could think of another system and *sometimes* that could have maybe worked for me if you said there is an important meeting to maybe have childcare *on site*. You know next door or something. That could have sometimes perhaps made life easier. So if you have a child that is willing to be left with a stranger, that that could have worked. And just in general flexible hours...that is what works for

me, I have an agreement with my department that I work 15 hours a week, you know on site but that is flexible. I do try to stick to *regular* hours so that there are certain times a week that students can know they can find me, but it's flexible if a child is sick or something. Then you phone and let somebody know and it's not an issue.

I: Have you ever been sexually harassed?

P: No.

I: Do you *know* of anyone at university, a student or a female colleague in your department or another faculty even that has been sexually harassed?

P: There will be. I don't a story know to tell you um ja. But there will always be individuals who tell the wrong jokes in the company of women.

I: Have you ever had an experience like that with your male colleagues where they are not being, they're not harassing but there is just=

P: =Ja, they would sometimes, you know there would be instances where someone would tell a joke, that he maybe afterwards thought that he shouldn't have told in my presence, that <@ I don't want to laugh about @> But it's not *malicious*. It's simply, they are ten men in the room and me and they don't see me as "o you are woman" they just continue <@ as they would have had @>. Obviously if the majority—in the tea room for example if the majority are men then there is a masculine culture and you find yourself as a woman, adapting to that, and you can't really *fit in* perfectly but you get used to it and you know… it's not a *problem* to me. But okay in our tea room, at this stage we also allow all our postgraduates students to be there so I'm not the only one, there are other women there and it's rare that people would say something that one is not comfortable with.

I: What would they say, could you give me an example?'

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P: They would maybe just tell a *blonde* joke, that kind of thing but as I say it's not malicious, it's just you know, something I would just not laugh about <laughter>

I: Do you feel that adapting to that type of culture—which makes sense definitely if you are in the minority, but do you feel that that should include laughing at a joke like that or not saying anything or do you feel that if you said something, it would be…

P: I think *saying* something about it will just make an issue of something that is maybe not it. If someone would insist on maybe always telling those jokes, you know on a regular basis, then I will definitely, I will most probably go to that person personally and talk to him. For example, I have talked to students of mine who have put up posters in their office that I don't like, "you can keep that in your room but not here". But I think I would refrain from doing that in *public* because others—the person probably just didn't think what he was saying and ja, and it's just embarrassing for him in public. *Unless* you can see that there is some intent behind it.

I: I wanted to ask about other institutions but you've been at [the university], so…

P: I have never worked at another institution—well I worked at an institution for six months in the United States um I think I was a bit of an outsider because I was only there for a few months, but what I could say about that was that they had a very active, sort of society of all the women, they meet regularly. And they would use, for example, setting up questionnaires to ask you, you know are you comfortable, these kind of questions about gender sensitivity. And could you do the workload that you are doing now with a family… and uh, I don't know exactly what they did with that, I just recently saw on the internet an article saying, reporting on their activities in terms of making a place family friendly and saying that they now actually have many more female staff. So apparently it has been successful, so for example the people that did post-doc there took up a position there which tells you that they felt comfortable and they felt it was the right place to work.

I: Alright, do you have any last comments or—about anything, any experience at [the university] that may or may not involve gender? Maybe as a woman academic, *life* as a woman academic?

P: [pause 2] Ja, I think... Personally I've never felt discrimination because I'm a *woman*. I think sometimes it has to do with your own confidence um and I think in the workplace, in the academic world, I'm fairly confident that I can do what my colleagues are doing, or better if it need be. So if I wasn't feeling like that, if I was lacking confidence I think it would have had a very big influence on my experience. Um I think I see that in the female students, those who have confidence don't have a problem, those who are lacking in confidence, they—I think they, because in a sort of masculine environment people won't tell you "ag you're doing well" and those of them who need that don't get it and therefore they are shy and they… it's more difficult for them.

I: They don't achieve // maybe as they would have if they felt more comfortable in what they are doing.

P: // They don't achieve what they could achieve. And I must say even I, because I am *mostly* working with men I am not in the habit of—I try to, but you are not in the habit of always telling someone "okay this is excellent" because the men, the male students…

I: It's very strange for them

P: It's very strange for them. So you also get into the culture a bit. What is difficult for me is simply choices *I've* made in terms of my children, going part-time, spending time with them, breast-feeding them for a long time um it's difficult to always manage that together with your work, together with things like conferences and meetings. So I'm *aware* of things that I am missing out on. I'm not *unhappy* because I love being with my children but I can see that it slows down my career. What makes it a bit difficult is as I said the university doesn't have a real policy for females in the academic side to

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accommodate them in terms of evaluation and that kind of thing because I think the NRF doesn't have. When I went part-time, well I don't know whether I was hoping or I was *fearing* that I would lose my research funds because in most of the policies it says that you have to be a permanent staff member. They don't say something about *women* but they say part-time. So I went part-time. So I wrote them a letter saying I am part-time, they ignored the letter so I am still getting my funding but the problem is that I have to deliver on the funding at the same rate as other before.

I: But you can't because you're working part-time.

P: <laughter> I've managed to retain the funding, up to this point, I've even gotten to the point where I am applying for NRF rating. I don't know whether I will get it because that will reflect that I wasn't doing as much as I could have been doing, if you're full-time. Um but there is no system to take the full-time job into account because actually <@ you shouldn't be getting the funding, but let's just ignore that fact @> Ja so that was a little difficult because it puts a lot of pressure on me and I would just try to ignore the pressure <laughter> I carry on as I can and I'm putting in my reports just what I *have* done and if it's good enough, if they think it's not good enough leave it, if I don't get funding anymore I will make another plan, tell my colleagues I'll help them on their projects or something... So not, on a personal level I don't feel discriminated against but there are these systems that don't take into account, not that I'm a *woman* but because I have made certain choices, certain lifestyle choices which allow me to do things that are very important to me.

I: And also certain choices that *inherently* more women are going to be making.

P: Exactly, you will rarely find that a man has to [pause 1] make, you know, compromises like that. It's possible, you could have a person who's looking after an elderly family member or *children* or whatever but it's rare and I think it's common amongst women and it's definitely a big limiting factor. If I wasn't married and didn't have children I would have continued as usual and I don't think I could have had any *reason* to complain <laughter>

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APPENDIX H

Participant 6

I: So you said in your email that you are not on a permanent position here?

P: No, I'm a contract worker. I have been for the past nine years.

I: Tell me a bit about that.

P: I started out as a tutor and then I was re-employed and re-employed and then I finished my PhD through another university, then I applied for a post-doc and then I did my post-doc here because I could do it here then and for two years I was in post-doc and then I was re-employed as a contract worker again on the grounds that, to legalise it, on the grounds that I had a post-doc in-between, because you're not allowed to be here longer than a certain period. But now I've been here for <@ad infinitum @>.

I: So how does that work out, in terms of your research, in terms of being an academic?

P: An academic, well, it worked out well because I could study in an academic environment and that's what I wanted to do, but on the other hand the people who are permanently employed get sabbaticals, which I haven't had in nine years. I uh do not even speak about a salary, or have a pension fund or a medical aid or any of those advantages. Every time I want to join a conference, I have to ask for funding regardless of how much I've published. So yes, in *that sense* it's hasn't worked out well *at all*. And of course every year you live under the fear of what is going to happen to me next year. And I have been moved from every single office from this side of the corridor to the next.

I: Because there's no permanent position so no permanent office. So does it feel like lack of job security?

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P: Ja um I always feel like I'm in sort of a limited position, I always feel marginalized because the past two years, I'm employed on a fifth-eight contract basis which means that according to the university laws *apparently* – regulations - this is now moving towards a system of a permanent post. I have applied for a permanent position, before I did my post-doc, which I didn't get. My focus area wasn't specifically good for what they wanted in this department, then my post-doc was more focused and since then I have been focusing on what the interests which are more conducive to what they want in the department. Another job came up, a job opening, I decided to opt to not apply for this but to stick with my post-doc, because then at least I knew that I had two years of security. And um, ja well, and I must add that I know that there is something in the pipeline for me now, for my position I hope will change before the end of the year, if not then I will state that I am going to a union.

I: Are you?

P: Yes, and they are aware that I will do that.

I: That's interesting, I'm glad to hear that. I've had other people mention this as well, but it's not very open. We don't talk about unions. Do you feel like not being a permanent member of this department that you are sort of, your expertise is maybe ignored a bit?

P: No. I'm not…The…well, everybody in this department has repeatedly, *everybody*, all the staff members have repeatedly over the past eighteen months said that I should be employed without me even being interviewed, but now I will have to go through a process, to be employed again.

I: But you have the support?

P: The people in the department definitely, but as far as the university is concerned… I think I have been unfairly treated. Or I have been given fair advantage, I don't know

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which way to look at it because I dearly love teaching, I teach a lot, I was evaluated for the first time last year, I got a *very good* evaluation from the dean. I think higher than most people. I think my courses are special, I'm doing a post-graduate supervision.

I: There is a upside.

P: My workload is more than some of the staff members are doing per year and of course I'm doing it for peanuts. It sounds very stupid, it sounds always about the money but it's not really about the money for me. I'd like benefits, and then of course I'd like to just take a break at some stage and work on research. I mean we've finished this book on, I published a book, a biography and we did it on our own time and it had nothing to do with my work, so I'm tired. And when I started here the previous chair told me we will not employ you you're too old and that was nine years ago.

I: You're too old? Did he elaborate?

P: But we didn't get on well. He said I'm too old, I didn't publish enough and my field of research is not the focus of the department.

I: So I want to talk about this a bit from a gendered aspect – I know the university does not have a transparent pay policy, it's very, very difficult to find out what your colleagues are being paid. Obviously for you it's a different situation in any case, but do you feel that you still, have less security when it comes to "listen, you are basically abusing my labour here"//, do you feel that you have sort of recourse to action?

P: // Yes
But I'm also a fool, I often take on stuff in the hope to prove what a good worker I am (?) and I did in the past often, so this year I became a bit hardegat oor that but I also thought that I had things on my side, for instance they wanted me to take care of the first years, as first year coordinator and I said I would not do it if I would not be employed. Because *nobody else* wanted to do it in this department and I was not going to do it if they wouldn't because it is a huge job, a huge job. And the thing is I

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know that if I was employed previously I could have been a senior lecturer by now, I could have applied for NRF!

I: And so it snowballs and builds up

P: And talk about age, because *nobody gets younger*.

I: Nobody gets younger but I don't think age is such an issue in academia, you're not an athlete.

P: I'm not saying that I have as a woman have never felt mistreated in this department – no well, let me rephrase, I did feel that I was treated differently when the first dean of the department was here. Ever since I think that this is a wonderful department regardless of gender.

I: Do you think he treated you differently because of your gender or because you're part-time?

P: I think we had a personality clash [pause 2] Ja. I think maybe he thought I was this old white woman who sort of tried to sideline some background into academia=

I: =So he didn't take you seriously?

P: Ja, maybe he didn't. But I must say that we have reconciled our differences in such a way because he is not here anymore. And I've considered using this person as a referee for my application now. I think it was just a personality clash to a large extent.

I: And when there's a distance it's easier to work on it. So you say working in this department you don't feel there's a gender issue=

P: =No I feel discriminated against *point*. As an employee, but not as a woman [pause 3] Are you focusing on gender issues or feminist issues?

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I: Depends on what you have to say.

P: No, I think the department is very much aware of feminist issues but also of gender issues [pause 4] I think there are many people in this department who think that certain people who will expect you to act a certain way to fulfil a certain gender role [pause 3] The department has been through a little bit of a crisis the past year where our head had to take leave – or resigned. So I think people would respond differently if it was September last year.

I: So there were gender issues?

P: [pause 4] I think it's relationship issues.

I: How are the individuals in the department? Are there every any comments, something someone thinks is just a joke?

P: Gender jokes?

I: Ja, or just something that doesn't seem appropriate.

P: Then or now?

I: Now.

P: No, I think everyone is very conscious about [pause 7] I don't think this department really had a… uh I don't know how to answer the question. There's been a little rift in the department, and people will have different opinions about other people. And people will disagree with each other and say that 'that one is sort of a chauvinist' or 'that one is a (?)'. I haven't personally experienced any discrimination as a woman, not last year, not now. I have experienced discrimination as a human being, as an employee. But personally, I only speak for myself, I haven't experienced any

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discrimination. As an observer, I think that there might have been such issues [pause 2] It was relationship related.

I: So it's not something that would have been here four or five years ago?

P: No.

I: Okay. Anything else about being a woman academic? Do you feel, ignoring your employment situation, do you feel supported by the university?

P: Okay ja now I have to step back from…. As a woman,,, you know, some of the answers I can't give you because of my position, I always force myself to remain distant, to remain separate, I am separate. For instance I cannot win this – there was this argument in the department that asked people in the staff meeting and I sit in every staff meeting, to give their opinions and immediately took what the Americans call the (?) second amendment right to remain silent, because I'm not a permanent staff members so I haven't got a right to voice an opinion. I am completely marginalised.

I: So you haven't experienced discrimination, have you ever had issues with students?

P: Gender issues?

I: No, just any issues really.

P: Well, I've had issues with students in the sense that I have perhaps been too friendly with some of them and then they sort of cross that boundary of becoming too familiar in an email o "why did you give me that mark?" I must say it happened once where I can call this one, they became sort of cocky about a mark I gave them which I thought was crossing a boundary, in that that distance between tutor and … um. Gender wise…no. Sometimes I wish they <@would cross the barrier, nah I'm joking now!@> We were talking about this whole problem in the department now with relationships and that we had to make it clear everything according to the regulations of the vice-

rector, all relationships should declared and one of the questions was well if I had a relationship with a student, of course, all the women start because=

I: =It's just 18 year old boys up in here…

P: Ja! Because the men think of it differently, if they've got something on they're not going to declare it. And isn't that a gender issue in itself?

I: It is an issue of men and young versus women and young men.

P: And that it's acceptable. But the very idea that you should have a student perhaps having a relationship with an older female... But in society in general…

I: You said, what is your doctorate that you did somewhere else?

P: Ja, at _____. I was in _____ and I started doing a ? My supervisor was officially ? I went through something in my head and I needed a holiday and I nearly died and then I made a mind, you know, paradigm switch then I moved down here and decided to – I had, at that stage been enrolled in my PhD but I was in the corporate world.

I: How was that?

P: The corporate world <@was completely different@>, what I often find in academia, especially coming to it so late in life, that they often teach things that many people very often have little experience of in real life. I mean the people in departments that never left, they did their postgraduate studies and then they *just never left*. They never went outside and that is the only life they know – Not that I'm – not that there's anything wrong with it, but you teach people about gender, you teach people about race, you teach people about death and dying – you actually have to *practice* it, in this department I've realised that we've become <LO are *preachers* as much as anybody else LO>. It's the modern equivalent of preaching.

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I: I can imagine that happening because you're not really forced to deal with a lot of the outside world when you're an academic, universities can easily be closed off worlds.

P: The corporate world is a completely different world altogether. *There's a lot of* gender discrimination for you but you can make it, you can make it. You can make it, but if you make it as a woman you can make it big and you can big and you can become very, very powerful and some of them practice those powers. There are some big CEO's, female CEO's out there.

I: You have to have a certain type of toughness though don't you?

P: It's burocratic, almost patriarchal.

I: Do you have any experience of sexual assault or harassment?

P: No.

I: What about when you were in corporate?

P: No.

I: How would you define sexual harassment?

P: When something makes you feel uncomfortable when someone is invading your space against your will, the moment when there is no consent and there is abuse, is crossing the line and in the corporate world you sleep with people to get business. You can if you want to. Not that I am saying that there is no sexual harassment in the corporate world I never experienced it but I'm very outspoken and I'm tall and I think I'd never just sit back and take it.

I: What about verbal remarks?

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P: *Ja*, no listen that, that I find in class, that annoys me in class. I find that *the students* are very discriminating.

I: What would they say?

P: They say terrible things about the opposite sex. The guys would say something, you know sometimes you allow them to be quite open in class and I'm thinking are *we really making any progress with teaching them about gender issues*? And race. Especially race, because it's such a protected little bubble. People would go through their undergraduate studies and not spend *one single day with a person from a different income class,* so you know. And *homosexuality*! Have you listened to students' comments on people on people and *it's terrible*!

I: Like when Die Matie [student paper] had the picture of the gay couple kissing and in the next issue they printed some of the comments that the students had made about it.

P: And then they advertise competitions like 'trouvrou'.

I: Yeah, _____ had a nice article to write about that. If you look at gender though, it's this idea of homophobia and racism is terrible and horrible and if you say something racist everyone assumes you're a horrible person, but if you're a bit of a sexist, that's hilarious. And that's the issue for me.

P: And you know what, women enforce certain roles. I keep telling the students "stop seeing yourself against the backdrop", you know *weighing yourself against men*. By doing that you are supporting the (?). And they love that life, o I want equal rights and equal pay but they don't know how to open an account, they don't what to do when they have their car serviced, they can't even change a tire, they you know…

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I: You're re-enforcing, you have this bad idea of what you're re-enforcing, all this that you're supposed to be against but you're not maybe even genuinely aware of what it is that you're against.

P: A second year student came to me last week after my lecture, asking me is his mother a feminist. Can his mother be a feminist, she's definitely the one wearing the pants in the house, but she's married and she's got children.

I: What did you say to him?

P: And now I've just uploaded more stuff on to WebStudies, just general more stuff on what feminist criticism is all about. What is gender studies all about. And they hear it, it's like when you say "Apartheid" they go deaf. They don't have clue anymore of what it was about. When you say AIDS their eyes glaze over. It's the same thing you know and they hear about feminism and often <LO I think they leave after three years and have an undergraduate degree and they still don't know what it's all about LO>

I: Ja, because they're not involved and if it doesn't really affect you or think it affects you personally then why should you worry.

P: Exactly. You have to live it and not just in front of your friend, because it's a conviction, a political conviction, you have to live that every day of your life and it is not easy. And going to – if you're bisexual and you're in a relationship with a man then he's going to have his friends around and they make comments and you know to avoid an argument you keep your mouth shut [pause 6] But I think one should always, we should always remember that there are marvellous men out there and that they should never be, in the process of gaining some rights, one should not otherise men. Because *there are wonderful men* and that especially with the economic switch in the country we have more women working and we have more fathers spending time at home with their children and <LO we shouldn't forget about that switch happening LO> the different kind of relationship between father and children happening out there at the moment as well.

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I: The problem I find with that is that if you define yourself or identify as a feminist, if talk about feminist issues or feminist studies, people don't view that as gender equality. That sort of the idea that it seems to me a lot of people have, they think feminism means pro-women, anti-men.

P: <LO They forgot that men are feminists as well LO>

I: And you should have male allies.

I: =Ja, it's not a black and white issue. No ja, it is there, you might think that you are very open minded and that you have this idea about that, but still, you're prejudiced in your own little way, I mean that is how you create your world, you divide people into groups.

I: I discriminate openly against certain women. I do not want to be in their company, I really, honestly, in my private life, I do not even go with my partner to visit friends, certain friends, his friends. Because I do not want to be in that company. The men are stereotypical, the women are stereotypical and I avoid that.

I: But that's a different issue, that's you taking yourself out of a situation where you don't want to be, that's not going "they're not allowed to do something" because I don't like to hang out with them.

P: Ja, because it's my own private life. And I do push a little further on the anti-natalists. I never had children and um, maybe (?), I never wanted children and I never had children, so I do not want to sit around listening to people chooche cooing about their children. I don't mind doing it, they're *lovely* little things, but I don't mind doing it for a while. But if I had to sit there for an entire evening or spend time even *in this corridor* when they're speaking, I don't want to spend time listening to what they're children are doing at home. I want to talk about other things; okay they have the right to not want to talk about the things I talk about. So... I'm not sure what the focus of your

research, are you speaking to people about women in the workplace with children and so on.

I: Ja, because children very often complicate the picture when it comes to pay and especially, you know, having to get all your research done and papers and so on. Taking off work, maternity leave, all of that. I had an interesting conversation with someone – she is going on maternity leave or she went on maternity leave last week and they had this evaluation, you know, this little staff meeting about all the evaluation forms and filling them in and she's like "well I'm not going to be here for four months, I'm taking my four months, so I shouldn't be evaluated for three whole years because then it's going to look like I did nothing for half a year and that's not true, just because I'm not here doesn't mean I'm not doing anything". And sort of, how she explained it, how everyone's reaction, they had not thought of that. It was completely not their world.

P: I think you've now twice or three times remarked on something along the lines of shifting perspectives and I think often we speak so often about things, but we really do not see things through the other person's eyes. <LO We do not try to LO>. And by just what we mentioned now again, about the four months, by just shifting the axis a little bit and making them see something through the other person's eyes. Lip service is one thing, but it's another thing to just "how is that person really feeling?"

I: She was kinda bad-ass, she just went "o this is how it's gonna work", but for someone else it might not have been so easy, there's no option for this, no option for maternity leave, so let me work extra hard to make up for those months I'm supposedly not doing anything.

P: I think you should talk to others as well. Perhaps I'm not the best person in the department to speak to, because I'm in this odd position. It would be interesting to hear what other people have to say about gender issues in this department. The other question also is why did I stay here for so long, I'm sure if I was a man and I had a family to feed, or if I was a woman and I had children to feed, I'm in the advantaged

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position to not have children and I didn't rely on my partner at all because I sold what I had when I moved down here so I had a little bit of financial back up but say for instance I didn't have that, would I have stayed so long?

I: Probably not, I can't imagine.

P: *You see*. Because I'm really here for the job, for the love of what I'm doing. And I really *really* love what I've been doing, I enjoy it. Moments of regret – why did I take so long to move into this direction? Where I think people, as a similar age people are already tired of being in academia I am not. And I love teaching. I love every minute of teaching.

I: Do you think that's going change if you get a permanent position?

P: What, loving teaching?

I: Ja, and doing the research.

P: Well, hopefully I'll get more done. Well, I'm sure I'll have a – now I take everything I can.

I: Do you think you would have been permanently employed if you were a man?

P: Yes… Ja, I think very much the university is very aware of my case, and I'm speaking about the (?) of the university here, and but, they have also come to realise that they could depend on my good faith.

I: Okay, but why would that have been different?

P: Because I have been teaching. If they didn't want me here at the end of the year they should tell me "listen, maybe find that little form", but then every year I, in the middle

of the year when we plan for the next year, we put the electives in the books. You know.

I: But that's something from the department isn't it?

P: Well, they wanted me here and my courses are popular, and I think they sort of independently, year by year depending on how much money the dean will grant the department for additional teaching. But now, the department is (?) differently, I'm not tutor contract employed, previously I was only paid between February and November, then I got a (?), and now the past two years I've been paid from January to December.

I: But that's that new contract system?

P: {Nods}

I: You said you would have gotten the job sooner if you were a man, why? What would have been different?

P: Maybe if I was a man I would have been different, I would have been more pushy. Maybe I wouldn't have been so martie-martel-gat. You know. I try to work hard and hope someone will notice me. That's definitely my own fault as well, but I'm also a great believer in the fate of the cosmos. I do believe that if one lingers around enough, one will (?) and something will appear.

I: A great perspective to have, but many people sell themselves.

P: (?) where I come from the corporate world, I was in pharmaceuticals. I had my management and marketing=

I: =Ja, but selling something and selling yourself, selling you own work

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P: O I was the best rep ever; I got the gold watch and the holidays overseas. You (?), you sold everything except your car.

I: But why didn't that cross over then? Because it's a different environment.

P: It is *definitely*. And you have to understand that I felt inferior, because when I walked in here he said that I was too old. I thought I was too old, I thought I wasn't clued up enough. Never mind the fact that I do not even read books for fun anymore. All I do when I go home is I read theorists to try and catch up. And I read because I, I think it's a disease, when you work with your hobby, that you start reading stuff that way. But I always felt under more pressure that I had to read so much more to catch up with what I didn't know when I came here. And in the process I sort of became a generalist, because everybody knew (?), they'd ask me the day before (?) that nobody could teach (?), and I'd say sure and I read through the night I'd read the paper and I'd wake up and go teach the next day. I mean I can teach anything, 'cos that's what I do, I can teach anything.

I: That's a fantastic skill though.

P: Ja, I'm a generalist.

I: Ja, focus is a good thing, but jeez if you only know about one thing and nothing else.

P: I haven't got *time* to specialise, I want to know everything before I die. Or as much as possible before I die.

I: All right, any last words?

P: *It's a long* – can I swear? – it's a long fucking walk to (?). <LO Women have a long, long walk ahead LO> And if people tell me woman have achieved what they wanted, they can think again. Because we live in a place where we had a *sports council* who didn't know what to do with someone like Caster Semenya. We have a president who says,

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when an international journalist asks him "what do your wives say about this?" he says, "I don't know, they do what I tell them to". We can just walk outside in the street to see what a long way women have to go, we can go to all the shelters and see what is happening to women and they think that they do not have the right to speak up against abuse. They do not have the right to say "this is *my body*, I do not want this to be done to me". And it's good that you're looking at harassment. Harassment can be *very subtle*. It can be so subtle that it can happen to *someone else* in the workplace and have an effect on you. Ja, I mean, within this department we have people with a very strong masculine identity and we have women who are (?), we have this range of people in this department and I'm sure it's more stepping into their gender roles than maybe at home. And there are mothering people in the department, you know people with nurturing qualities, doesn't matter whether it's a male or a female. And there are paternal figures, there are paternal figures in this department and there are benevolent paternal figures. And I always think of Mandela, the benevolent patriarch.

I: That makes for interesting discussion.

P: An interesting family, which, even dysfunctional last year hugely.

I: That's a little microcosm of society.

P: It's an eye opener. How we apply what we teach.

APPENDIX I
Participant 7

I: So you've obviously worked at other places, I think that gives a bit of a perspective on [the university], how does [the university] compare to the other companies and the other university where you did your doctorate, in terms of gender balance and being open to female students or female professionals?

P: I can't *really* comment on [the university] as a whole, as a university, because I think ((our)) faculty is – we're so wrapped up in our own world here anyway. But um, I think, I mean the whole uh being in a male-dominated field and working – getting a degree and going on as an ((professional]] in my life I've thought about gender roles in my profession a lot. When I went to _____ in 2000 my basic perspective was that um the reason why I had succeeded was because I… uh it's difficult to not think retrospectively because I have, it's like twelve years now so I had different opinions now than I had then so I'm trying to voice my opinion as it was then back in 1999 or around then so around then my opinion was that to survive you've got to become one of the guys and you can't be. If you're gonna look to be treated differently people will treat you differently and you've got to basically fit in and realise that you are in a male dominated world and you can't be like overly emotional and you've got to basically try and project your male persona very strongly so that you fit in [pause 2] So that was my opinion when I left South Africa and when I went to _____ the demographic in the lab that I was not ? so… for instance when I started out of a class of 110 students we were five girls and when I graduated none of those girls graduated with me, I was the only one who graduated. So in my final year class – I might be wrong but my recollection was 92 students, two girls and I think during that whole time that I was studying I really acted like I was one of the guys in my class. I didn't date anybody in my class, really projected being=

I: =One of the boys

P: Ja, I was just and it was only amusing to me when the guys were <@like "we are aware of the fact that you are a girl" and I'm like "no you're not" @>. I didn't feel left out, I was part of study groups and I had great friends. I think in my first year, especially since I've been in a girls school before that was quite difficult and there was nobody studying the same subject as me so for ((this faculty)) there were some girls, of those three of the girls out of the five were in ((residence)) with me so for the foundation course I could ask other people questions but as I went to second and third and forth year there was no one else – well no other *girls* in my environment that I could ask questions. But by the time I got to third and fourth year I had made a group of friends that I studied with and did projects with and then I did my masters and that was just kind of carried on, one of the guys, doing my research or whatever. One of the lecturers, I think when I was in my second year in my masters, one of the lecturers came to me and said that there was a girl, one of the undergraduates who was struggling and could I help her a little bit and so she came to speak to me and she didn't have anybody to study with and completely on her own. Um so I helped her a bit with that and then I realised that uh, not all girls were as confident – in my personality if I'm in a situation where I am stressed or challenged I will push through rather, you know fake it till I make it than turn and run whether I felt *that way or not* was irrelevant but so when I spoke to this girl she was a lot more timid than I was and then I realised that she was really going to struggle with it. I think it could also be the language thing. Being English speaking and having gone to a girls school I was probably a lot more extroverted than a traditional Afrikaans girls – which she was and I think she was concerned with preserving her femininity while in a class with all these guys so that was an issue for her whereas it wasn't an issue for me [pause 2] So that was the first time that I was confronted with somebody else's gender issues and I wanted to help her. So there was a student council meeting and I brought it up and said you know there are more girls starting to study ((in this field)) and maybe you should start to study groups and organise so they can get together and I've been through this and it's tough but there are ways to get around it if there is like a community. So maybe you guys all can put your names on a list and so you can ask questions and then I left it at that. When I went to _____ and then the demographic in the lab that I was in was a lot better, from less than five percent female to being probably about 15/20% females

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of my colleagues, uh so in that environment… at that point it was less an issue, I studied my doctorate and I just kind of carried on dong my own thing and own of my peers was a lot more vocal about discrimination in classes and labs because our professor – in one of the classes he had made some comments about the difference between how men and women think and women have like ten things that they are thinking about and men have pyramid thinking. And this was his personal opinion that he had voiced in class and she was very upset because she thought it was inappropriate and when he said it I didn't even think about it but so she was upset and she went to go speak to him and at first I was like "why are you making a big deal about it, that is how it is anyway" but at the same time I did recognise that on a theoretical level that it was inappropriate, especially in a classroom environment when you are a professor but I wasn't that concerned about it, so this was where I kind of started to change my thinking because for me – I then spoke to her about it and when you start to speak out about it and maybe, yeah that is a gross generalisation first of all, and its completely disenfranchising the women in the class because basically what you are saying is that people have different ways of thinking and some people have multitasking thinking and some have focused thinking, but to say that to a group of _____ that because you are a female in this field you are going to be in this group is prejudice. So I said to her but the problem is when you start to highlight – when you start to say "I take insult" and "I think like this but I am a female". So, the I basically said that all that you do when you speak out about it is that you make that person who already has a gender bias think "oh this is just an emotional female", so that you are playing into that stereotype, so then she said yes but if you don't speak out then you never break that stereotype so it's too bad if he then writes you off, but you have to point it out, *especially* to all the other students in the class who might then think about it. And that's exactly what it did to me. And, um, anyway so there was a group on campus and they had a lunch and people who were invited – they were inviting female faculty members and female postgraduate students and they could just speak about different gender issues and I was invited but I was still in this dichotomy about if you identify yourself with this group of women who are pointing out problems you are immediately alienating yourself from the community because you are saying that you are different from just being a

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[[professional]], you are a female [professional]] So I was a little uncomfortable going but at the same time there were a lot of female academics that I had a lot of respect for and I wanted to find out why they were there because I didn't think they would be, so I went there to the first couple of meetings and there were moments where I was irritated because I felt like I was sitting in these lunches with a bunch of women who were whining and I was just "ag, you're digging your own grave" but at the same time there were a lot of women there who were very successful academics and were getting stuff done. And they started talking about stuff that were new to me like what were the character traits, the stereotypical traits that are starting to be valued in our community and that these were basically the soft skills. And so, especially in the workplace, not in academics in the industry, that women are getting known for running meetings a lot better than men and – now I am generalising as well, and the people who aren't pushing for their own voice but just want to get things done. And I shouldn't say men I should rather say *people*, who are more ego driven and they are pushing for their own voice. And also, when looking at workplace dynamics and getting your team together, women seem to be better at recognising the complimentary traits that work well together and the motivating and encouraging traits, which is massively about teamwork, especially in industry. So there women are also bringing valuable skills that they bring to the workplace and typically, ((our field)) isn't seen as people who don't play well with others so with the influx of more women that is changing, because women prefer to work in teams a lot of the times. So that whole thing about team work and recognising individual traits and coupling them so that was kind of seen as a strength that women have above men. And some basic skills have nothing to do with whether you are male or female.

I: So what are some other reasons that those women academics gave about why they were doing these meetings?

P: I think a lot of them wanted to be role models for young women. They had been through the troubles of being a young academic. A lot of the support was for balancing life, for being a mom and how to do that. How you manage that. So, and there was also a lot of talk about promotion and salaries and "forget all the touchy

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feely stuff, this is what statistics show" and then backing that up with psychological reasons about why, in a job interview, a guy will tend to oversell himself and a women in a job interview will probably be brutally honest to her detriment. And not only brutally honest but she'll probably undersell herself. She'll make too much of her faults and too little of her strength and because of that you end up with, where guys are groomed from very young to – o okay and _____ is very aware of this because marketing is very big over there – so that was also a difference in the culture is that, I was not only dealing with looking at gender issues, but I was in an environment where, from a young age, people are groomed to promote themselves. For South Africans – that was where there was a national difference because as South Africans, especially as a young South African, you are very polite and you are respectful towards elders and over there as a young person you are expected to go "oh you want me for this job because this and this" and the older person has to say to the younger person. "okay, I'm gonna take what you said and divide it by two and then maybe I'm close to where you are" [pause 1] so they were talking from that context of young males who oversold themselves and young females who were trying to be as promotional marketing themselves and weren't quite there but even the level that the girls were marketing themselves to me was completely foreign. So the talks that they were having were how to sell themselves but as a South African you don't, you present who you are as a person. And so, just through speaking to my peers and students who were interviewing for bursaries and job interviews, just seeing how they packaged their CV's and how much effort they went through to present themselves, to sell themselves and then just how much resources were available at the university to teach you how to write a good CV, what your cover letter should say. All of that stuff, there was a big emphasis on that. And so, because they are always trying to sell themselves and then the reward that you get in salary and then *that* is where the gender bias came in. So then they started talking about we as females are not selling ourselves strongly enough then we don't get the same reward and we should. And then work-life balance is more important for women and you get that support structure for men in marriage as breadwinners to leave house early and come back late and that entire time they only have to focus on work. They don't have to worry about kids or household or lunches or laundry or pets. Whereas as career woman if something goes wrong at

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school they phone you or if something has to be done like the plumber needs to be called then you have to arrange it. So now you're running two jobs and, again, this is very much a national contrast – back then South Africa was very much like that. <LO It's slowly changing now LO> but back then it was very like that, we had these patriarchal roles. But they were probably about twenty years ahead – career women were part of a team where their husbands were also taking children to school and changing nappies and making lunches, taking time off if the kid was sick. It was a shared role. And there you had academics going away on conferences and their husbands were taking over and and it wasn't like "wow you are being a great dad" it was just you are being a dad". So the women who were running the meetings had been through what is was like twenty years back, how things are currently in South Africa, and they wanted to make young women aware of how, if they expect that, it wasn't always like that. And that if you want to, as an academic, if you want to continue your career *and* have a family think about the partner that you choose and it has to be a man who's willing to be a team player because you can't do both. Otherwise it isn't feasible. And then there were also women who had decided that their career was going to be priority and then they decided that they weren't going to have children, either because they married someone who they could not see taking this 50/50 role or they wanted to put 100% into careers and you can't be a mom and do… So it was also coming out of this whole 90's Ally McBeal thing and the sentiment that you can be both a mother and have a career and do both 100% and those women had been through this and could tell you that you can't.

I: So all of that was overseas, what about [the university]?

P: Ja, so coming back to [the university] then I probably was quite interested in making sure that there is no such thing as gender bias in ((my field)) is incorrect – *there is* – but just because you acknowledge it doesn't mean that you are weak, doesn't mean that you are giving in to it, just that you are highlighting that there are things that need to change. So it wasn't like I was a radical feminist or anything when I came here, but there were lectures here who had taught me undergraduate and when conversations came up like, "but you came through this and so why can't all girls be

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like you?", then instead of where, maybe seven years prior I might have been like "ag, I don't know why but girls must just get over it", I could then be "ja, but the reason I got where I got was because I went through a process of denying my femininity and identifying myself with a male persona" [pause 1] o that is not really fair to expect a woman to fit in by being a male.

I: What did they say when you said that?

P: <LO They said it isn't like that and I said yes it is LO>. But they already respected me because they had taught me undergraduate, I had worked overseas, I had my doctorate, they could see my work ethic now, I had already made a name for myself so now I was saying that I had already went through this part and it's only *now* that I am this age that I can recognise the sacrifices that I made, so don't think that I was just a cool chick and I could make it work. I made a lot of sacrifices and maybe I wasn't *aware* that I was making these sacrifices and that *is why it worked*, because women who are *aware* of the sacrifices then get afgeskeep as whining or whatever. *But*, in retrospect I can now go back and say "you guys can also do a lot to make it easier for women" and so instead of saying that if you want to make it as a woman then you've got to fit in as a male, you can also open your mind and say what can this woman bring to ((the field))? Or how can it change to be more inclusive? Not just "how can this woman change?"

I: Not seeing it as completely set in stone. Are you still the only female in your department?

P: No no. On lecturer level there is another lady, she's retired now but she was here when I was an undergrad, then ((there are two more women in this department)).

I: So what do you act like now? Is it the same feeling as undergrad?

P: I don't feel like I have to compromise myself to be here. But that's because I have already made a space for myself. If I haven't made a space for myself it might be a

different story. So now I feel that I can talk with authority and speak as a female ((in this field)). So there is that aspect. *But then*, at the same time, there are also personality traits that I had that maybe, when I thought of – when I was going through this whole kind of self-evaluation of "I've denied my femininity" that I've now realised that there are some personality traits that I maybe thought of as male, but they're not they're just my personality traits. So I wasn't lying or anything that was just who I was as a person. So it was also a whole process of become *self-aware* I'm not someone who gives into my emotions easily, now it's not because I'm in denial, it's just who I am. It's not seen as a very feminine trait, but at the same time there are plenty of men out there who are emotional and deny that. So it's like a *pseudo-gender* trait that is not a gender trait that has just been categorised as a male and female but it's not really you know. There are plenty of women out there who are not emotional and plenty of men who are *overly* emotional.

I: What is your relationship like with your colleagues? What was it like when you started working here and what is it like now?

P: I don't think there's much difference the last five years. I think that the relationship that I started with and what I have now, in terms of gender or whatever, it feels the same. Um [pause 3], one thing that I've always found ((in this field)) is that men are cautious – another generalisation – men are nervous with females until she's proven that she fits in and then actually they are open, they don't have prejudice against you. What the men are looking for is somebody who pull their weight, who they can have conversations with and rely on, as a ((professional)), and as soon as you've proven that, whether you are male or female is irrelevant.

I: So everyone is judged until they reach that point?

P: Ja, but what I think, where the gender comes is in that there is an inherent nervousness before they get to know you that because you are female you might not make it and equally so there is an inherent assumption that because you are male you're not gonna have any issues so when my male colleagues come up with what are

termed as 'female issues', like being emotional *or whatever*, then it's almost like the rest of the colleagues are surprised and when on the converse when the female proves herself they are like "o wow".

I: The colleagues who asked you about your experience, has it ever gone further than that, meaning have you seen that idea in the way that they interact with female students?

P: Ja, I've had professors come to me and – one of the scenarios that I can remember, there was, one of the professors came to me and said o I've had a horrible experience in class and I totally didn't mean anything by it but you, you know, you are a female in this field so tell me your opinion. So basically what happened is he was in class and he was asking questions and he said to one of the girls in class [pause 1] "o let's hear a girl answer this, Ms. So and so beantwoord assebelief hierdie vraag" and she answered the question but after class she went up to him and said listen it's already tough enough for me a minority in the class and then you ask me a question *because* I am that minority and it made me feel very uncomfortable and please don't do it again. And he was totally taken aback by that, um first of all because a student would come and speak to him like that. There's nothing wrong with what she said and he *didn't think* she was rude, he was just surprised that she would have the guts to do that but then at the same time he was like, why did she have to take that stance? Obviously I didn't mean it and that way and she's being overemotional or whatever.

I: Like if my intentions weren't negative why is this an issue.

P: Ja, so when he told me that story I laughed because I know him and I know he didn't mean anything by it but this is now also a completely different generation coming in that *is* self-empowered that feels that they *can* speak out. So I think it is difficult, on several levels, not only on the gender but also on the generational gap for these professors that are in their 60's and 70's having a 20 year old coming and saying…

I: Did he, do you know what he did afterwards, did he apologise to her?

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P: Well he came in and he said that he had apologised to her and I feel bad now and I don't know what to do and I don't maybe I should apologise to her publically in class next time? *And I was just like <@no wait!@>*

I: That's just going to make a huge issue out of it=

P: =Ja, I said all you have to do is just say I'm sorry I didn't mean it that way and that obviously I respect you and I won't do it again. So I said just look all she wants is to be treated with respect and not be singled out so all I would do is just don't treat her any differently – don't *ignore* her now or bring attention to her but don't treat her any differently, just treat her like a guy.

I: Has anyone made any comments to you?

P: Not really, like I said on a colleague level there's already a level of respect so any jokes that are made are jokes that I would make myself. And it's interesting speaking to some of my colleagues in the tearoom because now that I'm pregnant and a lot of them are young fathers, and they are now at the stage where my ((overseas)) colleagues were ten years ago, where they also have to pick up their kids from school or sometimes also have to=

I: =a new generation

P: Ja, so they are sharing those roles. I would say that the majority of the guys here in the department who are young and have kids are very hands on and involved. And that's the norm. And so, if I think about my father's generation if you had to sit in the tearoom and talk about which prams are the best, whatever they'd be like <@you know "what are you talking about"@> but I can have those types of conversations with my male colleagues because they are involved in their child's birth and it's a part of their lives. Where there still is probably more prejudice is with my students. I still have students coming in here and saying "o hallo tannie, kan tannie my nie asseblief

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help met dit en dit nie?" or 'juffrou' or whatever. Usually first or second years. But coming straight out of high school, especially from the platteland or whatever, then that perception of me – they haven't identified me as a ((professional)) yet. But it changes quite quickly and when I'm lecturing, within the first three to four weeks students have been with me in class they realise that this is not a tannie that is talking about baking a cake, she has knowledge and she is transferring that knowledge. So then they start to identify me as a ((professional)) and as a lecturer then they are fine.
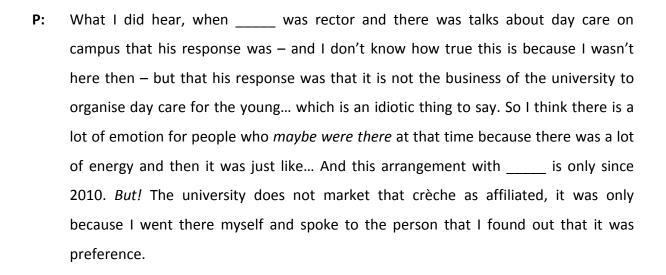
I: Which students are these?

P: Some of the females, but mostly the men. I'd say like 70% of female students call me "Dr." right from the start.

I: Your maternity leave, how was that handled?

P: O very easy. Our head of department is also a young dad so um, it was left up to me. It was my choice and I asked for four months and just said tell me what to do and absolutely it was no problem. The difficult situation was that it was his first time as head of department and another lecturer had fallen pregnant four weeks before me so then she announced her maternity leave and we had a year group together so it was a major logistical influence on our department and, I mean, his response when I said I was pregnant was okay first of all congratulations that is fantastic and secondly, we will figure out how all to do this. I can say that there has not been *any* negativity at all about me going on maternity leave, it is a very supportive environment.

I: I know the university doesn't have an open pay policy, so obviously I can't ask you this question but are you aware possibly of any policy or a pay gap or…

P: Mmm, ja I've wondered about it. Okay because first of all, we had a kind of strategic planning meeting and can't remember exactly – someone made a joke about us going on maternity leave and them now having more work, but it was all said very jokingly…or no maybe we were talking about promotion or the division of duty or

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whatever and I kind of laughed and said that you do realise that you can't… the fact that I am going to be gone for four months and won't be teaching – o we were talking about performance evaluation and I then said well uh, I have a question about the performance evaluation because in a year's time from now there will be a four month period where I will not be working on my performance so how will the university handle that? Am I going to be evaluated on eight months of work? Or am I going to be evaluated on 12 months of work and then have done nothing for four months? Because it's a prejudice if it's taken like that because you have to take into account that I've been on maternity leave and therefore my performance cannot be measured at the same level as somebody who's been working for 12 months. And there was kind of like a – you could see that people did a double take because on the one hand they hadn't thought about it, but on the other hand they realised that what I was saying was logical and true but, *now* the reality of they are paying someone for 12 months work and they've only done eight months work but they can't prejudice the evaluation of that person for the other four months, they've got to take that four months and give them some leeway into account… was starting to come in and so they hadn't really thought about it. So everybody is supportive of maternity leave but I don't think that they think about what that exactly means…

I: Ja, it's not just the months that you are not here, it does affect everything later.

P: Ja, so um, things like for the next four months there might be people take do my classes and whatever, but that doesn't mean that next year when I come back that I then have to pay back those four months, because you know this is my right.

I: So then, after that moment of shock did they then=

P: <@it didn't really@> faze them, they were just like okay and let's move on. So, it will be interesting to see next year with my performance evaluation how it is being evaluated, well you know like why haven't you published any papers? Well you know for four months I was on maternity leave and you get so many marks – and this is something that I – you get an average score based on things like the amount of classes

that you taught on average for the last three years so *now*, *before* I leave I am going to HR and find out, so how do I fill in this form? Because if I take my average over the last three years do I just, do I take this last year into account because if I do then obviously my performance is going to go down and then it looks like I'm not working but actually I was on maternity leave… So um, ja I don't know how – before I get to that point I will also do my own research and try and come up with some suggestions on how I think we can evaluate that. Like maybe I can just say my performance over the last three years, so I don't take those last four months into account and just so if I hadn't been on maternity leave I would have taught four classes this size and my performance for the previous year is just repeated for that…so I'll have to work on my statistics.

I: I was just thinking, this isn't the first time someone's mentioned the forms, she is working part-time and when the evaluation came there was no option for her and that is an issue for a lot of women because they will be the ones who will take time off and the university isn't helping them, women academics, with like a university crèche or something.

P: Well this is actually something that people have said to me all the time that there is not crèche but there is that _____ day care…

I: Ja, I think the issue was that there was supposed to be university-specific day care

P: I was kind of thinking about that, and _____ is on university property and if you want to put your child there then as a university employee they give you preference, so it's basically a privately run crèche that is on campus and that gives preference to academics. I actually think it's better that it's privately run because then the person that is running it, she is an early-childhood development person, but because it's private she doesn't have to worry about all the university red tape. She can make her own decisions based on her training as a child development indicator.

I: There were talks apparently…

P: What I did hear, when _____ was rector and there was talks about day care on campus that his response was – and I don't know how true this is because I wasn't here then – but that his response was that it is not the business of the university to organise day care for the young… which is an idiotic thing to say. So I think there is a lot of emotion for people who *maybe were there* at that time because there was a lot of energy and then it was just like… And this arrangement with _____ is only since 2010. *But!* The university does not market that crèche as affiliated, it was only because I went there myself and spoke to the person that I found out that it was preference.

I: So if you were looking for something=

P: =Then it looks like there's nothing but there is an arrangement but it's just not marketed

I: But if no one knows about it then it doesn't serve its purpose.

P: And also, that crèche only takes ten kids four months to like, a year.

I: How are the other parents in this department?

P: Well, most of the parents are fathers obviously. And then of the four women working here one has an 18 year old and Maria just had her baby and I will have my baby so three of us. And ja, Chantal comes through probably like two, three days a week from home and she works full time and there is no perception that she doesn't pull her weight in the department, I mean she works hard. *All* of the women are not seen as being given any special treatment. And Maria was here today and she is on maternity leave but you still see and she is still involved on the outskirts and her baby is only a month old. And for me, I've had students and colleagues say to me "well what are you doing to do on maternity" and I'm like <@ well I'm not going to Mars @> you know, I'm still going to read my email and figure out – but if I speak to a lot of my friends who are moms then *their* perception of me being on maternity leave is that I'm not

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going to be doing any work at all. That my perception of myself is just that that is not possible for me and it wouldn't be my choice either. You know, I have students who are doing projects that I have to keep tabs on and that I want to be involved in so I have to manage that balance. The purpose of my maternity leave is that I don't have to come into my office and when I do, it's up to me when I come in and what I do and how that is set up.

I: Have you ever been sexually harassed or assaulted at this university?

P: No.

I: Do you know of anyone?

P: Besides from like Die Matie… I'm thinking – I'm having to think now… nothing that springs to mind.

I: Any last comments?

P: No… I think I've said it all.