

A Feminist Analysis of Women Academics' Experiences of
Restructuring in a South African University

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by

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Declaration

I, Saajidha Bibi Sader, declare that the thesis is the result of my own investigation and that it has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or to any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Signed: _____

Date: _____ of _____ 2014

Dedication:

I dedicate this work to my late parents, Marhoom Zubeida Bibi Peerbhay and Marhoom Peerbhay Mahomed Peerbhay. You are the reason I know love, it is love that makes me strive to be a better person, and it is love that underpins my pursuit for social justice.

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Acronyms

ANC- African National Congress

CPTD- Continuing Professional Teacher Development

DET- Department of Education

EWP- Education White Paper

GEAR- Growth, Employment and Redistribution

HWI- Historically White Institution

HBI- Historically Black Institution

HEI- Higher Education Institution

IMF – International Monetary Fund

NCHE- National Commission on Higher Education

NDoE- National Department of Education

NEPI- National Education Policy Initiative

NPHE- National Plan for Higher Education

PFI, SA- Paulo Freire Institute, South Africa

RDP- Reconstruction Development Programme

SADTU- South African Democratic Teachers Union

SAHE- South African Higher Education

UCLA- University of California, Los Angeles

UDUSA- Union of Democratic University Staff Associations

UKZN- University of Kwa-Zulu Natal

UN- University of Natal

UWC EPU- University of Western Cape Education Policy Unit

WB – World Bank

Abstract

Given the changes in South African Higher Education in the context of globalization and the tension over the nature and role of higher education in social, political and economic transformation, the question arises: How has South African Higher Education been positioned in this global arena to respond to local and global pressures? More importantly, if South African universities are to play a significant role in transformation, then they ought to be places that uphold and promote the goals of social justice, namely full and equal participation for all. The broad focus of this study was the relationship between gender and higher education restructuring and the implications thereof for gender equity. This study therefore aimed to investigate how women academics were experiencing institutional restructuring in the context of national higher education reform and globalization and the implications thereof for gender equity. Using theoretical constructs drawn from feminist standpoint theory and methodology, and my own autobiography and experiences, I conducted in-depth narrative interviews with fourteen women academics in the university. Investigating gender inequality and inequity in the context of higher education reform necessitates studying the characteristics of the restructured university as a social system and its relation to individual behaviour. Standpoint feminist theory allows for the interrogation of individual and intentional action in the context of structural constraints in terms of race, class and gender.

The research site for this investigation was the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). Given my experiences as a woman academic in a restructured university and my position as a researcher/participant, it made sense to use UKZN as the site for my research. There were two key reasons for selecting this as my research site: the restructuring of the university as a result of the wider transformation in higher education in South Africa; the formation of UKZN from and the merger of two universities in the province, one a historically white institution (HWI) and the other a historically black institution (HBI).

I drew on Nancy Fraser's (2008) three-dimensional theory of justice to make sense of women academics experiences of higher education restructuring and its implications for how we

understand and address gender and social injustice in the current context of globalization. The study found that participants experienced tensions in assuming an academic identity. Factors such as their temporary status, the lack of respect afforded to them within the institution and within their disciplines, their lack of a standing in a discipline as well as their perceived lack of expertise and research significantly influenced their construction of themselves as academics. The prevailing dominant masculine discourse and ethos served to reinforce feelings of inadequacy and inferiority further entrenching the ambivalence participants experienced in assuming an academic identity. For them, assuming an academic identity is an emotionally laden experience, influenced by the values they attach to their work and the emotional investment they make to teaching and learning.

They perceived the university executive, in its corporatization of the university and its adoption of new managerial policies and practices to have privileged profits and not people. They saw this as compromising the purpose and role of universities. Participants experienced development of institutional policies and accompanying practices as exclusionary. Decentralization has resulted in an increase in administrative and bureaucratic work for academics. They experienced the emergent corporate culture as hostile, alienating and destructive; believing that it has eroded academic autonomy and collegiality: and saw this as negatively impacting on staff morale which left staff feeling excluded, marginalized, and alienated. For participants, their growing sense of alienation from the institution is the result of incongruence between their personal and professional values and the university's corporate values. As women, they value teaching, their students who they do not see as clients, their colleagues and collegial ways of working, not competition for rewards. They value the production and dissemination of knowledge for the betterment of society and do not see it as a commodity. Increased workloads, fewer resources, larger classes, semesterization and modularization, greater administrative responsibilities have resulted in greater constraints and less control for academics over their work. Career advancement is now closely tied to quantitative indices of value and worth which define an academic in the corporate university, which further alienates women from their academic work and the institution. For these women academics, collegiality and collaboration not competition,

individuality not individualism, the process not the product is what counts, not the counting of what one does.

This study concludes that the reinforcement of male dominated approaches, so prevalent in universities not only threatens equity gains, it leads to greater inequity in terms of misrecognition. Like other research findings, this research has demonstrated that the corporatization of the university and the prevailing masculine culture of new managerialism are set, to once again privilege men and disadvantage women (Metcalf and Slaughter, 2008) thereby entrenching maldistribution and misrecognition in relation to gender. According to Metcalf and Slaughter (2008), women are advancing in their careers in the context of academic capitalism, but a celebration of their success ignores the majority of women who have not achieved similar gains, because of they have not adapted to fit the individualistic, competitive, market-based criteria now used to reward academic staff, which denies them parity of participation.

Prologue

“I think and write in conversation with scholars, teachers, and activists involved in social justice struggles. My search for emancipatory knowledge over the years has made me realize that ideas are always communally wrought, not privately owned. All faults however, are mine. For seeking the kind of knowledge that emerges in these pages brings with it its own gaps, faults, opacities. These I accept in the hope that they too prove useful to the reader”.

(Mohanty, 2006, p.1)

Finding a Research Focus

My experiences within the academy, and the myriad ways in which I experienced sexism in my personal and professional life and saw it play out in the university, the countless discussions and engagements with other women academics in my school, the faculty and the university, were the impetus for this research on women academics experiences in higher education, particularly in this context of institutional change and higher education reform. One would think that post-apartheid we would be celebrating the huge strides made toward equality and equity, in relation to racism, sexism, class conflict and other oppressions. After all, South Africa was and continues to be internationally heralded as an exemplar of transformation.

If so much had changed, post-apartheid, so many gains had been achieved historically through the women’s movement, feminism, women’s activism and work amongst various socio-political movements, why were the same issues confronting women in the academy, both at an inter-personal and structural level. Why is there a continued absence of women in senior management

and leadership within the university; why was there a proliferation of women academics at the lower levels of the academic stratum; why do women continue to experience challenges in balancing personal and professional responsibilities and why is this still a barrier to women's advancement in the academy; and why are women still experiencing sexism in the workplace at the interpersonal level? A review of the literature indicated that these forms of structural, institutional and personal forms of sexism in academia were not peculiar to my university; they were universal issues despite the myriad battles and subsequent gains by feminists.

Initially, the impetus for this research came mostly from my own experiences of the institutional restructuring. I felt strongly that issues related to women's experiences and sexism within the restructured university was tangential to wider transformation and equity issues, and that equity as espoused by the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 was more about race and racism than about addressing sexism. Nadine Gordimer, in *'The Essential Gesture. Writing, Politics and Places'* speculates on the position of whites in a transformed South Africa under African rule. She states "If we're going to fit in at all in the new Africa, it's going to be sideways, where-we-can, wherever-they'll-shift-up for us" (1988, p. 32). While this reference is to the place of a white minority in a new political dispensation, I felt it resonate with my experiences as a black woman academic vis-à-vis finding or claiming my place and it described so aptly the continued struggles of women in all spheres of life.

In 2003, while working with my colleague Ivor Baatjes as an associate in the newly formed Paulo Freire Institute, South Africa (PFI, SA), we were invited to participate in an international research project by Professor Carlos Torres (Director of the PFI, University of California, Los Angeles, UCLA). The research was an investigation of the effects of globalization on education reform globally and so began our participation in the Globalization and Education Reform (G&ER) project. I immersed myself in the globalization literature and began to explore the possibility of bringing this together with my ideas and interest in researching women academics experiences of higher education reform and its gendered implications.

What I initially envisaged as a clear and uncomplicated process became a complex tangle of confusions and contradictions as I immersed myself in the literature, largely because I was trying to get my head around what it meant to call myself a feminist and why I thought my research should be or was a feminist research project. I was also trying to get my head around the globalization discourse, which took me into conceptions of globalization, theories of state, neoliberal ideology, market economies and the list goes on. Rather than the conundrum beginning to be unravelled, it began to take on unwieldy proportions. On a more practical level, I was also trying to match textbook descriptions of how to write my research proposal and this was certainly, not how I was experiencing this initial process. The more immersed in the globalization and feminism literature I was, the less encumbered I felt by the great discomfort I initially experienced at my lack of knowledge.

I then set out to find a suitable supervisor – an expert in feminist research with knowledge and research in globalization and higher education reform. I met with Patrick Bond, director of the Centre for Civil Society in the School of Development Studies. I was familiar with his work around neoliberalism, globalization and social, environmental and economic justice. I was also aware of his activism in global as well as local social movements. I then met with, Gerhard Mare, professor of sociology whose work and research interests in Diversity and Equity in the Workplace and Social Identity Formation appealed to me, and Robert Pattman, professor of sociology, because of his research and interest in gender studies, gender and education and social identity development. I could not find anyone in my faculty or the university who had the combined research experience in the three areas that informed my research: gender, higher education reform and globalization. Lebo and Volker kindly agreed to serve as my supervisors, and while I have shared a great deal with them as my friends and colleagues, I have to confess that I initially kept them at a safe distance as my supervisors. Much has been written about the relationship one shares with one's supervisor. While I do not have the space here to do this, I must confess that my experience and relationship with Volker was quite different from that with Lebo, particularly in terms of the extent to which our respective positionalities and locations come to bear on such a relationship.

Having initially set off with a clear identification of my research as a feminist project, I began to experience a discomfort in terms of the perspective from which I should approach this research investigation. The globalization theories clearly signalled a structural approach to investigating the effects of education reform. My initial stance was a micro-political one largely informed by my personal experiences as a black, woman academic in a largely white and male dominated environment. Do I approach this research from a macro-structural perspective or the micro-political perspective? Clearly, I had located my research within the critical tradition, but I was unsure of how to address the contradiction I experienced in terms of the tension between recognition and redistributive politics. I found a resolution in Nancy Fraser's theory of justice, which I discuss in my conceptual framework.

Given that, my research aim was to investigate women academics' experiences of higher education reform in the context of globalization I drew on feminist standpoint theory and methodology (See Chapter Three) to investigate participants' personal and professional experiences of institutional restructuring (See Chapter One). The broad aim of this investigation was to examine the gendered implications of higher education reform and restructuring. My approach at this point was to think about my research as an investigation informed by three associated concepts: gender, higher education reform and globalization, and then to tease out the key concerns related to women, higher education and gender equity.

Getting Started

I vacillate between expressing my ideas in a narrative subjective discourse, and what I perceive to be academic discourse. My dilemma stems from my socialization into the dominant masculine research regimes of academia, one that stresses objectivity, rationality, linearity, logic and neutrality. As I write, I read what I have written and then turn to academic texts to qualify to myself that this is adequate and that it corresponds to what the research literature advocates is the way research should be done and presented. I resort to rewriting the piece to make it more academic in nature, more in line with the defined research process I have learnt and read about. It is strange the power of our socialization. Even though I am immersed in the feminist research

literature, which recognizes and validates the importance of women's experiences in feminist research (see Chapter Three), I continue to question if mine fits the normative conventions. At the same time, I am also aware of and influenced by the multitude of forces that come to bear on this research process and the final research product: me - the researcher, the research participants, my supervisors Lebo and Volker, the examiners who will be appointed to read my work and others in the wider academic community. As I write, I am subdued into submission, submitting to what I perceive to be the expectations of these witnesses. I try desperately to 'break out' but I feel the noose around my neck tighten and nothing I do helps me break from this vicious 'circle' (Stanley & Wise, 2002), to the extent that I become voiceless and silenced. I question my competence and my ability to write. I am articulate, I know I can write and I have the competence to complete this task but I am self-conscious and feel insecure in my ability to write this thesis.

As I contemplate this reticence I experience, I am reminded of the self-consciousness and insecurity that the participants in the research interview expressed. I was struck then by how many of them began their narratives by questioning whether they had anything valuable to contribute and whether their life stories were meaningful and valuable to this project. This was not because of any confusion or lack of understanding of what my research focus was; it was a genuine questioning of the worth of their stories as data for my research. Quite often they would stop midsentence to ask me if what they were saying was 'okay' and it surprised me that they would second guess themselves in this way. In as much as I was surprised, I also became aware that this was something I would do as well - question the legitimacy of my contribution, the worth of my knowledge. Not only were we questioning the authority of our voices, we were also questioning its validity and its authenticity! I recall explaining to participants that this was their narrative and how they chose to narrate it, what they included or excluded was perfectly valid and acceptable.

When I commented that I loved the description a participant provided and her use of metaphors, she immediately exclaimed, "I was mixing metaphors there, you shouldn't mix metaphors." And

who says we should not mix metaphors? As feminist researchers, we are encouraged to challenge the masculine hegemony that characterizes research in the academy, and to break the circle as Stanley and Wise (2002) describe it “the circle can be broken. The circle must be broken because, if it lies anywhere, ‘women’s liberation’ lies outside of encapsulation by sexist language, sexist ways of thinking, sexist styles of writing, sexist forms of argument, sexist ideas about criticism” (Stanley & Wise, 2002, p. 186). While breaking out of the circle and challenging androcentricism in research and in academia is challenging, it must be done.

Developing a Feminist Position

In this prologue, I am ‘coming out’ as Stanley and Wise (2002, p. 225) would say using the common gay movement slogan. I am both the researcher and a research participant in this research project. Within feminist research, it has become common for the researcher to situate herself within the research to provide first person accounts of the research process (Letherby, 2003). This research sets out to investigate women academics’ experiences of higher education restructuring in the context of globalization and its implications for gender equity (see Chapter One). In this prologue, I provide an account of some of my personal and professional experiences within and outside the university, which have shaped who I am and which have influenced how I have reached this point. It is not uncommon for researchers to describe themselves in the prologue to their thesis or books, thereby establishing what they bring to the research in terms of their social positions, locations within social structures and the social and political milieu that they live in. Not only do I ‘come out’ in the course of this research, I attempt to break out! I say that I attempt to break out as I do challenge the normative ways of knowing and of doing research but I also acknowledge the challenges I experienced in doing so! To “break out of our ways of thinking, writing and speaking is, in effect, to break out of how we presently live in all of its infinite aspects” (Stanley & Wise, 1983, p. 186).

This is a feminist research project and in identifying it as such, I am explicitly identifying it as a political project. Mohanty (2006) questions what a socially and economically just feminist politics would like in the current political and economic context and for me the context is

neoliberal globalization. She explains that it “would require a clear understanding that being a woman has political consequences in the world we live in; that there can be unjust and unfair effects on women depending on our economic and social marginality and/ or privilege” (Mohanty, 2006, p. 3). I am a black woman and I have grown up in apartheid South Africa. To deny the validity of my experiences is to ignore that racism and sexism among other isms are ideologies that uphold social and political institutions of rule, which lead to the sustained oppression of women (Mohanty, 2006).

On a personal level, I challenged my husband one day when I perceived his actions as sexist. This was certainly not the first time. He was furious and vehemently argued that he was not sexist, that I over-analysed everything and everything to me was either sexism or racism or some other ism. In his anger, he suggested I leave my theorizing at work. I was furious and hurt by his suggestion and felt that he had disrespected my work and me. Why was I surprised that he did not understand why he had offended me with his sexist behaviour? Why, after I explained it to him, could he not see his behaviour as sexist? How could he suggest that what I perceived to be sexist was an over analysis and an overreaction to his behaviour? Why was I taken aback? Of course, he could not know what my experiences of sexism are –how could he – he is a man! He could not see it or understand it because the “feminist consciousness is one expression of women’s unique view of social reality” say Stanley & Wise (1987) and they describe it as unique because it “is concerned with, and can see, different aspects of traditional sexist reality” (p. 117). Besides, this was not a dialogue. A dialogue, Freire (1970) explains is an encounter between people who want to name the world (that is, name oppression) and it “cannot occur between those who want to name the world and those who do not wish this naming” (Freire, 1970, p. 69). He had great difficulty understanding how I could hurl such an accusation at him, particularly given his anti-apartheid activism and his commitment to social justice. At that point, he was reluctant to acknowledge his sexism. I choose at this point not to attempt to provide a reason for his ‘reluctance’¹ for ethical reasons. This argument was the beginning of a series of events that led to us experiencing serious marital problems which thankfully we were able to work on, but

¹ The use of quotations (‘’) is to signal that I didn’t believe that he didn’t want to.

only after heated arguments, a great deal of frustration and anger and at times immense pain on both sides².

McIntosh (1989) explains that even when men acknowledge that women experience disadvantage, they are often reluctant to acknowledge their privilege. The reason she explains, is that men are taught not to recognize male privilege and work from this position of unacknowledged privilege, their oppression of women was unconscious. This is one explanation for why my husband believed that he was not sexist. It was not the first time that I tried to explain his inability to see his behaviour as sexism, and in fact oppressive, because of his reluctance to engage with his male privilege. Kimmel (1993, p. 29) explains that to men, gender remains invisible, and it may sound strange he says, but men are not invisible, their privilege is. This explains why commonly, gender inequality is seen to be a woman's issue. He became aware of this in a seminar on feminism when a Black woman challenged the notion that all women were "sisters" because men oppressed them. She explained that when she looked in the mirror she saw a Black woman, unlike the white woman who saw a woman. Her race is visible to her because of her racial oppression – race is how she is not privileged. Race is invisible to the white woman because it is how she is privileged. As the only man in the room, Kimmel was asked to comment and recognized his class, race and male privilege, which were invisible to him. He commented, "...when I look in the mirror, I see a human being. I am generalizable. As a middle-class white man, I have no class, no race, no gender. I am a generic person" (p. 29). This reminds me of the many times when colleagues and I have identified our experiences of sexism only to have our male colleagues deny that they were being sexist.

My history, my experiences, my subjectivities shape and inform my research: they shape my thoughts, my questions, my perspectives, my knowledge and my approach in this research. In

² While I make reference to my personal experiences of sexism in my social relations, including with my husband, I have assured him that I would do this respectfully. On ethical grounds I discussed my stance in terms of locating my personal biography within the research and its implications. He indicated that he was comfortable with this and I share these experiences with his full knowledge of it.

sharing my partial personal biography, I hope to trace what has brought me to this point, the point where I see myself engaging in a feminist research project. I state ‘partial biography’ as I focus largely on my professional biography but as with feminism, the personal is political, and I cannot separate my personal and professional biography – each influences the other. While I share aspects of my personal biography in this prologue, I engage with, discuss and debate the many issues it raises for me in relation to the research at different stages of the research. While I use my biography as a road map for the research, I have engaged in, I use my biography as source of data much in the way I use the participants’ interviews as data in the research.

As I think about how to explain why I regard this as a feminist research project, many questions come to mind: What is feminism? Why do I see myself as a feminist? What does foregrounding my identity as a woman mean? What do I mean by a feminist research project? What are my assumptions about women, gender, power and domination? How have these assumptions that I hold developed? How have they shaped who I am and how I live my life, the principles and values that I subscribe to? Why do I see this as an integral part of who I am? Why am I engaging in this now? How have the social relations I have with the many significant people in my life shaped and influenced how I see myself? What about the social, political and cultural milieu in which this is occurring? How have these shaped and informed this research? These are not questions I asked at the outset of the research; these are questions I engage with continually.

In engaging with these questions, it became clear to me that in sharing my biography I was not merely describing the process and events that have led to this project. Before I began to engage with issues of reflexivity in feminist research, I felt a strong urge to locate myself in this research project, as a feminist academic and researcher and in recognition of the histories that have brought me to this point. I do not work in a linear fashion, and this has up to this point hindered my ability to begin writing. Where do I start? What is the beginning of this project? What do I start writing about? Each time I attempted to write, I felt inadequately prepared for this endeavour and I resorted to reading. My excitement grew as my knowledge expanded and I

found myself articulating my thoughts and ideas to colleagues and friends, but I still experienced a barrier to writing.

What a relief when I picked up *Breaking Out: Feminist Consciousness and Feminist Research* by Stanley & Wise (1987) and their subsequent revised 2002 edition *Breaking Out Again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology* and found an explanation to my problem. My socialization (and I deliberately use the term socialization to capture what I was taught about research as well as the masculine hegemony that underpins research in the human and social sciences) taught me that research happened in an orderly way, it progressed from one point to the next in an organized and linear method. This sort of sanitized manner is certainly not the way in which I was experiencing my research. Stanley & Wise (1987) put to rest my fears, misgivings and insecurities about my ‘inability’ to present my research. Research, they say, is not without problems or without emotions. Such research they refer to as “‘research as it is described’ and not ‘research as it is experienced’” (p. 153). It is not uncommon for researchers to be enticed by textbook descriptions of the research process and when the research does not correspond to this description, we question our ability, believing ourselves to be “inadequate researchers” (Stanley & Wise, 1983, p. 153). The critical point that they raise in this discussion of the research process is that researchers in the social sciences “are taught to mistrust experience, to regard it as inferior to theory” and “fail to report or discuss the contradictions between experience, consciousness and theory” (p. 154) because the research paradigm that the researcher has located her or his research devalues this. I don’t think that researchers fail to do this; I think they are afraid to do this as it takes courage and a certain kind of conviction (based on authoritative knowledge of alternate paradigms) to ‘break out’ (Stanley & Wise, 1983, p. 154).

I do explore this academic ambivalence I experienced further in the thesis as one of the many consequences of my experiences vis-à-vis the social spaces and positions I have occupied and still occupy and my socialization leading to the academic discontent I have and continue to experience. I think here of the point made by Stanley & Wise (1993, p. 1), “that, for academic feminists, ‘research’ and ‘life’ should be neither compartmentalized nor analytically unpacked

using separate intellectual means”. This spurs me on to locate myself as researcher and participant in the research that speaks to both the issue of reflexivity in feminist research as well as my identity as a feminist academic/researcher. I do this by drawing on my personal experiences as a female academic of colour and various critical incidents in my personal life and career trajectory that has contributed to the current location, space and position that I occupy. I am, in Liz Stanley’s words, “going native” and committing the ultimate “research sin”, by “crossing the divided line... between life and academia” and becoming an “academic renegade” (Stanley, in Morley and Walsh, 1995, p. 183).

Me!

Who am I? Seems like a rather philosophical question and I do not intend to engage in Socratic dialogue with myself. So, let me say it like it is: I am a woman, a daughter, a sister, a wife, a mother, a feminist scholar/ researcher/ academic, a South African of Indian origin, and a Muslim. I come from a middle class background and have for the greater part of my life enjoyed a very middle class lifestyle. In writing my biography my intention is to trace what has brought me to this point, the point where I see myself engaging in a feminist research investigation into women academics’ experiences of higher education reform.

Is the Personal Political?

So, what has brought me to this point and what have been some significant influences in my life? Why do I call myself a feminist scholar, researcher and academic? Why do I see my research project as a feminist project? What does referring to my project as a feminist project mean?

I come from a large family and am the sixth child in a family of seven children. My parents are deceased and I lost a brother in 2006. I have three sisters and two brothers. Growing up in a large family has its benefits and detriments. Mostly, I remember being a part of a large, loving and close-knit family. I give due to my parents for this and the values they imparted in the wonderful examples they set for us and the amazing role models they were.

My parents Zubeda and Ismail Peerbhay are of Indian origin. My grandparents came to South Africa during the immigration of indentured labourers from India, a British colony at the time. My grandfather was a trader and a bookkeeper. My paternal grandparents came from the village of Surat and my maternal grandparents came from the village of Randhir in North India. Growing up and living in apartheid South Africa has made it difficult to think in ways that do not reflect race thinking. We are still referred to as Indian, Coloured, African and White.

My father was a bookkeeper and my mother a housewife. My parents were an incredible inspiration in my life. At my father's funeral, a friend of his and respected elder in our community commented that the loss of my father was the loss of one of the pillars of our community. One could not have described him any better. People described him and continue to remember him as a community leader, a social worker, a confidant, a financial advisor and an activist. He worked in his quiet and tireless way to address every problem that landed on his table and was accessible to everyone –people from diverse backgrounds in terms of race, gender, religion and social status. It was much later in life that I became more conscious of how race, class and gender divided us and influenced the quality of our lives. Growing up in apartheid South Africa, I lived and grew up in an Indian only residential area, went to an Indian only school, socialized mostly with Indian people, and occasionally with Coloured friends from the neighbouring Coloured residential area. I grew up believing that this was how it was meant to be.

I think the best way to describe my parents is to share with you the values they ascribed to and the life they lived which for me remains a source of education, inspiration and motivation. Our home was always busy – with people coming and going all the time. My father had an office where he worked from but he could not keep regular work hours as all of his clients and those seeking his help sought him out at home at any time. My mother did not seem to mind that our privacy and home was often invaded in this way and often we had an unexpected guest at the dinner table. We could not tell the difference between his clients and friends. People would seek out his help on personal as well as business related matters.

My mother was made to leave school in grade three so she could take meals to the hospital for her sick grandmother. After the death of my grandfather, my grandmother worked as a domestic worker and midwife for the rich families in their community. Mom often accompanied her to assist with the domestic chores. Mum described the difficulties and harsh times they experienced after her father's death and how obliged and indebted my grandmother was for being taken in by her brothers. She lost all control of what finances my grandfather left them and over how she raised her children. They were at the complete mercy of my grandmother's family, in particular the male members of the family. Because of the lack of schooling, mum was illiterate. My dad taught her to read and I fondly recall the evenings when he would read the newspaper to her. She was a most enthusiastic learner and her greatest reward was that she learnt to read. I still wonder what she would have achieved had she not been denied an education.

What stood out in their relationship was the love and respect my father had for my mother and the respect with which he treated her. She often recalled the experiences of some of the other female members in this large extended conservative Muslim family. She described the physical and emotional abuse some of them experienced in their marriages. My father's respect for my mother even earned her the respect of the very male members of the family who were abusive towards their wives. She felt great pride in relating how my father cherished and protected her. Mostly, the dignity with which he treated her contributed to her confidence and self-worth. This did not mean that mum was not a feisty personality. It was her generosity, her inclusivity, her respect for people and her loving nature that endeared her to all. Before her death, she lived in a flat (apartment) in downtown Pietermaritzburg. Anybody who knows the area downtown around the old Pietermaritz Street knows that it is a busy hub of vendors and unemployed loiterers, mostly African people that the other race groups tend to stay away from. One is always warned if you are planning to visit the area – 'keep your windows up, don't carry a bag or wear jewelry'. People are cautious as they should be: muggings are not uncommon there. We always worried that something would happen to my mum on her daily expeditions around the vegetable and grocery stores in the area. She laughed it off claiming that people knew her and that nothing would happen to her. She was right! It was her love for people that lead to unwavering trust even

in. The vegetable vendors outside the block of flats where she lived described how she ensured there was a constant supply of iced water during the sweltering summer days. She collected empty bottles that she filled with water and froze thereby ensuring a constant supply of water for the vendors. There is not the space to capture the generous and loving nature of my parents. Love, respect, tolerance and fairness were some of the values I saw reflected in their lives, their actions, their behaviour, and in their relations with others. They have been and will remain my loving teachers on this journey of self-discovery and in my work for social justice. Above I have briefly described where I have come from and the influences in my early life. I share this as it continues to influence who I am and what I do.

On Becoming an Academic

“ all intellectuals represent something to their audiences, and in so doing represent themselves. Whether you are an academic, a Bohemian essayist, or a consultant to the Defence Department, you do what you do according to an idea or representation you have of yourself as doing: do you think of yourself as providing “objective” advice for pay, or do you believe that what you teach your students has truth value, or do you think of yourself as a personality advocating an eccentric but consistent perspective?” (Said, 1994, p. xiii)

Becoming a Teacher

The university of Durban-Westville, the apartheid university for Indians, is where I was initiated into student politics, obtained my first degree and qualified as a teacher. It was there that I began to question who I was in terms of my race, my class, my gender and my religion. It was both a confusing as well as enlightening time in my life; confusing because I felt deeply uncomfortable with who I was, having come from a background of middle class, Indian privilege which initially resulted in a wave of rebellion. It was also a time of enlightenment because I began to understand the world differently, I began to question my social reality, and I began to find a voice. I recall an

experience with a lecturer, Mr Loreiro, in my final year of study. We were in a two-hour tutorial discussing the movie ‘A Man for All Seasons’, when I got up after an hour and left. He followed me out and pointed out to me that it was compulsory for me to stay for the duration of the tutorial. I agreed to return if he could point out the benefit to me of the first hour I had spent there and the benefit of going back as I had found no value in being there. Intrigued by my response he invited me to discuss why I believed that this was of no value to me. Back in his office, I surprised myself with my honesty about my experiences in the university, the questions my experiences began to raise for me, the ways in which I saw myself rebel against what I perceived to be my socialization into who I was – a young Indian, Muslim, middle class woman. I described to him how I questioned my beliefs, my values, my education, my socialization in terms of my race, gender and religion and what I perceived as my ignorance & naivety. I was angry and it all spilled out to a man I barely knew. Mr Loreiro was not my usual lecturer, Betty Govinden (now a retired academic from UKZN) was. She was such an inspiration and in one of her classes I commented that the prescribed text, ‘*Teaching as a Subversive Activity*’ by Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, was not a methods book that was going to tell us how to teach. I probably had not spoken in class before this and this marked the beginning of my relationship with Betty, which was the only relationship I shared with a lecturer during my studies at the University of Durban-Westville. Having a voice in Betty’s class & having Mr Loreiro listen to me gave me the confidence to begin questioning my reality, to share my thoughts and ideas and, to engage critically with living in apartheid South Africa. Betty’s interest in me did more than boost my self-confidence; I had a role model in this gentle natured Indian woman lecturer. It is remarkable how memories are triggered and one can look back to an event, a moment and know that people and the experience had a profound influence in your life.

In 1987 I was employed as a teacher by the Department of Education and Culture under the House of Delegates³ for the next eleven years at three different Indian high schools. My first

³ The 1983 then Prime Minister P.W. Botha proposed reforms introducing a tricameral legislature which 70% of white population through a referendum voted in favour of. In 1984 elections took place but a very successful anti-Tricameral Parliament campaign, which saw the majority of Indians and Coloureds reject this system, resulted in a

appointment as a permanent teacher was at the School of Industries⁴ in Newcastle, South Africa, a special school for Indians. I taught at the school between 1987 and 1990 and during this time I also served as a caregiver in one of the girls' hostels. This meant that I taught the normal school day from 07h00 to 14h30 and after school reported for duty as the caregiver in charge of the girls in my care in the hostel till 07h00 the next morning. There were two teachers appointed as caregivers to each of the hostels and we alternated duties on a weekly basis. We were each allocated an apartment attached to the hostel and at twenty-three and in my first year of marriage I took on the responsibility of approximately 30 young girls between the ages of 11 and 18. The girls were institutionalized here because of behavioural problems and/or sexual, physical and emotional abuse they experienced in their homes. How do I describe my experience of working in this school with no teaching experience or experience at child-care? It was in my first year here that I realized my passion for teaching, but teaching that was of a transformative nature. In my view there was much wrong with Schools of Industries as they functioned then. To me these children were identified to be in need of care but whether these schools were set up to provide for the care and education of these children was certainly questionable. A study conducted by the Child Justice Project with the Department of Education (Department of Justice, 2002) found that

poor voter turn-out. Despite this the apartheid government inaugurated the Tricameral Parliament in 1985 which consisted of three race-based chambers: the House of Assembly (with 178 White representatives); the House of Representatives (with 85 Coloured representatives); and the House of Delegates (with 45 Indian Representatives). This provided Indians and Coloureds a level of representation, albeit a powerless one and excluded the African population. The government argued that Africans had political presentation through the homeland system (i.e. Bantustans which were independent or self-governing territories set up for African inhabitants under the administration of the South African government. In the 1980s the apartheid government divided South Africa into five entities; four independent Bantustans states and the Republic of South Africa). Each house, elected by the respective race groups on separate voters' rolls was given jurisdiction over such things as education, health and social welfare for their constituency.

⁴ Schools of Industries in South Africa are residential schools set up for the care and education of children who were declared by a Children's Court as being in need of care under the Child Care Act, Act 74 of 1983, as amended. A child who "*displays behaviour which cannot be controlled by his parents or the person in whose custody he or she is; has been physically, emotionally or sexually abused or ill-treated by his or her parents or guardian or the person in whose custody he or she is;*" is identified as a child in need of care. (Section 14 (4) (ii),(vi) Child Care At, Act 74 of 1983 as amended)

children and youth placed here required educational as well as developmental programmes and therapeutic care. Many of them had previously experienced significant educational neglect and required interventions to address the educational backlogs and deficits caused by their educational neglect. The study found a shortage and in some cases absence of professionals such as social workers, psychologists, child and youth workers and health professionals which limited the care that ought to be provided by a multi-disciplinary team. In addition, the study was critical of the use of educators as child and youth care workers stating, “This teacher-cum-child care worker practice is neither in the best interests of children nor the family/private life of educators.” (Department of Justice, 2002, 4.2.3). I left the school with an indelible memory of the violence perpetrated against children and female youth. My memory of girls raped by their fathers or uncles and girls introduced into prostitution by their mothers, the very people that they sought love and protection from, and their subsequent ostracization by their families because they dared to speak about it, is a memory that haunts me to this day.

During my years of service as a teacher, I was actively involved in the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU), the first non-racial teacher union in South Africa. My participation as a site steward at two schools at which I taught and as a committee member in my branch of SADTU, brought me into regular conflict with the all-male management in these schools. What was interesting was that members of management always singled me out and harassed me but my male colleagues who also served on the union site committee at these schools experienced no such problems. It was also obvious to them that I was being harassed but they did nothing to challenge it. At one school it eventually resulted in me being made redundant in my post and I had to move schools. I raised the issue with my SADTU branch and while they did take it up with the local educational authority it was not a priority on the agenda nor was it addressed as an issue of gender harassment. The response was to find me a suitable position at another school. This amongst other experiences highlighted for me the subordination of women educators. It also showed me that while there were organs in place within the union to address gender issues these were still viewed as women’s issues. Like many other women in union structures, I experienced a lack of power, particularly because key leadership positions were male dominated, and women were often relegated to lower level administrative and support positions. This was my experience

even with my participation as a member of the executive committee of my local African National Congress (ANC) branch. You had to have a very loud voice literally and figuratively to be heard and taken seriously if you were a woman, even within these liberatory organizations.

Small Beginnings

I joined the university community as a lecturer at the end of 1999 at what was then the University of Natal. As a lecturer in education, I was aware then that my main purpose was the education and training of school-based educators. Over the past 5 years, I have witnessed and experienced many changes within education generally and within the university. In this time, I have also tried to forge an identity as an academic, to understand my purpose, role and responsibilities as an intellectual and critical thinker. It occurs to me now, that as I say this consciously, the whole experience has not always been a conscious one.

Changes in education have occurred at both the macro and micro level, and this has included changes in Higher Education. When I set out to read for my doctoral studies, I initially assumed that it would be something in the field of teacher education, especially in light of education transformation and its impact on educators. Working largely with school-based educators, it seemed appropriate and relevant, and the more I learnt about them the more I thought that this was where I wanted to locate my research. Having been a school-based educator for 11 years I was able to relate to the experiences of women educators and the many ways in which their personal and professional lives intersected and the forms of oppression they experienced. However, in thinking about why research on the lives of women educators in schools was important and necessary, I began to think about my own experiences as a woman educator, my identity, my work, my personal life in relation to my work, my purpose, my role and responsibilities, my philosophy of education, my relations and interactions with students, colleagues, the wider university community and communities beyond the university. This made me think about my development and my journey this point in terms of my socio-political and historical location as an intellectual in higher education.

I arrived at the then School of Education, Training and Development at the University of Natal on the 1 November 1999, at 08H00. I was acquainted with the school and some members of staff from my previous experience of working on one of the postgraduate teacher development programmes on a temporary contract basis between 1998 and 1999. I was also a student here when I completed my Bachelor of Education (Honours) degree in 1994. Although I was familiar with the place and some of the people, I was overcome by a sense of trepidation. I suppose one feels this way initially when embarking on any new venture and in any new and unfamiliar environment. The environment may not have been unfamiliar, but academia certainly was a whole new endeavour for me. Having come from being a lecturer in a College of Education⁵ and being involved in teacher education and development prior to this did nothing to give me a sense of being an academic. I still struggle with my identity as an academic and question this from time to time in terms of what constitutes an academic identity and how the social spaces I occupy shape it.

The late Professor Ben Parker, who was the Head of the School prior to my arrival, was instrumental in my appointment to the school as a non-permanent lecturer in a two-year contract post. Ben's loss was and is felt throughout the South African education sector largely because of the significant contribution he made to higher education as an academic and as an education consultant to the National Department of Education. In 1997 he headed the team responsible for the revision of the National Norms and Standards for Educators, seen by many as a defining moment in the history of teacher education in South Africa. It was his plans for restructuring the Education department at the then University of Natal (now the School of Education) in line with

⁵ Until 2001 teacher education was legally a competence of the department of education: owned, resourced, administered and managed by the national and respective provincial departments of education. Teacher education prior to 1994 was racially and ethnically divided and post 1996 legislation and policies aimed to develop a teacher education system that was in line with the new Constitution and the democratic goals of the new South Africa. This process began in 1990 with many colleges of education being closed down. In 1998, the National Department of Education instituted the merger of Colleges of Education as part of the restructuring of post school education. From 1 January 2001 Colleges of Education ceased to exist with some being incorporated into universities and the remainder being closed down.

emerging teacher education policy that created the opportunity for me to work in this highly transformative environment. This marked the beginning of my development as an academic in teacher education. Before he left, Ben had initiated plans to expand the continuing professional teacher development (CPTD) programmes to open access to the large majority of (mostly women African) teachers who were unqualified or under-qualified.

By 1994, it was estimated that 36% of teachers in public schools were unqualified or under-qualified and most teachers in the system had received their initial professional qualifications under the colonial and apartheid education system. Like all education, teacher education was racially and ethnically divided. The training of African teachers pre-apartheid was undertaken by church missions while Indians and Coloureds were trained by provincial authorities. The education of black teachers (African, Coloured and Indian) was inferior to that of white teachers but they were not equal to each other. Of the three groups, African teachers received the most inferior training pre-apartheid and during apartheid under Bantu Education⁶. Teacher training for Africans during apartheid was the responsibility of the Bantustans and the Department of Education and Training (DET)⁷ while the training of Indian and Coloured teachers was the responsibility of the provincial education authorities. African primary school teachers received their initial training in the Bantustan and DET teacher training colleges while high school teachers were trained in the Bantustan universities. The training of African teachers under the church missions and under Bantu Education was an extension of secondary school education and rather than post-school education. (Gordon, 2009; Badat, nd.).

⁶ Bantu Education under the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was an inferior system of education introduced for African people. The key purpose of education for Africans was to train them to fit into their roles in apartheid South Africa as labourers, workers, and servants.

⁷ Education for Africans living in apartheid South Africa (and not in one of the homelands) was administered by the Department of Education and Training (DET).

Becoming a teacher educator

My entry into teacher education, first at the Natal College of Education, and then at the university brought me into contact with a racially mixed group of students, albeit largely African teachers. What became evident from my experience with these teachers desperate to upgrade their qualifications were the immense disadvantages they had previously experienced largely because of their training under Bantu Education. Before I left the college in 1999, the process of restructuring the college sector had already begun with the merger of colleges. This marked the beginning of my experience of the restructuring of higher education. The subsequent closure of Colleges of Education marked a significant shift in teacher education, which now became the responsibility of universities.

The then Pietermaritzburg based School of Education, Training and Development was instrumental in developing our continuing professional teacher development programmes. I was very passionate about this work as it was aimed at teachers, the large majority of whom were African women teachers who had come through the apartheid structured college sector and had experienced gross disadvantages. For me, the work we set out to do in developing these new teacher education qualifications in line with the new qualification framework was about redress and equity. It was about creating access to universities for these teachers who under apartheid were excluded from universities. It was about creating opportunities for these teachers to upgrade their qualifications, particularly those who were identified as unqualified or under-qualified. Those of us working on developing and implementing these continuing education qualifications shared this view, which linked to the Ben's vision of the contribution we could make to teacher education. Our work prior to the merger was supported by the university executive as they saw this as an important way of being responsive to the national need for qualified and competent educators. This was about contributing to the transformation of education, and we worked closely with the National Department of Education (NDoE). We made a significant contribution to addressing the imbalance in teacher qualifications and our work was recognized and acknowledged by the provincial and national departments of education as well as the wider

education community, both in terms of our formal programmes as well as our service to the wider community.

Conclusion

This prologue serves to identify me, the participant researcher and some critical influences and incidents that have shaped my world of work and my personal life and how these have cumulatively shaped my research focus. In Chapter One I introduce the research in more detail and will again draw on some of the critical incidents that have shaped me, the researcher in the context of the “formal” thesis.

Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction

Much is happening in higher education today, here in South Africa and all over the world. As a new democracy, South Africa is a country that has undergone tremendous change and continues to be transformed in all spheres of political, social, cultural and economic life. In both developed and developing countries, higher education plays a pivotal role in contributing to the overall development of its people and the country. South African higher education is no exception, and in its transformation, it has been faced by the challenge of responding to the needs of a country emerging from an apartheid past characterized by structural inequality and divisions along class, gender, race and ethnicity lines as well as underdevelopment. According to the Education White Paper 3 (EWP 3) of 1997 (Department of Education, 1997), South African higher education “must lay the foundations for the development of a learning society which can stimulate, direct and mobilize the creative and intellectual energies of all the people towards meeting the challenge of reconstruction and development” (p. 7). At the time, higher education transformation was seen to be driven by government policy administered centrally by a progressive bureaucracy; and a policy framework aligned to the process of transformation outlined in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) – a “compelling vision of people-driven development leading to the building of a better quality life for all” (Department of Education, 1997, p. 7). Over the past sixteen years, every aspect of higher education came under scrutiny and changes included a new vision, purpose and goals of higher education; a reconfigured institutional landscape, new policies in governance, funding, academic and institutional structures and quality assurance (Badat, 2009).

This initial trajectory of higher education transformation in post-apartheid South Africa, prompted largely by the goals of equity and redress, was interrupted by local and external

pressures and “change in higher education institutions followed a variety of routes that resulted in certain apartheid differences being accentuated and new differences emerging in the institutional landscape” (Cloete, Maassen, Fehnel, Moja, Perold & Gibbon, 2004, p. 1). These changes began to reflect the changes taking place in universities globally. While universities have traditionally been seen as sites of learning, knowledge production, innovation, and scholarship, reforms in higher education, prompted largely by political and economic reforms and a resultant move toward a global knowledge economy, have substantively altered the identity and defining characteristics of the university in the twenty first century. Some of the challenges and issues facing universities include cuts in government funding, demands for increased accountability and efficiency, demographic shifts and innovations in information technology. More alarming is the corporate profit culture that is now a common feature of universities. It was inconceivable that education would be traded as a commodity, or that the university would become a corporate enterprise – like any other – where courses are neatly packaged as consumables and sold by employees (lecturers) to consumers (students)? One might think this an exaggeration and argue that universities are still about knowledge production – about teaching, learning and research with the aim of contributing to the development of a better world. However, changes in higher education particularly the corporatization of universities and the commodification of knowledge have shifted the role and nature of universities.

In 2001, in response to global higher education reforms, Oakley (2001) asked, “What is happening in higher education today? Why does it matter, and to whom?” (p. xi). She explained that discussions about developments in higher education and its effects on human beings were characterized by a set of associated concepts which include, “globalization; commodification; privatization; corporatization; managerialism, credentialism, bureaucratization” (p. xi). She further asserted that the experiences of university staff of these changes in higher education came down to their perceptions that their places of work were increasingly resembling factories; “staff ‘man’ assembly lines in a tightly timetabled and controlled culture, supervised by managers and bosses whose prime concern is with discrete and easily quantifiable deliverables that roll off the assembly line: students are taught – whatever ‘teaching’ means; research is carried out – but valued for its financial, rather than intellectual contribution against ‘overheads’; work is

published – with the contribution of the publication noted against schema of assessment and ‘performativity’ rather than knowledge” p. xi). According to Oakley, the judgments of the value of teaching and research (the key functions of universities) are represented as a “formulaic sum of these activities” rather than in terms of its benefits to science and knowledge (Oakley, 2001, p. xi). This is still relevant today and more so for us in South African higher education given the wave of neoliberal reforms we have and continue to experience.

When I contemplate this rather precise exposition of the state of affairs in higher education globally, I think of my experience as a black woman academic at the university in which I work – the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), South Africa. In terms of the institutional restructuring that has occurred to date, Ann Oakley could well be describing my university as what she describes reflects my experiences too of the transformation and its impact on the people within it and the work that they do.

The Context: South African Higher Education Reform

South African and African Higher Education is receiving significant attention regionally and globally, in this context of globalization, particularly in terms of the conflict over the nature and role of higher education in social, political and economic transformation. The question is: can Africa and its people benefit from globalization? Those concerned with development think not, states Mama (2003), “unless something is done about the parlous state of the higher education sector” (p. 102) in meeting national and regional development goals. Mama (2003) believes that the “global patterns of division and inequality look set to persist within a sector severely depleted by contemporary macro-economic policies of reform and structural adjustment” (p. 102). How then has South African Higher Education been positioned in this global arena to respond to local and global pressures, and more importantly, to contribute to the development of a fledgling democracy?

The new democratic government in South Africa set about to establish a political system and policies informed by the Constitution that guaranteed the rights of all South Africans to political, social and economic justice. Thabo Mbeki, as Deputy President, in his address to parliament in 1998, rightly described South Africa as a country of two nations, one relatively prosperous and white and the other largely poor and black (Government Communications, 1998), a legacy of colonialism and apartheid. The task of redress and transformation was a mammoth one but one the new government was committed to as expressed by President Mandela in his victory speech:

“Let’s get South Africa working. For we must, together and without delay, begin to build a better life for all South Africans. This means creating jobs, building houses, providing education and bringing peace and security to all. This is going to be the acid test of the government of national unity. We have emerged as the majority party on the basis of the program which is contained in the reconstruction and development programme. There we have outlined the steps that we are going to take in order to ensure a better life for all South Africans” (Mandela, 1994, p. 1).

This commitment resulted in the establishment of a comprehensive and integrated socio-economic policy framework, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which gave expression to the ANC led government’s commitment to redress and equity. South Africa’s economic isolation during apartheid also meant that there was a dire need to re-integrate into a global economy largely characterized by neoliberal globalization. However, South Africa’s subsequent integration into the global economy meant that government had to rethink its socio-economic policies to establish the necessary conditions for global participation. This saw the shift from a policy for reconstruction and development based on redress and equity to one that privileged economic growth through trade liberalization.

A Shift to Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)

When the new democratic government assumed power in 1994 it inherited a country characterized by gross racial, class and gender inequalities. The RDP, premised on the Freedom Charter was a framework developed through a broad consultative process. A key feature and

principle was the integration of reconstruction and development which was a shift from the common view that economic growth should precede development or redistribution. The integration of growth, development, reconstruction and redistribution put in place a programme that prioritized basic services, health, education and training with the aim of addressing basic needs as well as freeing the economic and human potential, especially of the most impoverished sectors of South African society. This was perceived as being critical to peace, security and nation building, the cornerstones of the new democracy. While strengths in the economy were identified and a commitment to ensuring that all benefit from it was entrenched, weaknesses in the economy in terms of racial and gender inequalities in ownership, employment and skills were heralded as a key challenge. The rights of workers were entrenched as being essential to the development of the economy.

From the outset gender and racial equality formed the basis for transformation in South Africa. President Nelson Mandela, in his inaugural speech in 1994 asserted that government must understand that freedom cannot be achieved without the full emancipation of women from all forms of oppression. He stressed: “All of us must take this on board, that the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) will not have been realised unless we see in visible and practical terms that the condition of the women in our country has radically changed for the better, and that they have been empowered to intervene in all spheres of life as equals with any other member of society” (President Nelson Mandela, Inaugural Speech April 1994). In keeping with the constitution which guarantees the rights of women in all spheres of life, the new government established the national gender machinery and adopted a Gender policy framework to address women’s oppression in the public and private sphere. The policy framework adopted a basic needs approach which by definition prioritizes addressing women’s basic needs through mainstreaming gender equality. In identifying the challenges South Africa faced in fulfilling its commitment to gender equality, globalization was heralded as a potential opportunity in terms of the redistribution of opportunities and benefits for economic growth, as well as a threat to gender equity, particularly in terms of poverty. (The Office on the Status of Women, 2000)

In 1996, the government adopted GEAR as an economic strategy in place of the RDP. While other countries in Africa had structural adjustment policies imposed on them by external agencies, this shift in economic policy, which shifted priority from development to economic growth, was internally driven. It resulted in government abdicating its initial commitment to social transformation through reconstruction and development by opting for a macro-economic policy, which prioritized economic reconstruction and growth through the creation of a competitive outward oriented economy (Department of Finance, 1996).

GEAR aimed to attain a growth rate of six percent and to create 400 000 jobs by the year 2000 through the an integrated strategy which included the following elements: budget reforms, greater private sector investment, faster fiscal deficit reduction, consistent monetary policy, relaxation of exchange controls and tariff reductions, restructuring of state assets, and restructuring of public sector for greater efficiency in capital expenditure and service delivery (Department of Finance, 1996). The need for restructuring of the public sector and greater efficiency in capital expenditure was mooted on the basis that government spending on services and wages was excessive. Critics of GEAR, particularly on the left, including the Congress of South African Trade Unions were critical of what they saw as neoliberal economic policy, which compromised the progressive principles of the RDP. Advocates of GEAR argued that neoliberal policies of trade liberalization and fiscal stringency were already in place prior to 1994 and that it merely represented a repackaging of existing macroeconomic policy in an attempt for the ANC led government to achieve policy credibility by reaffirming its commitment to these policies necessary to encourage foreign investment (Gelb, 2006). Prior to 1994 a clear tension emerged in terms of ideological differences between the neoliberal strategists or what Bond (2005) refers to as the “status quo” forces representative of the corporate elite who argued for conservative macroeconomic policies and progressive forces represented by the pre-1994 social movements and their commitment to progressive social policies. Bond (2005) argues that it served the interest of the status quo forces to distinguish between social and economic policies to establish the myth, that it was feasible to combine a social welfare state in the developmental sphere with a neoliberalism in the economic sphere. He notes that the RDP conceptually embodies this feat

but in practice, the conservative parts on building the economy are augmented over the chapter on meeting basic needs (Bond, 2005). The development of GEAR bears testimony to this.

The Road to Policy Formulation: 1990-1994

The establishment of the National Education Policy Initiative (NEPI), a civil society initiative that was inclusive of all stakeholders from university-based intellectuals to mass-based organizations, produced a framework for post-secondary education. During the period 1992-1994, the Union of Democratic University Staff Associations (UDUSA) and the University of Western Cape Education Policy Unit (UWC EPU) developed policy proposals that with the NEPI framework, contributed to the formulation of the ANC policy statement on higher education. In it, the ANC identified the principles and values underpinning the development of higher education policy post the 1994 elections and committed to the transformation of education and training into a reconstructed and democratic system aimed at providing lifelong education to all.

Policy Development for Equity and Redress: 1994-1998

The first five years of democracy was about symbolic policy of which the goal was to achieve consensus between state, civil society and institutions (fragmented system) and the emergence of a discourse of equity and consultation.

National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE)

The new democratic government post 1994 was faced with the task of transforming South African higher education, largely dictated by the need for internal redress and development. In 1994, then president, Nelson Mandela appointed a national commission on higher education (NCHE) to identify strengths and weaknesses in the South African Higher education system “to preserve what is valuable and to address what is defective” in an effort to establish a framework that would contribute to restructuring higher education “to serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs, and to respond to a context of new realities and opportunities” (NCHE,

1996, p. 1). A key objective was to restructure and transform the higher education system in South Africa to redress social and structural inequalities and inequities. The imperative for transformation was informed by two key sets of factors, namely, the deficiency in the system then to respond to the needs of the new democratic social order in terms of social and economic justice, and secondly, the need to respond to global pressures and opportunities. In order to understand the intentions and outcomes of higher education policy it is necessary to examine the relationship between economic and higher education reforms. One key reason for this is the tensions that emerged in policy between the goals of democracy, redress and equity on the one hand and the subsequent shift to efficiency, effectiveness, competition and responsiveness (Maasens & Cloete, 2006).

The brief of the NCHE was to provide a policy framework for the transformation of higher education into a new system that was accessible to all sectors of society, responsive to policy imperatives and characterized by co-operative relations and partnerships between higher education and the wider society. Increasing participation, greater responsiveness and increased co-operation and participation became the central features of the new framework, and clearly equity, redress and democratic, representative and participatory governance were prioritized over the development of South Africa's national resources, both human and material.

In keeping with the requirements of procedural democracy, the appointment of commissioners to the NCHE was done through a consultative process and significantly, of the thirteen commissioners only four were female. Higher education stakeholders were involved in policy formulation through an interactive and consultative process which included submissions, three broad-based national consultative conferences and hearings. (Cloete & Muller, 1998)

Beginning with the need for expansion of student enrolments to widen participation, the NCHE recognized the need for "radical changes in the ways institutions and the system are structured, funded, planned and governed" and proposed the development of a single, co-ordinated system

(NCHE, 1996, p. 3). The NCHE recommended a new funding model to address the financial constraints of widening participation to ensure affordability and sustainability. Drawing on the experiences of massification internationally, there was also recognition of the need for diversified qualifications, programmes and curriculum to facilitate multiple entry and exit points through a system of credit accumulation to accompany massification and student diversity. The NCHE also proposed the need for policy on quality assurance to address the adverse effects of increasing enrolment on academic standards.

The second key feature, that of greater responsiveness, related to the establishment of an open and interactive higher education system that was more responsive to societal interests and needs by engaging social, cultural, political and economic changes in its environment. To begin with, such response to the context of a country moving from apartheid characterized by racial, class and gender oppression towards democracy had to be reflected in missions and policies of higher education institutions, as well as in the content, focus and delivery modes of their programmes. Again, the report stresses the need for broad-based stakeholder consultation in decision-making processes. The Commission also proposed a shift from the traditional closed disciplinary based notion of knowledge and knowledge production to a more open and interactive knowledge system. Such a system, the report contends, would be more inclusive of the views and values of the previously disenfranchised in the educational and cognitive culture of institutions. Greater responsiveness in this respect will mean changes in programme offerings, changes in curriculum and content as well as changes in modes of delivery in response to ‘consumer’ and ‘client’ demands and in response to the needs of the market. It is interesting how the needs of civil society are now framed as the needs of ‘consumer’ and ‘client’ in the report. This reflects the first shift to a corporatist discourse and a focus on the needs of the market reflected in the need for a mix of programmes, including those that are vocationally focused in response to the needs of the workplace. The NCHE was optimistic that the transformed system would be responsive and accountable to civil society and would contribute to development of a skills base necessary for economic development. (NCHE, 2006)

What clearly emanates from the report is that transformation of higher education is directed towards equity and access on the one hand, and economic development on the other which are contradictory. Badat, Barends & Wolpe (1993) well before policy formulation drew attention to the tension between the social goals of equality and development, cautioning that if a balance was not maintained it would lead to one or the other being prioritized. At the time they were critical of the position taken in the 'Equity Policy: A Framework of Questions' document that linked equity and development. They argued that by linking equity and development, there was a lack of recognition that a tension existed; and by emphasizing the need to ensure that prosperity is not compromised in the quest for equity, development was privileged over equity (ibid.) Cloete & Moja (2005) provide a useful analysis of two related sets of tensions which characterized higher education transformation and which need to be understood in relation to national socioeconomic realities post 1994, as well as regional and global pressures. They explain that the NCHE attempts to address this tension by proposing massification in response to societal needs ("the logic of equalization") to make higher education more accessible and inclusive, and goal oriented funding to produce high-level skills ("the logic of differentiation") in response to the market (Muller, 2003, p. 102). The NCHE also acknowledged that massification would result in greater efficiency through flexible programme offerings, alternate modes of delivery and the establishment of a quality management system.

The third policy feature emphasized co-operation and partnerships in the governance of higher education, where the state is seen to play a steering and coordinating role as opposed to a more directive, interventionist role. Co-operative governance is based on the "state supervision model" in which the state and higher education institutions are in a co-operative relationship and state steering occurs through the provision of a regulatory framework (Cloete & Kulati, 2003). Higher education institutions pursue their policies and strategic plans within this regulative framework and the state provides financial incentives and planning instruments as steering mechanisms. Co-operative governance also implies greater interaction between HEIs and civil society constituencies (NCHE, 1996).

This shift in governance from state directed to state steering demonstrates a marked shift from the apartheid era with the state determining the allocation of resources, student participation and research funding which was aimed at meeting the interests of the white minority. There was optimism that the new higher education sector would be modelled on the liberal South African university which reflected a high degree of institutional autonomy with the state providing the necessary funds that institutions would utilize at their discretion (Hall & Symes, 2003). Curriculum decisions and policies in relation to student participation as well as staff appointments and promotions would be institutionally determined.

A Shift from Equity and Redress to Equity and Growth

Education White Paper 3 (Department of Education, 1997) begins with acknowledging the State's commitment to stakeholder participation as an expression of its democratic will to consultative policy development and formulation. It provides the framework for the transformation of the higher education sector in which the Ministry sets out its vision of a non-racial, non-sexist single coordinated system with new planning, governance and funding arrangements. The purpose of South African higher education, as articulated in the White Paper, is:

1. "To meet the learning needs and aspirations of individuals" since education increases one's life chances and is therefore a critical means to achieving equity.
2. "To address development needs of society and provide the labour market, in a knowledge-driven and knowledge dependent society."
3. "To contribute to the socialization of enlightened, responsible and constructively critical citizens."
4. "To contribute to the creation, sharing and evaluation of knowledge" by pursuing academic scholarship and intellectual inquiry through research, learning and teaching.

While the White Paper highlights the need for higher education to be nationally responsive in terms of past inequities it emphasizes national development needs when it locates the transformation within "the broader process of South Africa's political, social and economic

transition, which includes political democratization, economic reconstruction, and redistributive social policies aimed at equity” (p. 4). It also calls attention to global pressures and demands that impact on this national agenda in terms of globalization which is reflected in “multiple, inter-related changes in social, cultural and economic relations, linked to the widespread impact of the information and communication revolution, the growth of trans-national scholarly and scientific networks, the accelerating integration of the world economy and intense competition among nation states” (p. 4). In terms of the White Paper, our policy challenge as a country then, is to ensure that “we engage critically and creatively with the global imperatives as we determine our national and regional goals, priorities and responsibilities” as we prepare for integration within the “competitive arena of international production and finance” (p. 4-5). Against the backdrop of a society characterized by gross social and economic inequality, the White Paper, calls for the higher education to “provide education and training to develop the skills and innovations necessary for national development and successful participation in the global economy” as well as for institutions to internally restructure by removing spatial and geographic barriers to access in response to globalization (p. 5).

The competing discourses of equity (reconstruction for equity) and development (economic development for competitive global participation) begin to emerge in the above articulation of the goals of higher education. The White Paper commits to the achievement of these goals through increased participation, responsiveness to societal interests and needs and cooperative governance, as articulated in the NCHE report. However, the shift in focus to global imperatives and the role of SAHE in a knowledge-driven society: to develop human resources by mobilizing the country’s “talent and potential through lifelong learning”; to provide high level skills training to develop “professionals and knowledge workers” who can contribute to national development and social transformation; and to integrate its research and training capacity with the needs of industry and of social construction, reflects a shift in priority from equity and redress to development (Department of Education, 1997, p. 6). So how is this shift reflected in the White Paper and subsequent Higher Education Act and the National Plan 2001?

Massification versus Planned Expansion

The White Paper proposed a policy of planned expansion in place of the NCHE recommendation of massification. It is important to note here that massification relates to access and increased participation for greater equity, particularly in relation to women and black students as well as to the needs of development for the production of a highly skilled and professional workforce. The NCHE proposal was in principle endorsed by the White Paper, which stated that, “Successful policy must overcome a historically determined pattern of fragmentation, inequality and inefficiency. It must increase access for black, women, disabled and mature students, and generate new curricula and flexible models of learning and teaching, including modes of delivery, to accommodate a larger and more diverse student population” (Department of Education, 1997, p.6). In opting for expanded access through a planned expansion over a ten-year period, the state argued that the twin goals of equity and development would be achieved through:

- expanding participation of blacks and women students;
- offering more career-oriented programmes at certificate and diploma level over shorter cycles, particularly in science, engineering and technology;
- expanding enrolment in post-graduate programmes at masters and doctoral levels to produce high level skills for social and economic development and in response to academic labour market needs;
- diversifying programmes and expanding enrolments through open learning and distance education

(Department of Education, 1997)

While the importance of the social sciences and humanities in producing knowledge for social and human development is acknowledged, science, engineering and technology programmes are prioritized in response to the needs of the market, especially given the lack of trained personnel in these fields.

In opting for planned expansion, the state committed to equity and redress in the student composition through targeted distribution of public subsidy to support disadvantaged students. However, the state also placed responsibility on institutions to generate private resources and to reallocate their operating grants internally in the context of limited real growth in public expenditure. To ensure equity of student and staff representation, HEIs would be required to develop their own equity plans and equity in access should be complimented by plans to ensure equity of outcomes. To ensure equity of outcomes, HEIs would have White Papers develop plans to address the articulation gap between school leavers' educational attainment and the academic requirements of higher education study, given the detrimental effects of apartheid education for black learners. This would mean the development and provision of access and bridging programmes in higher education, as well as systematic restructuring of higher education programmes. To further the equity agenda, the state recognized the need for HEIs to create enabling environments to challenge and eradicate racist and sexist ideologies and practices to facilitate equity in participation and outcomes. The state committed to ensuring that the new funding formula would be responsive to the needs for academic development structures and programmes to promote equity and redress. Cloete (2006) explains that the White Paper, like the NCHE report, was a policy framework that was not specific about the policy instruments and trade-offs that would be necessary, especially in the context of a department still in the process of being developed which in itself was a great challenge.

From Co-operative Governance to Increased State control

In 1997 the Higher Education Act legislated the establishment of a programme-based higher education system, planned, governed and funded as a single national coordinated system based on the principles of equity and redress; democratization; development; quality; effectiveness and efficiency; academic freedom; institutional autonomy; and public accountability (Department of Education, 1997). The Act also provided for the establishment of Council on Higher Education (CHE), a statutory body "established to provide independent, strategic advice to the Minister of Education on matters relating to the transformation and development of higher education in

South Africa and to manage quality assurance and quality promotion in the higher education sector”. This includes advice on: “qualifications, quality promotion and quality assurance; research; the structure of the higher education system; the planning of the higher education system; a mechanism for the allocation of public funds; student financial aid; student support services; governance of higher education institutions and the higher education system; and language policy” (Republic of South Africa, 1997, section 5.1).

In keeping with the principles of co-operative governance, the NCHE recommended the establishment of a Higher Education Forum representative of organized constituencies as well as a Higher Education Council. In recognition of the “struggles for control, lack of consensus and even conflict over differing interpretations of higher education transformation ” (section 3.2) that characterized higher education, the White Paper endorsed the model of cooperative governance premised on a proactive, “guiding and constructive role for government” (section 3.7) and committed the Ministry to uphold academic freedom and institutional autonomy. However, the Ministry opted for the establishment of a Council of Higher Education and did not go with the NCHE recommendation of a forum of stakeholders. Hall & Symes (2005) argue that this shift demonstrated governments move away from the notion of stakeholder participation in governance and through legislation strengthened its control in steering higher education. A tension lies in the White Paper’s adherence to democratic and participatory governance, which at the system level, was understood as a system of unequally defined powers and constraints that remained hierarchical, with checks and balances intended to allow for a degree of institutional autonomy necessary for academic freedom in teaching and learning (Hall & Symes, 2005). While the White Paper emphasized that higher education transformation must be pursued within a social justice framework, such deviations have signalled a further shift from equity and redress. In the absence of an alternative model of negotiating policy trade-offs, critics saw this as leading to, among other things, a government threat to institutional autonomy and the loss of trust and confidence in and within the HE sector (Reddy, 2004).

The period 1994 to 1999 was marked by a lack of implementation of policy and has been described as a period of symbolic policy development (Jansen, 2001) and “policy slippage” (Kraak, 2001). This implementation vacuum was seen to be the reason for the state of higher education which Kraak (2001, p. 3) described as “more unequal and fragmented than in 1994”. Expectations of individual and institutional transformation did not materialize as expected and Jansen (2003) asserts that redress and equity were key goals underpinning the transformation of SAHE but this was accompanied by ‘the need to incorporate the South African higher education system within the fast-changing, technology driven and information-based economies’ (p. 32). He refers to this as “the rational imperative in higher education restructuring” which was about rationalizing South African universities through mergers and acquisitions thereby creating “a streamlined, efficient and effective system that is competitive within the global economic system” (p. 32). At the national level, higher education reform has resulted in the rationalization of the apartheid institutions through mergers and incorporations, resulting in the consolidation of higher education institutions from 36 to 21 institutions.

The National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE)

In 2001, Minister Asmal launched the National Plan for Higher Education (hereafter referred to as the National Plan) which aimed to give effect to the programme for transformation captured in the White Paper, that is, “to redress past inequalities and to transform the higher education which is responsive to national needs as well as to new challenges and opportunities. In it the role of SAHE in a knowledge-driven world and its contribution to development of an information society was emphasized in terms of: human resource development; high-level skills training; and the production, acquisition and application of new knowledge in response to the needs of industry and social development (Ministry of Education, 2001).

The National Plan was also a direct response to the identified systemic problems in higher education in terms of efficiency and effectiveness of the system; “quantity and quality of graduate and research outputs; management, leadership and governance failures; lack of representative staff profiles; institutional cultures that have not transcended the racial divides of the past; and the increased competition between institutions which threatens to fragment further

the higher education system” (Ministry of Education, p. 5). The NPHE established a framework for the implementation of policies which focused on the following: producing graduates for social and economic development; achieving equity; diversifying the SAHE system; promoting and sustaining research; and restructuring the institutional landscape. For the first time, the achievement of equity came after human resource development. In his speech at the launch of the National Plan, the then Minister Asmal articulated a stronger steering role for the state and this marked a shift away from broad based consultation which characterized the period of policy development in the period 1990-1999 when he said, “The Plan is, therefore, not up for further consultation and certainly not for negotiation” (Minister of Education, 2001, p. 1).

In terms of the staff composition in universities, the National Plan states that: “Changes in the demographic profile of the student body of the higher education system have generally not been accompanied by a similar change in the staff profile so that black people and women remain under-represented in academic and professional positions, especially at senior levels (Ministry of Education, 3.1.4). A possible reason for the slow change in staff profiles of universities up to this point has been attributed to the limited potential pool of women and blacks from which to draw from. In addition, universities have been unable to compete in the labour market to retain staff lured by higher salaries in the private and public sector. The National Plan therefore prioritized increasing the representation of blacks and women in academic and administrative positions, particularly at senior levels. This was to be achieved through the development of employment equity plans by institutions in line with the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 with clearly identified targets for addressing racial and gender inequities. Not only did the Ministry recognize the need to support the increase in the number of women and black postgraduates, there was also recognition that universities had to ensure that they not only increased the number of women and black staff but found ways of retaining them. Universities were required to develop strategies to fulfil their equity plans which included among others: staff and management development programmes, staff postgraduate study opportunities and the establishment of contract and development posts.

Significantly, the plan identified the need for a strategy to change institutional cultures, particularly in historically white institutions, because their institutional cultures were seen to be alienating and working against attracting and retaining black staff. The section also focused on strategies to increase black staff, even if it meant hiring black staff from other parts of Africa. While there is no contestation that universities and university management were still largely white, they were also still largely male, patriarchal and androcentric in culture and in the production and dissemination of knowledge.

Institutional Changes

The University of KwaZulu-Natal is the site for this research, hence my focus on this institution. The University of KwaZulu-Natal was legally established on the 1 January 2004 as a result of the merger between the University of Durban-Westville and the University of Natal located in the province of KwaZulu-Natal across three cities, Durban, Pinetown and Pietermaritzburg. Prior to the merger, the University of Natal incorporated the Edgewood College of Education into the Faculty of Education when Colleges of Education were closed down in 2001. In its first year after the merger, the university operated as two entities with an interim executive structure managing academic, administrative and operational matters across its five campuses: Howard College, Medical School, Westville, Edgewood and Pietermaritzburg.

The University of Durban Westville was originally established in 1960s as the University College for Indians (hereafter referred to as the College) and was situated on Salisbury Island in the Durban Bay. Given the apartheid policy of separate development, the College was established as an institution for Indians only but student numbers remained low as a result of the call by the Congress Alliance⁸ to reject apartheid structures. Following the policy of resistance established under the Congress Alliance which encouraged the transformation of apartheid

⁸ The Congress Alliance was an anti-apartheid movement established in the 1950s, and which included the African National Congress (ANC), the Coloured People's Congress (CPC), the Congress of Democrats (COD), and the South African Indian Congress (SAIC).

institutions into sites of struggle against apartheid, student numbers increased significantly and in 1971 the College was formerly constituted as a university.

In 1972, the newly named University of Durban-Westville moved to its new location situated in the suburb of Westville, Durban. The university of Durban-Westville became a pulsating site of struggle against apartheid and it was here that my political education in earnest began. My exposure to the heinous reality of apartheid was initiated during the national school boycotts in 1980, when learners all over the country joined the boycotts in protest against apartheid education, initiated by the 1976 Soweto Uprising⁹.

The second university in the merger was the University of Natal (UN), which was established in 1910 as the Natal University College in Pietermaritzburg. It was granted independent university status in 1949 by which time it had extended its campuses to Durban, which is presently the Howard College campus and was renamed the University of Natal. In 1953, the central administration was relocated in Durban and staff were required to teach across both campuses, until 1973 when the departments were split across the campuses into independent departments. The University of Natal had a history of continued struggle to free itself from the control of the government and to establish its own institutional policies, particularly with regard to admissions. However, according to Shreiner (2010) the Council of the university, from its inception, had the sole discretion over the admission of students and its first two decades refused admission to the only two black applications it received. From 1936, black education students were admitted to the university but taught separately from their white counterparts through the persuasion of Dr Mabel Palmer. Ironically, the University of Natal Medical School was established in 1951 for the education and training of black doctors and as a result of apartheid legislation it was closed to white students. The Extension of University Education Act of 1959 (Parliament of South Africa, 1959) resulted in the total exclusion of blacks at all white universities except for the anomaly in

⁹ The Soweto Uprising also referred to as June 16 was protest action by high school learners which began in 1976 to the introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in African Schools. The protest action was initiated by schools in Soweto (an African Township located outside Johannesburg) but quickly spread to other parts of the country.

terms of the University of Natal Medical School. However, through the continued protests by staff, the threat by the Law Society in Pietermaritzburg to withdraw its recognition of the universities law department and the later introduction of a system of parallelism by Dr E. G. Malherbe, principal of Natal University, black student enrolment at the university grew albeit by law through ministerial permit. There were legal constraints established by the apartheid government which prevented institutions designated for one race group from enrolling students from another racial group. If a student wanted to enrol at a university designated for a different race group to hers, she had to obtain a permit from the education department to which it was accountable and this was only granted if the applicant could show that the qualification she wished to enrol for was not offered at any institution designated for her race group. The Extension of University Act of 1959 resulted in the establishment of racially or ethnically based universities for Black, Indian and Coloured students. In 1983, the government introduced a Bill to repeal the sections of the Extension of Universities Education Act of 1959, which regulated admissions as well as amendments to the Act that gave the Minister the power to regulate admissions by setting racial quotas. While the minister did not exercise his power to set racial quotas, black students seeking admission to undergraduate degrees and diplomas in medicine, nursing and surveying and paramedical programmes had to obtain written ministerial consent to register. This condition was withdrawn in 1985 and the clause relating to it was repealed in 1991 (Jackson, 2006; Shreiner, 2010).

The university has undergone and is undergoing rapid restructuring under the current wave of higher education reforms. At the institutional level national reforms have resulted in a wave of changes that resulted in new structures, policies and curricula. In 2004, the new academic leadership of the university was appointed after the rationalization of the Executive, Deanery and Heads of Schools (HOS) which resulted in almost fifty percent of the Deans and HOS being newly appointed. There was some controversy over the internal appointments of all posts at the executive level excluding the post of the Vice Chancellor, which was externally advertised. With the incorporation of Edgewood College of Education and the merger, UKZN ended up with a staff compliment of 4 255 academic and administrative staff. Of the 1 566 academic staff, 49% were white, 31% Indian, 18% African and 2% Coloured and 59% were male. Clearly, this

signalled a significant challenge for the university in terms of staff demographics and equity in relation to gender and race. In 2004, Council approved the universities Employment Equity Policy.

Post the merger the university clearly identified itself in terms of its corporate identity as reflected in this statement: “One of the most public early indicators of our progress in shaping and defining the new University was the official launch on 27 February 2004 of the University’s corporate logo” (UKZN, 2007, p.8). UKZN’s corporate logo is a visual symbol of its identity as a “truly South African university” with the vision of being ‘the Premier University of African Scholarship’ (UKZN, 2007, p. 8). This was one of the first signs of the corporatization of our university.

The year 2005 can be viewed as a defining moment for the UKZN as it marked the first year of full integration post the merger. A three year Institutional Operating Plan (2005-2007), new institutional structures and organizational structures were established and approved by the Council of the university. The university Council fully committed to corporate governance and its principles as advocated in the King II Report ¹⁰. In response to the Minister’s stated objectives for mergers, the university set in place a process of restructuring. The new College Model, which was approved in 2004 and operationalized in 2005, resulted in the establishment of four colleges, each consisting of two faculties with a number of schools. Schools were established as single disciplines or as a set of cognate disciplines. Each college was headed by a Deputy Vice Chancellor (DVC) supported by an Academic Affairs Board as the main governance structure. The management structure of faculties included the Dean, Deputy Deans and Heads of Schools. A key feature of the College Model was that the new structure allowed for the devolution of administrative functions from the centre to smaller units closer to the delivery sites. The university executive described this model as providing more scope for “strategic redirection of

¹⁰ Corporate governance was institutionalized in South Africa by the publication of the King Report on Corporate Governance in 1994. Its purpose was to promote and maintain the highest standards of corporate governance. The King II Report (2002) contains the Code of Corporate Practices and Conduct.

financial resources, and more flexibility in budgets” (UKZN, 2007, p. 10). The College Head became the principal budget holder and the faculty and schools were responsible for management and accountability. The College Model departed radically from the academic governance structures of the previous institutions in the merger with academic portfolios distributed across the four Colleges. Previously, this was located with a single Deputy Vice-Chancellor, for example, Academic or Research. The new structure was supported by the establishment of a full range of administrative and service operations. These changes were accompanied by the approval of a new financial framework and the introduction of the Resource Allocation Model, a more objective and rational model of allocating resources to ensure effectiveness and efficiency. The effective and efficient use of resources led to the rationalization of schools to address the duplication that resulted from the merger and consolidation of academic programmes through the development of a common curriculum. Staff consolidation through what the university referred to as the “rational and efficient deployment of academic expertise” resulted in a reduction of staff from 2 192 in 2004 to 1 512 in 2007 (UKZN, 2007, p. 20).

A Performance Management System (PMS) was implemented as at the 01 January 2010. The same year, the College Model was reviewed by a team of international experts who recommended a two-tier College management structure, the consolidation of schools and the devolution of critical support services to schools. I do not include the restructuring of the College Model or the implementation of the PMS as my interviews with participants, which took place in 2008, preceded these changes.

The above sections provide an overview of some of the changes that have taken place in South African higher education and in particular at UKZN over the past few years. More importantly, these changes are illustrative of the impact of globalization on university reform and institutional restructuring. This is clearly spelt out in UKZN’s Strategic Plan 2007 – 2016 where the university identifies as its first goal the promotion of “African-led globalization through African scholarship by positioning the University, through its teaching, learning, scholarship, research,

and innovation, to enter the global knowledge system on its own terms, bringing knowledge production systems relating to its local context into the global arena” (UKZN, 2007, p. 7)

The Research Aim

This study aims to investigate the restructuring of one university in this context of national higher education reform and its implications for gender equity. It is a feminist analysis of women academics’ experiences of change in higher education through an examination of the micro politics of the academy. “As agents of change, feminist academics frequent a territory in which micro and macro processes are analytically related” (Morley and Walsh, 1995, p 1). My research study therefore aims to, in Morley and Walsh’s words, “deprivatize women’s experiences” of the academy with a view to examining the interrelationship between gender and higher education reform in the current context of globalization.

Rationale

What are the gendered implications of higher education reform in the current context of the knowledge economy and globalization? There have been several gains made in terms of women’s previous exclusion from the ‘old ideal of universities as ivory towers’ (Oakley, 2001). As the adage goes, ‘women have stormed the ivory tower’ and are accessing universities in larger numbers as students and as staff. Political and social transformation has resulted in increased participation of girls in higher levels of education including higher education and increased employment of women in universities in academic and administrative positions. However, studies internationally and locally have reflected that such transformation has not necessarily resulted in increasing equity on the basis of gender, race and class (Blackmore, 1999; Morley, 1999; Brooks & Mackinnon, 2001; Mama, 2003; Zeleza, 2002). Women have been part of these changes and it is therefore important to investigate the ways in which political and social transformation has influenced women’s personal and professional developments in higher education as well as the ways in which women have influenced transformation.

While there have been some shifts in terms of gender equity, women are still experiencing continued under-representation in higher education institutions and more particularly in senior management positions. In South Africa, women comprise 45 percent of all academics and while there has been an increase in the number of women in senior management they continue to be underrepresented (Department of Higher Education & Training, 2013). By 2007, 4 of the 23 Vice Chancellors were women, 16 percent were Deputy Vice-Chancellors and 21 percent were Deans (Higher Education Resource Services, 2007). The National Plan for Higher Education (Ministry of Education, 2001), explicitly comments on the under-representation of black and female staff in higher education (See Chapter Five). Women's marginality is evident in their consistent absence not only from classrooms, offices and meeting places in universities but also in discourse, texts and subjects on which university education is based. Women are not only fewer than men in the higher education but are also under represented in decision making bodies, are more likely to be engaged in teaching than research, encounter a glass ceiling in attempts to be promoted and tend to be concentrated at the lower levels of the employment category. (See Chapter Five for a discussion of the representation and participation of women academics in South African higher education.)

Furthermore, the gendered academic division of labour is still evident in its confinement of women to the social sciences and humanities while the natural sciences and the so-called prestigious professional fields such as engineering continue to be male dominated (Brooks, 2001; Mama, 2006). The natural sciences have seen an increase in staff and resources in this current climate of corporatization, commodification and commercialization of higher education. Furthermore, the vocationalization of higher education has increased the marginalization of the humanities where women academics are concentrated (Zezeza, 2002).

While there have been significant gains made in terms of women's emancipation in the private and public domain, with more women accessing paid employment, advancing in their careers as well as accessing occupations previously exclusive to men, it seems that despite legislation and policies against gender inequity in higher education and employment, progress towards greater

gender equality has been slow (Brooks, 2001, Mama, 2006). Research thus far has highlighted a range of reasons for this from the unequal division of labour and the roles and responsibilities of women in the private domain to sexism, patriarchy and institutional oppression within the public domain that disempower women in higher education (Brooks, 2001; Mama, 2006). Women in universities are still excluded because they are judged against hegemonic masculine criteria and standards within a system set up by the dominant (men). So what is the relationship between women and universities before and after restructuring? How has the shape and extent of these changes in how universities operate affected staff, students and knowledge (Oakley, 2001)? What are the gender implications of the restructuring of universities within the context of globalization? These questions highlight the necessity for research on the interrelationship between gender, higher education reform and globalization.

Clarifying my Research Question

The current transformation of higher education and the subsequent restructuring of universities prompted the development of my research investigation into the experiences of women academics in the restructured university. After much deliberation, reworking, reframing and rewording, I arrived at the following key research question for this study:

- How is higher education reform in the context of globalisation affecting the lives and work of women academics?
 - How are women academics experiencing higher education restructuring?
 - How has higher education reform affected the nature, structure and practices in institutions in terms of women academic's lives and work?

Structure of the Thesis

In chapter two, I contextualize the study within the context of globalization and its influence on higher education reform. Whether we understand globalization as a new or old phenomenon is not an issue in this thesis. In fact, it is important to note that research has sought to investigate the driving force behind global education reforms, one of which has been identified as globalization (Carnoy, 1999; Apple, 2001; Torres, 2009). What is important is to understand the current global context in terms of the global knowledge economy and globalization, which is the context framing and informing higher education reforms locally and globally, and to investigate the implications thereof for the gendered nature of South African higher education.

Identifying my study as a feminist research investigation necessitated my clarifying a theoretical, ontological and epistemological position. Feminists raise critical theoretical questions of how best to analyse women's oppression under neoliberal capitalism. A feminist standpoint analysis of gender inequality begins with a structural analysis of power including power determined by gender within the context of neoliberal capitalism and extends to an analysis of differences at the micro-institutional level. Investigating gender inequality and inequity in the context of higher education reform necessitates studying the characteristics of the restructured university as a social system and its relation to individual behaviour. Standpoint feminist theory allows for the interrogation of individual and intentional action in the context of structural constraints in terms of race, class and gender. Furthermore, it can be used to expose deep structural inequality in terms of what appears to be voluntary and intended interactions between equal participants (Hartsock, 1983). In Chapter Three I provide an in-depth discussion of feminist research and feminist standpoint theory as it informs this research from a theoretical as well as methodological perspective. I discuss feminism and the feminist research paradigm, within which I have located my study, theoretically and methodologically. I further explain the use of standpoint theory and methodology as the theory and methodology, which informs this research.

Once my research was conceptualized, my methodology was selected and my research question was confirmed, I set out to plan and execute the data production process. This meant deciding on the research method, developing the instrument and identifying the participants. Using theoretical constructs drawn from feminist standpoint theory and methodology, my own autobiography and experiences, I conducted in-depth narrative interviews with women academics in the university. In chapter four I describe the research process as I experienced it and my reflexive engagement with my subjectivities and their influence in my choice of the method of data production, analysis and interpretation.

In chapter five, I introduce the participants through their narratives and discuss their entry into higher education. I then present my research findings as ‘a process rather than proof’ in that I present the narratives of my participants as appendices (See Narrative One, Two and Three) and identify the factors that historically have influenced the construction of participants’ academic identities. As discussed in Chapter Three, I develop these narratives from the interviews through which participants narrate their experiences, thereby privileging their voices in all their multiplicity and remembering that they are people in all their complexity. As Clandinin & Connelly (2000) remind us, “they are people living storied lives on storied landscapes” (p. 145).

Chapter Six and Seven I present my findings on their experiences of restructuring in the university and discuss the consequences of restructuring for women academics’. I theorize their experiences using Fraser’s (2008) democratic theory of justice and present my argument on the effects of restructuring on their academic lives and implications thereof for gender equity and our conception of social justice in context of the globalized university.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the focus, aim and rationale of my research. I contextualize the study in terms of South African higher education reform and institutional restructuring. In Chapter Two, I present a discussion of feminist research, epistemology and methodology within the social sciences which inform my choice of standpoint theory and methodology.

Chapter Two

Globalization, Higher Education Reform and Gender: A Review of the Literature

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I described the changes that have taken place in my work environment due to higher education reforms. My search for an understanding of these changes have led me to understand that there are wider forces at play, forces that impact at the macro and micro levels of the world that we live in, forces collectively described as globalization. The review that follows I explain what globalization is, the consequences of globalization in general and on higher education reform in particular. I review the literature on globalization using a feminist political economy approach and discuss its effect on higher education reform and the consequences thereof for women in academia. I also discuss some key concepts that I draw on in my analysis to demonstrate the effects of globalization on higher education reform in South Africa.

I also examine the relationship between macro reforms in the political economy, South African higher education reform and gender equity. The political economy approach aims to examine how the historical development and the current nature of the capitalist mode of production influence the relationship between higher education and society. Given that I want to examine the wider social forces that shape higher education and its implications for gender equity in higher education, the political economy approach is appropriate as it shifts the focus “from individual choice and behaviour to a historical and structural context within which individual action takes place” (Youngman, 2000, p. 3). Youngman (2000) explains that when it comes to education policies and programmes, a range of options exist circumscribed by “economic, political and social factors” (p. 4). Countries in the South, where structural adjustment policies have been implemented by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, have been

constrained in their choices in education. Such countries have had to make cutbacks in education provision because of reduced public expenditure. Choices, Youngman (2000) argues, are “made within the context of the state’s social policies which are determined by the material and ideological realities of the global political economy” (p. 4).

Why a Feminist Political Economy Approach?

It is easy to believe that changes in South Africa post 1994 were the result of a national response to apartheid and that the new government would be responsible for the development and implementation of political, economic and social policy propelling the country toward democracy. In as much as apartheid was the impetus for major structural changes in South Africa, it would be naïve to believe that this occurred in a vacuum outside the influence of global political and economic trends and pressures, namely, globalization. Changes in the political, economic and social domain cannot be analyzed without an understanding of the interaction between these domains, within a global and national context. I therefore use a feminist political economy approach to examining the nexus between global pressures and local responses in relation to higher education reform.

Women’s representation and participation in universities is still a concern globally, despite the significant increase of women in universities as students and staff. Globally, women continue to be concentrated in the lower ranks in universities; there is still a significant absence of women in the natural sciences and engineering as staff and students; women’s representation on management and governance structures remains low; women still earn less than their male counterparts and even in universities the division of labour is gendered (Brooks & Mackinnon, 2001; Dunne & Sayed, 2002). While the increase in female student enrolment and women staff demonstrates a compliance with equity policy, it does not reflect an engagement with the “cultural change, institutional relations of power, governance or pedagogy that embraces feminist epistemologies and practices” (Aina, 2010, p. 35). Patriarchal cultures, masculine hegemony in research and pedagogy and unequal power relations at the institutional level still prevail. While policy at the national and global level valorises gender equity, counting numbers to reflect equity gains is economistic and reductionist.

Gender is one of the central dimensions along which power and politics are structured in capitalist societies, and economic resources and outcomes systematically vary on the basis of gender. As such, any political economy needs to pay attention to gender. Across the advanced capitalist world, women in the labour force continue to be paid less than men, and occupations tend to be heavily gender segregated. Notions of masculinity and femininity are constitutive of who fills particular jobs, and how those jobs are valued in market societies. Just as political economy as a discipline seeks to break down the boundary between the political and the economic, and to identify how each influences the other, so a gendered political economy examines the permeable boundary between the public sphere of the state and the private sphere of gender relations, the public economy and the household economy, and the manner in which they influence each other (Inter Pares, 2004). In the context of the commodification of knowledge and the marketization of higher education, a feminist political economy of higher education becomes necessary as it has the potential to reflect how “gender determines the social and political relations and structures of power and the differential economic effects that flow from these relationships and structures” (Inter Pares, 2004, p. 4). Furthermore, this approach supports value based investigations and descriptive analyses of women’s lived experiences, and emphasizes the “social definition of what it means to be a human being, rather than merely focusing on economic definers and qualifies” (Inter Pares, 2004, p. 4) as has become so common in assessments of equity gains in higher education, and certainly in South African universities.

Challenging and ending women’s domination and exclusion in the social, economic, political and cultural sphere, particularly in a patriarchal and violent society such as ours, is a goal important not just to women as an oppressed group, but to us as South Africans as it is critical to our development as a democracy. Higher education has a critical role to play in contributing to this development. bell hooks (1997) describes feminism as a social movement to end all oppression and Aina (2010) echoes this sentiment when he suggests that pursuing the goal of gender equity in African universities has the potential to subject all structures and processes to a fundamental interrogation necessary for transformation. In investigating women academics’ experiences of restructuring, this study has the potential of contributing to our understanding of gender equity in higher education and the extent to which it is either being promoted or impeded.

Globalization Defined

Much has been written on globalization, what it is or is not – whether it is an old or new phenomena; myth or reality; an ideology or a process; what it has done or not done – and whether it has increased global inequality or provided a means for egalitarian redistribution. I understand globalization as global capitalism predicated by an ideology of neo-liberalism which has produced a new social order characterized by trade liberalization, networks and technological innovation. Below, I explain the multi-faceted nature of the definition of globalization as well as its consequences by reviewing the conceptualization advanced by key researchers in the field. I then discuss the connection between globalization and education generally before explicating the relationship between globalization and higher education reform. Finally, I examine the implications thereof for gender equity in universities.

Globalization is not a new phenomenon and there are multiple ways in which it has been defined. Castells (2001), for example, refers to it as a “code word” (p. 2) for the new economic and socio-political order emerging in the world. The use of globalization theories and concepts by leftist intellectuals has itself been identified as cultural hegemony that brings with it privileges of recognition and reward (Zajda, 2009). Luke (2001) views the concept of globalization as a western masculine construct, which is “contested, overused and trapped in dangerous dualisms” (p. 24). Carnoy (1999) sums it up when he states, “globalization is a hotly disputed concept” (p. 18). What is important though is to understand the world we live in and the changes taking place, “to identify the means by which specific societies in specific contexts can pursue their goals and realize their values” by understanding the “dynamics, constraints and possibilities of the new social structure” be it the knowledge economy or network society (Castells, 2005, p. 6).

The literature defines globalization from multiple perspectives which focus on global economic processes and the impact of markets, on the emergence of supranational institutions like the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the dominance of neoliberalism and trade liberalization, the emergence of new technologies of information and communication

which has facilitated the free flow of people, goods, money and ideas across national boundaries (Held & McGrew, 2007; Bardhan, Bowles & Wallerstein, 2006; Torres & Antikainen, 2003; Stromquist, 2002; Mittleman, 2000). But what does this all really mean, and why is it important to understand, particularly in relation to social outcomes, like education.

The above definitions highlight the following: a change in capital accumulation (markets, production, consumption and exchange); the compression of time and space linked to technological advancement; greater economic, political and social interaction between and among countries; and the emergence of supranational institutions. Held & McGrew (2007) summarize globalization to denote “the expanding scale, growing magnitude, speeding up and deepening impact of interregional flows and patterns of social interaction (p. 4)”. Mittleman (2000) provides the following extended conception which encompasses the macroeconomic and technological processes as well as political responses to globalization:

As experienced from below, the dominant form of globalization means a historical transformation: in the economy, of livelihoods and modes of existence; in politics, a loss in the degree of control exercised locally – for some, however little to begin with – such that the locus of power gradually shifts in varying proportions above and below the territorial state; and in culture, a devaluation of a collectivity’s achievements or perceptions of them. This structure, in turn, may engender either accommodation or resistance (p. 6).

It is not uncommon for theorists to see the market as the key determinant of globalization. Mittleman (2000) explains, “globalization is emerging as a political response to the expansion of market power, both as a form of domination and as an emancipatory possibility” (p. 7). This provides a useful framework for social analysis in that it inter-relates various levels of analysis in relation to economics, politics, culture and society. In this sense, the focus shifts from economic and political determinism to the linkages between globalization as a world economic system, globalization as a world polity and globalization as a world culture (Lechner & Boli, 2004). From this, it is clear that globalization has ushered in a new era of human history. This historical

transformation is marked by economic, political and cultural changes that have seen the transformation of national economies and the emergence of a single global economy. This in turn has influenced the role of the state and the sovereignty of nation states. It has also led to the emergence of new global cultural forms that simultaneously and in contradiction has brought about homogeneity as well as differentiation in the form of local resistance to cultural homogeneity. Nonetheless, Held and McGrew (2000) warn that globalization should not be read as “prefiguring the emergence of a harmonious world society” as this does not imply a universal process of global integration or convergence of cultures and civilizations (p. 4). In fact, they are of the view that not only is it experienced unevenly but a significant proportion of the world’s population remains excluded from its benefits and as such it is deeply divisive, strongly contested and resisted. They identify three approaches that distinguish the controversies and debates about globalization: the hyperglobalist, the sceptical and the transformationalist perspectives.

The Hyperglobalist View of Globalization

The first approach, the hyperglobalist, defines globalization as a new era in human history in which people globally are increasingly subject to the disciplines of the global market. Neoliberals and radicals or neo-Marxists alike see globalization primarily as an economic phenomenon. However, while neoliberals celebrate the triumph of individual autonomy and market principle over the state, neo-Marxists see it as the triumph of oppressive global capitalism. This view of globalization privileges a neoliberal economic logic and celebrates the emergence of a single global market and the principle of global competitiveness as an indicator of human progress.

Lechner & Boli (2004) describe globalization as a world system’s perspective in which capitalism is the dominant economic system with a single division of labour which structures the world and nation states into three structural positions: the core, semi-periphery and the periphery. This world economic system is structured unequally with nation states with strong state mechanisms such as the military constituting the core while those with weak mechanisms are relegated to the periphery. This difference in strength materializes into an unequal exchange

between the core and periphery. This is largely the result of the concentration of core states on high skill capital-intensive production and peripheral states on low skill labour-intensive production. Semi-peripheral states, not as dependent on the core as peripheral ones, are both exploitative of peripheral states and exploited by core states and serve to make the world economy run smoothly by preventing unified opposition by the peripheral states (Lechner & Boli, 2004). In this regard, hyperglobalists perceive economic globalization as creating new patterns of winners and losers.

The Sceptics View of Globalization

The second approach is the sceptics' thesis. According to Held and McGrew (2000), the sceptics contend that globalization is a myth, which conceals the reality of an international economy divided into three major regional economic blocks, namely, Europe, Asia-Pacific and North America. They argue that while there is an increase in global flows of trade and finance it is not substantially different from what economic and social interactions between and among nations in previous historical eras. Sceptics believe that national governments remain powerful given that the forces of internationalization depend on their regulatory power to ensure continuing economic liberalization. Sceptics dismiss the notion that internationalization is bringing about a significant restructuring of global economic relations which promote passivity of governments. While sceptics acknowledge patterns of deep structural inequality and hierarchy in the world economy, they see this as having changed only marginally over the last century. (Held & McGrew, 2000)

The Transformationalist View of Globalization

The third perspective relates to the transformationalist thesis. Transformationalists, like Held & McGrew, view contemporary globalization processes as unparalleled such that states and societies are experiencing profound changes as they attempt to adapt to a world in which the distinction between the local and global are increasingly blurred. They view globalization as the fundamental driving force behind economic, political and social changes that are reshaping modern societies, economies, institutions of governance and the world order. Unlike the

hyperglobalists and the sceptics, the transformationalists make no claims about the future trajectory of globalization as they view the consequences of globalization processes to be uneven, complex, diverse and unpredictable. They argue that the debate about globalization should be about the question of power as they associate globalization with new patterns of global stratification which sees some governments and societies becoming increasingly enmeshed in the global order while others are increasingly marginalized. According to them, globalization should not be viewed as fixed or inevitable but should be conceptualized as a set of complex interconnected relationships through which power is being exercised both directly and indirectly. Globalization is recasting traditional patterns of inclusion and exclusion between countries through the creation of new hierarchies which penetrate all regions and societies. Global stratification is linked to deterritorialization of economic activity and national economies are being restructured by the economic processes of globalization such that national economies no longer coincide with national boundaries. Economic globalization and the establishment of institutions of international governance are reconfiguring the power, functions and authority of nation states although they do still remain the legal entities responsible for what happens within their borders. The establishment of complex global system has brought about an interconnectedness between states, societies and communities, such that events in one part of the world affect the fate of communities in other parts of the world. In addition, while nation states maintain sovereignty within their own territorial borders, state power and the authority of national governments is being reconstituted as a result of globalization. As a result nation states have to adapt their form and functions as they engage with a globalizing world and rather than diminish the role of the nation state, transformationalists see the role of nation states as being reconstituted and restructured in response to the processes of governance in a more interconnected world. As a result the transformationalists believe that the forms taken by globalization are not inevitable or irreversible. What is important is the interface between the structural context represented by globalization processes and the engagement with these by national, local and other agencies in defining what is possible. (Held & McGrew, 2000)

The literature review of globalisation thus far clearly indicates the multi-faced nature of globalization. What it also clearly highlights is that globalization has multiple consequences. In

the next section, I present a review of the consequences of globalization before I examine its influence on higher education reform.

The Relationship between the Economy, the State and Society

In order to understand the influence of globalization on higher education reform it is necessary to understand the relationship between the economy, the state and society. The emerging relationship between the economy, the state, and society and its influence on higher education reform supports my approach to analyze the political economy of SAHE and its implications for gender equity in the restructured university. Underhill (2006) explains that the political and economic domains cannot be separated in our analysis of social reality and that any economic arrangement is the result of political conflict and is therefore not neutral in its effects of access to political resources. Underhill (2006) further states that “the market is a political device to achieve certain outcomes, conferring relative benefits on some and costs on others in both political and economic terms; it is, in essence, a political institution that plays a crucial role in structuring society and international politics (p. 5).” Through political conflict among competing interests or the resolution thereof new rules of the market economy are established and enforced. The increased internationalization of these market forces, or as Underhill (2006) puts it the ‘interpenetration’ or ‘trans nationalization’ of market systems, for example through the proliferation of free trade agreements, reduces the control of national states. While individual states still remain the principal legal entities in decision making locally in response to their constituencies and local pressures, Underhill (2006) explains, that they do not possess all the political and economic resources necessary to meaningfully influence the direction of political and economic developments in response to local pressures. As a result, the globalization of economic decision making, previously the responsibility of national states, becomes a matter of global politics. It is in this sense that Underhill (2006) argues that the distinction between the national and international level of analysis is somewhat superficial in the face of globalization. This further supports the contextualization and conceptualization of my investigation of gender equity in the restructured university in relation to globalization.

Neoliberalism, commonly described as an economic and political ideology which is shaping the world today, sees the key role of the state as one of protecting individual liberties, particularly commercial liberty and property rights. At the national and global level this means the establishment of free markets which promote trade liberalization, private ownership, greater controls on balance of payments and deficits as well as reduced intervention and social spending by governments. It is premised on the assumption that the market is the key determiner of policies that govern all social life. In order to achieve economic stability, the role and power of the state should be limited and there should be less state intervention in the economy. In this sense it is an economic as well as implicit cultural theory which displaces the democratic state with a market state as the key producer of economic and social policy. The key assumption underpinning the free market ideology is that a self-regulating market is the best way to achieve economic stability and efficiency, a key value of neoliberal politics. The efficient allocation of resources is the key purpose of an economic system and this can only be achieved through the establishment of free markets and free trade. Free markets and free trade are seen to be the only way of freeing an individual's creativity and entrepreneurial spirit thereby protecting individual commercial liberty, property rights and financial well-being. This in turn will lead to a more efficient allocation of resources. The individual is seen to be solely responsible for his or her decisions which are perceived to be made freely and out of choice and therefore responsible for the consequences of those choices. In this respect inequality and social injustice are acceptable in so far as the individual is held responsible as these are viewed as the consequence of choices and decisions made freely by the individual. Critical theorists call this the privatisation of social ills and social injustice. Any expectation of the state to intervene in the market or develop policies for reparation are viewed as unacceptable as the state is seen to be responsible for creating an enabling economic environment for the individual to freely participate. Beyond that, neither the state nor the market can be held responsible for individual decisions which lead to social injustice. (Thorsen, 2009)

While many critics argue that the power of the nation state has been diminished by neoliberal globalization, Carnoy (1999) argues that it is and it is not! Neoliberal globalization favours economic competition and as a result the nation state is responsible for ensuring that economic

policies increase global competitiveness. This implies that the nation state must ensure that there are favourable economic conditions for the global flow of capital which signals a shift in public spending and monetary policies which benefit the market. In this regard the nation state serves more in the role of “economic-growth promoter” and less as the protector of national interests, identities and social justice goals (Carnoy, 1999, p. 20). As a result national priorities and responsibilities aimed at addressing equity and promoting social justice are relegated to local and regional governments to address. The assumption is that the more the nation state spends on developing the economic sphere, the more this contributes to opportunities for individuals to increase their material well-being (Carnoy, 1999). While Carnoy (1999) explains that this in many ways limits the powers of the nation state, it by no means diminishes it. He argues that in order for globalized markets to benefit there needs to be political stability, a well-developed civil society, an investment in human capital and an efficient state apparatus which facilitate the growth of markets which the state is responsible for.

This perspective of the role of the state is relevant to this study in that it brings into question the role of the state in promoting social justice in our new democracy. As discussed in Chapter One, a shift in economic policy from Reconstruction and Development to GEAR shifted the focus in the development of social policy like education from equity and redress to economic development. If higher education is to contribute to the transformation of South African society post colonialism and post-apartheid, then the state has a critical role in ensuring the transformation of South African higher education to meet the needs of the country and the social justice goals of social, political and economic transformation (See Chapter One).

Thus far the literature review has focussed on generating an understanding of the multifaceted nature of globalization as well as its consequences. The various definitions of globalization all allude to the emergence of a global knowledge society with the barriers of nation state borders being diluted. As with the case of defining globalization, there are multiple descriptions of what the new global society looks like and what are the factors that shape its functioning. The changes foisted upon the old nation states by the globalizing world are what I refer to as consequences of

globalization. Before I move on to a discussion of the influence of globalization on higher education, I draw on Castells' network thesis and to discuss shifts in the nature of work, which has relevance for my study in terms of the institutional restructuring and the nature of academic work.

The Network Thesis

The current post-modern society is often referred to as the knowledge society but Castells (2005) argues that knowledge and information have always been a part of our societies. What is different now is that we have entered a new technological paradigm characterized by microelectronics based networking technologies. The interaction between this technological paradigm and social organization is what Castells (2005) calls the network society. "The network society... is a social structure based on networks operated by information and communication technologies based in microelectronics and digital computer networks that generate, process, and distribute information on the basis of the knowledge accumulated in the nodes of networks" (Castells, 2005, p. 7). He explains that what we call globalization is another way of referring to the network society, which is more descriptive and less analytical than is implied by the concept of the network society. In this regard, such a conceptualization facilitates an analysis that is not deterministic, as espoused by the globalists, but transformationalist in that it identifies the goals and aspirations of a particular society and the means by which these can be pursued. It also allows for the identification of the possibilities, constraints and contradictions that a society is confronted by in its pursuance of these goals and aspirations within an increasingly globalized context, thereby allowing for an understanding of the interaction between local realities and global pressures, which is what makes it appealing for me. I therefore draw on some central concepts to discuss the consequences of globalization, particularly as it relates to changes in the nature of work in academia, which is relevant to this study.

Knowledge and information have always been central in society but what is different now is how the technological paradigm, characterized by microelectronics based information and communication technologies, has repositioned the centrality of knowledge and information

(Castells, 2005). In this regard, what characterizes the technological paradigm is the use of knowledge-based information technologies to enhance and accelerate the production of knowledge. Given that information processing is now at the source of life and social action, every aspect of the eco-social system has been transformed. The new social structure and new economy as espoused by Castells has significant implications for the nature of work. Carnoy and Castells (2001) explain that globalization and information technology have transformed work, employment and the workplace, now characterized by individualization, work differentiation, decentralized management and flexibility. One of the most significant changes in employment patterns in the network society is the shift to flexible work arrangements, which include part-time temporary work, self-employment, contractual work as well as informal or semi-formal work. With the increase in women accessing the labour market Castells explains that the feminization of labour has led to the “flexible woman” which has replaced the “organized man”, as the model of the new kind of worker.

Another shift involves the development of what Castells (2005) calls self-programmable labour. Labour is now divided into two types: self-programmable labour and generic labour. Self-programmable labour is labour which has the ability to generate itself through adaptation to new tasks, new processes and new sources of information, throughout the occupational career. Generic labour on the other hand, which constitutes the large majority of workers, is not linked to any specific skills and includes a basic level of education. It is exchangeable and disposable and co-exists with machines, unskilled and semi-skilled labour.

Shifts in labour have also been accompanied by the individualization of workers directly into labour markets and the structure of production. Individualization of workers is not new but in developed democracies where this was successfully internalized in workers through ideological state apparatus, the restructuring of the workplace on the basis of individualized workers was easily accomplished. As companies and organizations become more acutely aware of costs and production in an intensely competitive environment they shift to more decentralized forms of management, more differentiated work, more customization of products and services thereby

individualizing work tasks and differentiating workers in relation to supervisors/managers and employers. This has facilitated the employment of temporary, part-time and contract workers since employment can now be linked to specific tasks, while core work is conducted by teams expected to multi-task. In this sense workers are now being defined increasingly by the knowledge they have acquired through education and work experience accumulated in a knowledge portfolio which makes them flexible, mobile, adaptable and therefore employable across firms and across types of work. (Carnoy & Castells, 2001; Castells, 2005)

The conceptual understanding of globalization and its consequences create the platform to analyse the literature pertaining to globalization and higher education reform. In this research I attempt to identify the effects of globalizing processes on higher education in South Africa, and through an analysis of the experiences of women academics in the restructured university, analyse the implications thereof for gender equity in higher education. In this sense, I pay attention to both structure and agency by examining the interplay between the global and local as well as local responses to globalization processes in terms of policy, processes and practices in higher education.

Globalization and Higher Education Reform

The Impact of Globalization on Education

Theorists who adopt the analytic of globalization from above adopt a top-down perspective and explain social changes in terms of the effects of neoliberal economics, with the state and economics being perceived as separate but interdependent and the top being constituted of multi-national corporations and political organizations (Singh, Kenway & Apple, 2005). For many critical theorists, the evidence of the global transformation of education from being a public good to its commercialization in response to global economic pressures is a cause for great concern (Torres, 2009). The neoliberal globalization of education according to Torres, (2009, p. 16) “includes a drive toward privatization and decentralization of public education, a movement

toward educational standards, and the testing of academic achievement to determine the quality of education”. It is further characterized by accountability, efficiency and effectiveness.

Martin Carnoy (1999) summarizes the impact of globalization on educational reforms as three-fold. The first is what he refers to as “competitiveness-driven reforms” which relates to the increased demand for more skilled labour in the local as well as global labour market (p. 37). This means that reforms in education must aim to improve the quality of labour in order to improve the economy. This can be achieved by increasing the level of educational attainment of workers and by improving quality, which is mainly measured through student achievement. Carnoy explains that competitiveness-driven reforms are “productivity-centred” in that the key goal is to increase productivity of labour as well as the productivity of educational institutions. He classifies these reforms into four kinds: the decentralization of educational governance and administration to bring about greater accountability for educational quality and results; the establishment of educational norms and standards which are measured through standardized testing and the establishment of accountability technologies, the more efficient management of educational resources to improve quality and student achievement through increased teacher effort and innovation teaching methods, and improved teacher training and selection.

The second type of reform, finance-driven reforms relate to the establishment of structural adjustment policies mandated by the IMF and the World Bank to reduce relative public-sector spending on education. This is achieved through the following strategies: transferring public-sector funding from secondary and higher education to basic education, privatizing secondary education and higher education usually achieved through increasing user fees and parent contributions, increasing class sizes thereby reducing the cost per student to accommodate growing deficits and student numbers, particularly in higher education. Reforms in African Higher Education largely effected through structural adjustments designed by the WB and IMF in response to economic and political crises on the continent certainly reflect this logic. Mamdani (2007) has documented the effects of neoliberal globalization and structural adjustment on AHE through his case study of Makerere University in Uganda which illustrates the WB’s conviction

that higher education is more of a private good than a public good. Mamdani (2007) perceiving higher education as a public good which was critical to social, political and economic development, particularly in the African context argued for its protection as such. His case study of Makerere University illustrates reform trends common to African universities, particularly the vocationalization of higher education characterized by increased privatization, decentralization, massification, rationalization of staff and academic programs. These conceptual themes will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

The third type of reform is equity-driven reforms which aim to increase equality of economic opportunity. A key justification for the shift in funding from higher levels of education to lower levels of education is equity. Equity-driven reforms include; the provision of basic education to youth and adults previously excluded and the increase in educational opportunities for women, rural populations, at-risk, lower income and special needs children. Carnoy (1999) explains that globalization has pressurized governments to de-emphasize equity-driven reforms because greater equity means a decrease in economic growth. “Globalization tends to push governments away from equity-driven reforms, for two main reasons. The first is that globalization increases the pay-off to high-level skills relative to lower-level skills, reducing the complementarity between equity and competitiveness-driven reforms. The second is that in most developing countries and in many developed countries, finance-driven reforms dominate educational change in the new globalized economic environment, and such reforms tend to increase inequity in the delivery of educational services.

Geo-Jaja & Zajda (2005) see globalization as a threat to the values of democracy, social justice, and public education systems. They explain that because education is no longer recognized as a unique social activity education policy is no longer seen to be a separate domain developed according to educational principles. They remain sceptical about the gains that can be achieved by linking education to the market and believe that Africa has failed to benefit from globalization. In order to benefit from globalization and be integrated into the global economy,

African countries need to develop policy strategies based in the new knowledge & skills defined by global markets in order to compete effectively. (Geo-jaja & Zajda, 2005)

Apple (2001) identifies the current wave of reforms in education as presenting a threat to egalitarian norms and values, precipitated by a reaction to the perceived failure of education to contribute to economic growth, employment, poverty reduction and international competitiveness. He explains that globally, neoliberalism is connected to a larger process of shifting blame from the decisions of dominant elites to governments and the poor. Neoliberals, he says, have launched a vicious attack on public education, arguing that funding public educational institutions is wasteful as they are serving professionals and bureaucrats not the “consumers” they ought to be serving. He uses the supermarket metaphor to describe the commodification of education and the notion of consumer choice which neoliberalism promotes as the guarantor of democracy. The supermarket metaphor is appropriate since Apple explains that only some gain entry into the supermarket and can therefore access the commodity of choice, while others “stand outside the supermarket and can only consume the image” (p. 60). The shift in focus to consumers not producers and the introduction of ‘choice’, neoliberals claim, will enhance parental voice and increase competitiveness which is one way of achieving efficiency and making educational institutions responsive.

Another variant of neoliberalism is that the state should invest in public education like schools if school reforms and policies are developed to ensure that education is more closely linked to the needs of the economy. However, Apple cautions that it would be simplistic to interpret these changes as solely precipitated by economic imperatives as class struggles coincide with race and gender struggles. (Apple, 2000)

Globalisation and Higher Education Reform

Since the 1980s, universities globally, in both developed and developing contexts, have been undergoing radical restructuring and Blackmore (2000) states that “globalization has been

loosely, if not promiscuously used” to justify this restructuring of higher education, as an industry within the economy, to be more responsive, more efficient, more productive and more flexible to the demand of the new knowledge economy within network society. Within this context, special interest groups such as unions and women are called on to support these reforms to ensure that the nation state achieves and maintains its competitive advantage (Blackmore, 2000). Stromquist (2002) describes the university as an emerging site characterized by profound changes that reflects the three globalizing forces of economic, technological and social processes of globalization. The impact of globalization upon universities is both direct and indirect. An example of a direct effect is the way national economies are restructuring their systems of support for higher education as a consequence of shifting economic priorities and structural adjustment policies mandated from above (see for example, Mamdani, 2007). Universities are now operating within the context of a shift from an industrialized economy to a knowledge economy characterized by new information and communication technologies. Massification and internationalization has seen the opening up of universities to market forces, greater competition for fee-paying students, new learning technologies and the commodification of curriculum (Blackmore, 2002). This has significantly impacted on the nature of academic work on academic personnel who are now expected to “sell their expertise to the highest bidder, research collaboratively, and teach on/off line, locally and internationally (Blackmore, 2002, p. 4). An example of an indirect effect is the manner in which the war against terrorism has come to limit academic freedom, traditional notions of tolerance and the transnational flow of scholars and students (Giroux & Giroux, 2004). The various manifestations of globalization have the potential to produce different kinds of effects, although disentangling cause and effect can be quite complicated and problematic.

Public universities worldwide have experienced increased funding cuts, changing demographics, advances in communication technology and demands for increased accountability, efficiency and effectiveness. As discussed earlier, we have witnessed an increased thrust toward the corporate university, with the leadership within universities employing new managerial practices based on economic restructuring resulting in the corporatization of universities and utilizing decision making frameworks largely based in economic restructuring (Torres, 2009). What then are some

of the effects of the processes of globalization, namely, corporatization, privatization and commodification on higher education restructuring in South Africa?

The End of the Traditional University

Universities have traditionally been known as sites of learning for critical citizenship, knowledge production and academic scholarship. It is about educating, socializing and preparing students for their political, economic and social participation in society as citizens. As a social institution, universities were traditionally run by academics that prepared students for high end professions and conducted research as per their personal interests. Both students and academics constituted the elite of society and universities were perceived as elite social institutions. Castells (2001, p. 206) describes the university as a “dynamic system of contradictory functions” which include: the formation and dissemination of the ideological hegemony of the ruling elite, the selection and socialization of dominant elites through the formation of cohesive networks and establishment of codes which distinguished the elites from the rest of society, the generation of new knowledge through research, and fourthly, the professional training of the bureaucracy. Traditionally then, the university contributed to public life by preparing citizens for the workplace, by educating them for active participation in public life, by socializing them into the values and culture of the nation, as well as by contributing to the development of scientific knowledge and innovation.

In 1988 the rectors of the European universities signed the Magna Charta Universitatum (the Magna Charter of European Universities) in Bologna. Inspired by the mission of the original medieval university, they proclaimed four fundamental principles informing the function of the university. The first principle proclaimed the university an autonomous institution, which would produce and disseminate cultural values independently of political, economic and ideological powers. The second principle identified research and teaching as inseparable while the third endorsed freedom in research and training. The fourth principle declared the university to be the trustee of the European humanist tradition, which in order to fulfil its purpose must overcome geographic and political boundaries and affirm the need for different cultures to know and influence each other. (Hrubos, 2010) UKZN is a signatory of The Magna Charta Universitatum

and has committed to its principles, namely, freedom in research and training; open dialogue; autonomy; relevant teaching and research, and the full attainment of universal knowledge.

Ten years later, participants at the World Conference on Higher Education convened by UNESCO in Paris, 1998, noted that higher education globally on the eve of a new millennium was in crisis. This crisis resulted from the contradiction between the unprecedented social demand for and greater diversification of higher education, the recognition of the vital role of higher education for sociocultural and economic growth and permanent financial constraints brought about by these demands. The conference declaration acknowledged the formidable challenges confronted by higher education globally and identified the need for radical change and renewal of higher education if it was to contribute to solutions to the global crisis of values confronting society. Clearly, there was awareness that an attitude motivated exclusively by economic considerations must be transcended to incorporate moral, spiritual and intellectual dimensions. There was also an acknowledgement that given the enormity of the challenges for transformation and enhancement of quality and relevance in higher education, the strong involvement of governments and of all stakeholders was needed to ensure that higher education systems enhance their capacity to address social needs and promote social justice. (UNESCO, 1998)

It is fair to say then that the current context of neoliberal globalization is one that is significantly shaping and influencing higher education policy and restructuring on a global scale. Education is increasingly being integrated within the economic agenda and this integration is clearly couched within the globalization discourses of corporatization, privatization, marketization, commodification and managerialism. The global transformation of higher education has been perceived as being more in response to the pressures of neoliberal globalization and the General Agreement in Trade and Services (GATS) than to the need for critical citizenship, democracy and social justice. This has led to the increased commercialization, privatization and commodification of education. The neoliberal orientation which embraces economic rationality contends that all people need to act in ways that would maximize personal benefits.

Underpinning this position is a vision of learners and workers as human capital. Learners and workers must be given the requisite forms of knowledge, skills and dispositions to compete efficiently and effectively in a highly competitive global economy. (Apple, 2000).

Repositioning Universities in the Knowledge Economy

How then have universities been affected by globalization? And what is the role of universities in this new knowledge economy? According to Brooks (2001) it has led to the knowledge base of the traditional university being challenged marked by a significant shift from the “epistemological foundations of the traditional university with its westernized humanistic frame of reference to a more technocratic, instrumental emphasis in terms of knowledge, language and goals” (p. 15). These have implications for both the institution and the individual. Blackmore (2001) examines key assumptions and debates about the knowledge based economy and its implications for the future of universities and academic work. Two key features characterize the new knowledge economy: information has become a core product of commercial exchange and its management has become a key occupational sector. (Blackmore , 2001)

Knowledge, the rationale for universities has become central to the economy, and Calas and Smircich (2001) explain that the “moment ‘knowledge’ was positioned as a commodity in the wider context of capitalist modes of production and ‘free market’ forces”, there was a decline in support for universities as sites of innovation and “disinterested knowledge in the quest for a better society” (p. 148). Knowledge has been the bedrock of universities and as such has provided the basis for the organizational structure of universities. The shift from industrialized economies to new knowledge economies has resulted in universities being perceived less as social institutions and more as an industry within the economy (Blackmore, 2002). Furthermore, Carnoy (1999) contends that if “knowledge is fundamental to globalization, globalization should also have a profound influence on the transmission of knowledge” (p. 14). The increased emphasis on high skilled labour and the centrality of higher education to economic development has led to reforms in higher education to be more responsive to the economic needs of countries and this has not precluded South Africa (See Chapter One). As a result higher education

restructuring globally has been characterized by changes that reflect a shift toward this global knowledge economy. Economic globalization, characterized by rapid technological innovation, global competitiveness, and flows of capital, information and people and the ensuing restructuring of higher education is transforming the context in which universities operate, the ways in which universities operate as well as the nature of work and the conditions of work within universities. This is placing new challenges on universities in terms of responding as organizations and as an industry within the economy. This context is framing the structure of universities, the nature of what is taught, how it is taught, research priorities and social relations within the institution and relations between the institution, government, the private and public sector. (Blackmore, 2002) Critics argue that this position launches a vicious attack on public educational institutions and the educational and development work of civil society organizations (Stromquist & Monkman, 2000; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Apple, Kenway & Singh, 2005; Torres, 2009). The critical point here relates to the disruption of our aspirations for a more just, equitable and democratic society through sustainable development – objectives that higher education contributes to achieving. This is seen to be the consequence of neoliberal globalization or what has also been referred to as globalization from above.

Universities are also experiencing a crisis from within in terms of what constitutes knowledge and truth, with universities no longer being seen as the primary site of knowledge production. They are no longer the “primary producers, determiners, transmitters and authorizers of valued knowledge”. (Blackmore, 2001, p. 354) The advent of “new research management technologies”, devised by the “entrepreneurial state” has seen the introduction of education policies “promoting user pays, increased vocational relevance, instrumentalism, application, commercialization based on partnerships with industry and pressure for research to meet governmental demands” (Blackmore, 2001, p. 354). This has also led to the contestation of what counts as knowledge, how knowledge is constituted and quantified. South African universities are increasingly reflecting these shifts as they respond to local policy imperatives and global pressures. The shift in South Africa from redress and equity to development and the current emphasis on skills development (See Chapter One) is leading to the vocationalization of higher education. Identifying themselves as corporate entities, South African universities are now in the business

of selling their commodities, entering into partnerships with corporate entities to generate income, adopting instrumentalism to bring about great effectiveness and efficiency, and transferring the cost of education to users.

The new knowledge economy creates a demand for more skilled and more qualified knowledge workers. Carnoy and Castells (2001) explain that post school education has become necessary in order to access well-paying jobs in today's knowledge based service economy and as such access to university is critical. This has created a demand and has pressured governments to expand higher education and to increase the number of secondary school graduates able to access higher education.

Massification

Globalization, the emergence of the knowledge economy and increased competition has resulted in a shift from universities as elite institutions to massification. Massification refers to the significant increase in student enrolment in universities. Massification in higher education has also been the result of the democratization of education which has seen the enrolment of previously excluded communities and non-traditional students with the emphasis on lifelong education. The massification of higher education has implications for teaching and learning, research, university infrastructure, funding and resources and quality. The initial proposal for massification in South Africa was replaced by planned expansion which was aimed at expanding participation of blacks and women students, and increasing career oriented short programmes and post graduate enrolments to produce high level skills (See Chapter One). Increased enrolments in South African universities led to the development of diversified qualifications, programmes and curricula in response to student diversity. This was accompanied by the implementation of a quality assurance system to address the effects of increasing enrolment on academic standards.

Equity and Access

The democratization of education has increased the demand for education and university education has expanded with more students accessing higher education. Given that university education will influence an individual's life chances and earning potential, it has become crucial. However, the democratization of education and the subsequent increase in demand do not necessarily translate into more people accessing quality education. The reality is that university education will continue to be accessed by those who can afford it as state control and financial support for higher education diminishes in the context of globalization. Carnoy (2001) describes the tension experienced by developing countries, such as South Africa, as they respond to global pressures to create the conditions for economic and social development through trade liberalization, the production of knowledge - now a sought after commodity, and highly skilled knowledge workers in the context of the limited state role and support in education. "In a society where education, information, and knowledge are the critical sources of wealth and influence, class formation takes place in the classroom. Who gets what in the education system determines who gets what in capital, communication, and political influence" (Carnoy & Castells, 2001, p. 15). While previously excluded, women and students from lower to middle income backgrounds are increasingly accessing higher education. However, Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley (2009) state that massification has not benefited all sectors of society equally. They say that while higher education has become more inclusive, the privileged classes continue to retain their relative advantage. Carnoy (2001) explains that in most countries, the students who achieve higher levels of schooling are those from higher socio-economic backgrounds and parents are becoming more conscious of where their children attend school and whether it will gain them access to higher education. As a result, education at the lower levels becomes more stratified, competition increases, and parents who can afford it increase the amount they spend on primary and secondary education to ensure their children gain access to higher education. In addition, parents from higher socio-economic status are able to afford tuition fees charged by universities.

Higher Education Funding

Geo-jaja & Zajda (2005, p. 118) state that "instrumental economism in education – the influence of strong market forces – has significantly dictated education reform and development in many

regions, particularly in Africa”. This has been marked by a significant reduction in funding to higher education, and by decentralization with a shift from a state controlled model to a state supervised model in the management of higher education and the emergence of what has been referred to as the “entrepreneurial” or “enterprising” university (Williams, 2003) and academic capitalism (Slaughter & Leslie 1997). Globally, public universities have been traditionally funded by state grants. In this context of reduced state funding, the university has to find ways of generating its own income.

When faced by budget cuts universities have to look elsewhere for funding. While they face increased pressure to expand and increase access, they must do so efficiently, that is, by reducing costs wherever possible. This has led to the marketization of its programs, now commonly referred to as service products to its student or consumers. Universities have also increasingly shifted the cost of education to parents as user fees are instituted and continually increased to make up the shortfall. They also have to look for alternative sources of funding, usually through partnerships with industry and other organizations.

Geo-jaja & Zajda (2005) explain that because instrumental economism in education reforms implies cost sharing, it will produce more inequality as the burden of fees is shifted to families, in particular poor households. In this sense there is an imminent risk to equity as market forces determine how education is delivered, who will have access to education and what happens in the universities. Instrumental economism demands that market forces determine how education is delivered linking what happens in universities to the labour process. This impacts on who has access to education and the quality of education

In South Africa, state funding of higher education decreased from 0.8 percent of the gross domestic product (GDP) in 1996 to 0.66 percent in 2006 leading to increased students fees to compensate for the loss of income (De Villiers & Steyn, 2007). While student numbers increased, staffing remained relatively constant, placing a greater burden on academics to do

more with less. High student fees have meant that higher education has become unaffordable to a large majority of South Africans. According to De Villiers & Steyn (2007), it may seem that South African higher education has become more efficient because graduates are being produced at a lower cost than previously. However, they state that there are indications that it is becoming more difficult for academics to maintain their teaching and research activities; and academic standard in terms of teaching could be compromised.

Financial constraints on state funding to public education have also resulted in the introduction and growth of the private higher education sector, which also contributes to a more competitive environment and in South Africa there are growing number of private institutions, including some international providers.

Corporatization

A key argument in the literature is that the corporatization of the university and the commodification of knowledge have led to the demise of universities as the vanguard of knowledge production and dissemination as a public good. Thornton (2004) explains that an examination of higher education policy is likely to reflect the idea of public good such as the promotion, advancement and transmission of knowledge and nothing about entrepreneurialism and profit making, values associated with corporations. However, studies on higher education reflect that these corporate values are becoming central to the management and organization of higher education (Slaughter & Leslie, 1999; Brooks, 2001; Geo-jaja & Zajda, 2005). This reflects a conflation in the role of the university as an enterprise for public good and a corporation for profit-making (Thornton, 2004). Slaughter & Leslie (1997) argue that globalization puts pressure on higher education policy makers to change the way universities do business. Academic capitalism as they refer to it, positions publicly funded universities and academic staff within a highly competitive environment. In this regard, changes are marked by the close resemblance of the goals, objectives and practices of academic life to that of corporate life. Central to this is the “positioning of knowledge and learning as a key source of exchange ‘value’ in capitalist economies” (Brooks, 2001, p. 15). This brings into sharp focus how change

is managed and the emergence of a new work environment, referred to by some as the postmodern work environment.

In order to discuss the corporatization of higher education, it is important to clarify what is meant by the concept corporatization and then examine its application to higher education and the consequences thereof. Scheuerman and Kriger (2004) distinguish between corporations and universities by comparing their goals. Corporations by their nature, they state, are for profit enterprises which produce and market goods and services for profit to ensure their survival in a highly competitive environment. The pursuit of profit and not quality remains the rationale for the goods or services and quality is a function of market competition. Universities on the other hand attempt to teach students the values associated with the pursuit of knowledge and truth for its own sake – in other words “the goal of education is education” (Scheuerman & Kriger, 2004, p. 12). It is for this reason, the pursuit of truth as an end itself, that academic freedom – the ability of academics to pursue knowledge and truth without restraint is important in higher education. A key distinction between corporations and education institutions relates to the production of use value and exchange value. Universities are in the business of education for education in that they produce use value, like knowledge which is an end in itself and not for the purpose of marketing and selling it. Corporations on the other hand produce exchange value to be marketed for some gain, like profits. The key difference here is that use-value relates to the production of a product or service to fulfil a human need while exchange value is intended as a means of exchange for gain. The quality and worth of a product produced in the university is determined by its usefulness. Whereas in the corporation, efficiency of the production process, that means keeping costs low to increase a products exchange value, is of paramount importance. This is what Scheuerman and Kriger identify as the key distinction between a business enterprise and an educational institution. “Understanding of the tension between exchange values and use values provides us with a road map to distinguish those corporate values which threaten the integrity of the university and those that we just may or may not like” (p. 13).

One way in which this is reflected is the pressure on faculties to increase class sizes to reduce costs, thereby doing more with less – an exchange value criterion. This also applies to the reduction of permanently employed full time staff and the increased employment of temporary contract staff as and when needed. By employing staff on a contract part-time or temporary basis, costs are reduced by paying such staff lower wages and by not providing them with benefits like pension and medical aid funds. Furthermore, because they are not in full time employ, there is no obligation to provide them with office space and the necessary resources that accompany that, like computers and office supplies. In addition, they can be used to teach at several sites, on and off the campus, especially in light of the changes in the mode of delivery that has come about recently. This has been reflected across South African universities and certainly at UKZN. While student enrolment has increased, it was not accompanied by an increase in staff. There has been an increase in the number of temporary contract staff

In terms of research, the application of use value criteria to research means that productivity is measured in terms of how much new knowledge is created. When exchange value criteria are applied to research, education as a driving force behind research is replaced by financial return as the goal. In other words, educational research is no longer an end in itself but is motivated by the financial returns it can generate like research grants from corporations or from research agencies (Scheuerman and Kriger, 2004). Financial incentives are also provided in universities as rewards for research productivity and publications, as is the case in South Africa.

Applying exchange value criteria to higher education positions it as an industry within the economy thereby shifting its emphasis on education as a public good to education as commodity to be traded. According to Scheuerman and Kriger (2004), “This impinges on academic freedom and interferes with the pursuit of knowledge and the quality of education” (p. 15). They argue that given the significant shift in the function of higher education from its socio-political orientation to an economic orientation “the fight against corporatization is also a fight for academic freedom and quality education” (p. 15). Like other processes of globalization, corporatization is not evenly applied nor is it inescapably hegemonic, pervasive or uncontested

locally and globally. Market value in higher education is not an entirely new phenomenon and Scheuerman and Kriger, (2004) suggest that the best way to understand its impact is by analysing the extent to which market values and corporate sector goals have replaced the traditional goals of universities. Our understanding of the university as a public institution in its function of producing use values is what distinguishes it in an environment dominated by exchange value. (Scheuerman and Kriger, 2004)

Marketization

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) use the term “academic capitalism” to describe the marketization of higher education which refers to universities engaging in markets and market like behaviours. They describe the emerging environment of public university as one full of contradictions “where faculty and professional staff expend their human capital stocks increasingly in competitive situations” (p. 9). In the context of state funding cuts, universities have resorted to developing, marketing and selling products in an effort to generate an income from their core academic functions. Examples of this range from patents developed through research and innovation to the commodification of curriculum and instruction through pre-packaged teaching and learning materials. Rhoades and Slaughter (2004, p. 37) view these developments as “the emergence of an academic capitalist knowledge/ learning/consumption regime”. They use the term regime to denote the presence within each of these domains of the following: the revision and creation of policies which make these activities possible; a fundamental change in the interrelations between the state, public universities and the corporate sector to support such activities; a blurring of the boundaries between the for-profit and not-for-profit sectors; and changes in university policies and practices that privilege income generation.

Slaughter and Leslie (1997) qualify their use of the concept academic capitalism through the notion of human capital. Given the centrality of knowledge in the knowledge economy, the knowledge and skills workers possess is seen to contribute to economic growth. Universities possess the scarcest and most valuable human capital – vested in their academic staff. This form of capital is essential to the development of high technology and techno-science critical to a

nation's participation in the competitive global economy. The human capital possessed by academics in the form of scarce and specialized knowledge and skills is academic capital. When they implement their human capital through engagement in production, they are engaging in academic capitalism. Their knowledge and skills, applied to productive work, benefits the individual academic, the institution they serve, the corporations they work with as well as society at large.

Universities are seen to engage in academic capitalism when they display market like behaviour. A key feature of this market like behaviour relates to institutional and faculty competition for external funds, whether in the form of grants, endowments, contracts, university-industry partnerships, university investment in academic private work or companies, or student fees. Universities and faculty display market like behaviour when they engage in income generating activities and activities which lead to efficient use of funds. In the restructuring of universities, this is evident in the organizational changes associated with internal resource allocation like the closure of departments perceived to be costly or the expansion or creation of new departments which are perceived to be potential income generators. This also includes significant changes in the division of academic labour in terms of research and teaching and the substantial reorganization of administrative structures (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997). An example of what is referred to as internal marketization is the implementation of cost centres where faculties and departments charge a fee for the use of equipment, space or services by other faculty and departments within the same institution.

Marketization in the university is therefore reflected in both epistemological and organizational changes towards income generation. This has seen the shift in institutional organization and management toward what is referred to as new managerialism. These shifts have collectively signified a shift in the nature of academic work and the conditions of work under which the "flexible academic" must teach, research and lead towards "academic capitalism" (Blackmore, 2000, p. 5).

New Managerialism

Whether we talk of academic capitalism or the entrepreneurial university, the evidence of corporate values and the adoption of organizational forms, technology and management practices from the private sector within higher education globally signals the influence of financial issues in the restructuring of universities. While research, teaching and community service remains the core work of universities they are increasingly being transformed in both structure and identity by the imposition of new managerialism. New managerialism is a relatively recent trend in South African universities.

New managerialism refers to a discourse which describes changes in the way that publicly funded institutions are being managed as a result of the restructuring of the welfare services in western societies. It “refers both to ideologies about applications of techniques, values and practices derived from the private sector of the economy to the management of organizations concerned with the provision of public services, and to the actual use of those techniques and practices in publically funded organizations” (Deem, 2001, p10)

Globalization has led governments to question the funding, management and organization of public services. The growing attack on the public sector in Western societies as inefficient and ineffective has given way to the imposition of market values on the design, delivery and management of public services perceived by its proponents to be the only way in which to bring about sustained efficiency and effectiveness in the public sector. Reforms within the state and public sector has seen the introduction of market values and new managerialism, with increased privatization, contracting out or outsourcing of services and the introduction of service charges or user fees. This shift is characterized by the following: a reworking of budgets, the linking of costs to outputs which are measured quantitatively through performance indicators, a view of organizations as a chain of low cost principal/agent relationships, the linking of incentives to performance, the introduction of provider/purchaser distinction and the exposure of public sector agencies to competition (Clarke and Newman, 1997). New managerialism refers to a set of managerial values, orientations and practices derived from the private sector, and governments in

their efforts to reduce public funding have encouraged its implementation in publicly funded institutions. This shift also reflects the shift of responsibilities and tasks away from the state to publicly funded agencies and households which reflect a form of privatization. (Clarke & Newman, 1997)

Clarke & Newman (1997) identify the three forms of privatization that characterize the changes in the relationship between the private and public in the restructuring of welfare policy and provision. The first relates to the sale of public assets to the business sector and the privatization of aspects of welfare services through subcontracting as in health care. The second form relates to the blurring of the boundary between the private and public sector as a result of restructuring and competition in the public sector. Changes in the public sector which has seen the commodification and marketization of public services and the resultant competitive relationship between service providers has the effect of blurring the boundary between the public and the private. In South Africa for example, there are public schools which charge such exorbitant school fees that the distinction between such schools and private schools has completely been erased. The third form of privatization relates to the shift of responsibilities with the familial domain, commonly understood as the private domain. Clarke and Newman explain that this is most evident in the relation to health and social care where the community becomes the primary source of health and social care, particularly for the sick and aged. The community is the family and with the gendered division of labour caring responsibility falls to women. In the current context of the AIDS pandemic this responsibility is significantly compounded in relation to the care of people infected and affected by HIV and AIDS, particularly in the developing world. This form of privatization is also related to a wider plan of transferring what were once state responsibilities to the private family domain in the form of resources (tax policies), choices (empowerment of the welfare consumer) and duties which enforce parental responsibilities. This shift in responsibilities from the state to the family domain has been accompanied by subjection of carers and their household to state assessment, evaluation and surveillance. This transfer of responsibilities and tasks away from the state to the private domain is also accompanied by a shift in power to different agents. While this may have the effect of empowering and enabling agents they simultaneously subject them to new demands and constraints through processes of

assessment, contracting and evaluation. The power transferred to agents is not an intrinsic property but an effect of the nature of their relationship with the state in which they are simultaneously empowered and disciplined. (Clarke and Newman, 1997)

This ‘managerialized dispersal’ is a political strategy used by the state to reconstruct itself and its welfare responsibilities and the “dispersal of power forms a uniting thread that underpins a variety of new systems and mechanisms, linking the introduction of marketising processes, the expansion of other non-state sectors, processes of centralization and decentralization and varieties of privatization and externalization” (Clarke and Newman, 1997, p. 29). Such dispersal of power has had the effect of disciplining and transforming old institutional sites of power in the public sector by subjecting them to new forms of power dispersed beyond them to “the citizen-as-consumer empowered to make choices, press demands, and be informed of services and performance” (p. 29) as well as to increased centralized state power and control through fiscal constraints, new policies and an expanded apparatus of audit and evaluation. This vertical reconfiguration of power restructures the state- agency relationship with the agency being repositioned as the delegated authority of the state. It also repositions agencies at the horizontal axes into new configurations of inter-organizational pseudo-competitive or marketized relationships where they are free to organize and manage themselves in ways they deem necessary. For example, universities are positioned in direct competition with each other for students and for positions on league tables through performance evaluation which measure their relative success in achieving specified objectives. The concept “freedom to manage” reminds us that the coordinating principle of this dispersal of power is managerialism which is seen to be the way to achieve efficiency, effectiveness and excellence. (Clarke and Newman, 1997)

Higher education as an entity within the public realm has not remained immune to the influence of the ideology, discourse and practices of new managerialism and changes in universities increasingly demonstrate a shift from collegiality to managerialism. Once characterized by the Humboldtian model with scholars engaged in research and teaching in a collegial autonomous community, the university is increasingly being perceived as a business with managers and a

chief executive officer (CEO) leading, managing and running the business of higher education (Deem, 1998; Bagilhole 2012).

With the advent of managerialism in higher education, universities find themselves in a “delicate balance between professional autonomy and political and economic forces” (Bagilhole, 2012, p. 24). New managerialism in higher education has resulted in universities operating under pseudo-market conditions and adopting market values, practices and techniques which have resulted in: the commodification and marketization of education services, inter-institutional competition for students, contracts and research funding, increased pressure on staff to do more with less such as accommodate larger class sizes by being creative, adaptable, efficient and enterprising, greater control and regulation of academic work through the monitoring and measurement of individual staff performances, the establishment of internal market mechanisms like the use of internal costs centers, the re-orientation of academic leadership toward managerial responsibilities which include the management of sites, staff, finance, students, teaching and learning, and the introduction of external quality assurance mechanisms (Deem, 1998; Deem, 2001; Becher & Trowler, 2001; Deem, Hillyard & Reed, 2007; Bagilhole, 2012).

Globalization, Higher Education Restructuring and Gender

As discussed above, corporatization and the consequential commodification and marketization as well as the shift to managerialism are affecting academic work. Questions are being raised about “how universities are addressing the demands of new knowledge economies and the impact on the social relations of gender within the academy” and “what this means for gender equity in the university” (Blackmore, 2002, p. 420). Blackmore asserts that gender equity work is threatened by the corporatization of higher education “despite seemingly equity-oriented discourses about new knowledge economies, inter-disciplinarity and diversity – discourses that would appear to open up new opportunities for women”. Feminists globally and in South Africa should be very mindful of the globalization logic driving education reforms because of its implications for gender equity and equity work. (Blackmore, 2002)

Globalization is associated with a reduction in the power of the nation-state which potentially reduces its interventionist role, and this has implications for the development and implementation of gender equity policies (Blackmore, 2000; Deem, 2001). This reduces the state's interventionist role in protecting workers, particularly those in low paid jobs and non-permanent contractual positions, where women tend to be concentrated. It must be born in mind that those in non-permanent contractual jobs tend not to be unionized and as a result remain unprotected and vulnerable. South Africa has put in place gender machinery and equity policies and this has resulted in equity discourses being mainstreamed and institutionalized. However, external pressures have resulted in a shift from a strong emphasis on equity and redress to economic development (See Chapter One), and this has implications for equity outcomes as our government makes choices about where and how they intervene in the context of globalization (Blackmore, 2000). Reduced state funding to universities, the privatization of higher education and the introduction of user pays intensify existing inequities and lead to new social and gender inequalities (Blackmore, 2002).

Another reason why feminists should be attentive to globalization driving education reform relates to the prominence of flexible labour and the consequential casualization and the feminisation of labour (Blackmore, 2000). Flexibility refers to shifting work patterns aimed at meeting the needs of diverse and mobile populations and includes, among other things, casual part-time or full-time work, compressed working hours, working from alternate sites and non-traditional flexible work hours (Blackmore, 2000; Australian Institute of Management, 2012). Flexibility in the workplace has some benefits and can be attractive to women as it offers one the opportunity of balancing work and home responsibilities. The downside of flexibility is that it is associated with lower pay, irregular work hours, exclusion from staff development and promotional opportunities, as well as a lack of support from colleagues and managers (Australian Institute of Management, 2012). Globally more women than men are in contract positions as contingent staff and women tend to have intermittent careers as a result of domestic responsibilities (Cooper and Lewis, 1999). Casual and intermittent staff, predominantly women, tend to be viewed as “second-class workers”, who are not committed or serious about their work

(Cooper and Lewis, p. 39). Women may be preferred workers, particularly in low paid jobs with poor conditions and very little prospect for career advancement and they tend to take these jobs despite the lack of opportunities and low status attached to them, particularly those with domestic responsibilities they cannot escape. With the increasing demand for flexible workers which is now evident in universities, the tendency for women to be employed as flexible contingent workers will continue, keeping them on the margins. On the flip side, the preference of employers for women workers as well as women's preference for flexible jobs can result in even greater numbers of women entering the job market, albeit in disadvantaged positions. According to Cooper and Lewis (1999), flexibility in the workplace can result in shifts in the notion of the ideal worker which can advance gender equity. They explain that it has always been argued that "the male model of work and traditional notions of career" which stress uninterrupted careers, rigid working hours, and complete commitment to work, needed to be challenged to promote gender equality (p. 40). They argue that the shift from the traditional notion of careers and the male model of work to "postmodern pluralism" in the workplace can advance gender equity issues at both the individual and structural level (p. 40). Such possibilities do make globalization discourses attractive and promising. However, they do acknowledge that this maybe an optimistic view and cite studies that show that organizational restructuring can lead to gender imbalances. Flexibility leads to job insecurity which often leads to employees feeling the need to prove their worth and commitment by taking on more work or working longer hours. For women academics, this also has implications for the construction of their academic identities and for developing an academic career.

"Identity is people's source of meaning and experience" (Castells, 1997, p. 6). Castells explains that we may have a plurality of identities which can be a source of stress and conflict in our representation of ourselves and social action and distinguishes between identity and roles. Roles, like being a mother or a worker, are defined by norms structured by societal institutions and organizations. The extent to which roles influence behaviour and the importance attached to them depend on negotiations and arrangements established between the individual and the institutions (Castells, 1997). Identities "constructed through a process of individuation" ... "can also be originated from dominant institutions" (p. 7) but are constructed as an identity only if a

person internalizes it and constructs meaning from this internalization. This then makes identities a “stronger source of meaning than roles” in that identities organize the meaning while roles organize the functions” (p. 7). Castells explains that in the network society, for most people meaning is constructed around a “primary identity (that is an identity that frames the others” (p. 7) which persists over time and space. By meaning, he refers to the purpose of ones actions that one symbolically identifies.

In academia then, our academic roles can be a source of personal and collective identity but this is dependent on the extent to which we internalize and construct meaning of our roles and the purpose we attach to it. We also identify ourselves as academics in relation to the institution but this is continually reconstructed in response to contextual shifts. We construct ourselves as academics through our constructions of what being an academic is in relation to our past experiences and our understandings of the present context.

A great body of research has been generated which provides evidence and explanations of the continued subordination of women in academia (Morley & Walsh, 1995; Morley & Walsh, 1996; Morley, 1999; Morley, 2003; Brooks & Mackinnon, 2001). Women's experiences in higher education are gendered, and this is evident from the gendered nature of academic work and careers. Studies have revealed that women in academia continue to experience marginalization and exclusion as a result of the gendered nature and the horizontal and vertical stratification of academic work. They tend to enter the profession late, and have often not sought out an academic career and take much longer to achieve tenure later in their careers. They are concentrated in the lower levels of academia, are poorly represented in senior positions, management and in professorial positions. Fewer women than men have doctorates. They are under-represented in the sciences and applied sciences and are concentrated in the disciplines like the humanities and education, which not only have a low status but are under-valued within universities. Women tend to privilege teaching and there is a tendency for them to take on more administrative responsibilities and give more to their universities. More women are employed in as contingent staff; they earn less than their male counterparts, and as a result of their non-permanent status, do not enjoy additional benefits afforded to permanent staff. They experience

greater insecurity and ambivalence and continue to experience challenges in balancing private and professional lives. (Morley & Walsh, 1995; Morley and Walsh, 1996; Acker & Feuerverger, 1996; Bensimon & Marshall, 1997; Currie, et.al. 2000; Moultrie & De La Rey, 2003; Leathwood & Read, 2009)

While some mourn the death of the traditional university, Davis and Holloway (1995, p. 8) remind us that the “gender regime of the older university was itself profoundly unwelcoming of women”. Blackmore (2002) also sees globalization discourses as promising because they present opportunities for mobilizing gender equity issues through new governance frameworks provided through local, regional, transnational and international formations, like the newly formed association of the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) in our case. New political formations in the sense of a world polity are seen as ways of promoting universal human rights and mobilizing external pressure on nation states that are oppressive. However, she states that globalization discourses are also dangerous because they are seen as “exacerbating old or introducing new inequalities, in its capacity to undermine past equity gains... and in its universalizing and homogenizing cultural tendencies that deny the cultural specificity of women’s experience’ (Blackmore, 2002, p. 420).

Feminists engaged with gender equity work in higher education are very concerned about new managerialism and the ways in which it is repositioning women in the new gender order that is emerging. As explained earlier, new managerialism refers to the management of publicly funded institutions which has been derived from and involve the application of techniques, values and practices from the private sector and this has been encouraged by governments who have reduced state funding to public sector organizations (Deem 1998). State funding cuts to universities, the implementation of new funding formula and the concomitant division in funding for research and teaching has implications for gender equity in the university (Davis & Holloway, 1995). Cuts in funding and the shift to managerialism with its emphasis on efficiency has seen universities implementing cost cutting mechanisms and valuing income generating activities such as research . Greater emphasis is placed on research which means greater pressure

on staff to be research productive. Davis and Holloway (1995) point out that this leads to staff being divided into “research active” and “research inactive” with the research active being more valued “because their efforts can be openly and directly linked to income” (p. 14). Funding generated through research is then used to further support the research active staff to advance their research. Women already lag behind men in terms of research productivity and women are further disadvantaged because they tend to take on more teaching. The increase in workloads in the corporate university and the tendency for women academics to take on more teaching, more administrative and student related responsibilities, coupled with the domestic responsibilities will further diminish women’s research capacity and productivity (Deem, 1998). White, Carvalho & Riordan (2011) state that the emphasis on income generation and research productivity is linked to career progression and does affect women disproportionately. They explain that women tend to experience more difficulty attracting large research grants, especially those in ‘soft’ disciplines. With fewer women than men in professorial positions, this problem is aggravated, as funders require lead researchers to be senior academics, like professors. Research conducted by White, Carvalho & Riordan (2011) shows that the managerial focus on research is a barrier for women academics. Income generation within universities has led to a highly competitive higher education environment characterized by competition “for students, research income and ‘academic research ‘stars’” (Deem, 1998).

Corporatism and new managerialism has also led to new forms of decision-making marked by a shift from democratic collegial decision making which previously characterized universities. Decision making in universities was largely bottom up, with academic staff making decisions related to academic work and even selecting the person they wanted to lead them. New managerialism has fractured collegial relations and led to the emergence of differences between “academic managers and academic staff, researchers and teachers, “research active and research inactive”, “income generators and non-income generators” (Davis and Holloway, 1995, p. 11-14). Collegiality in the traditional university was associated with ‘gentlemanly’ governance practices “with a division of labour based on stereotyped ideas about gender roles, with ‘women in ‘caring’ and servicing jobs, and men occupying high status roles” (Deem 1998, p. 48-50). These collegial relations in the traditional university may not have been enjoyed by women,

given their late arrival in academia and may have been responsible for the allocation of heavier workloads to women. From a feminist perspective, this certainly needed to be challenged. However, with the demise of collegiality what is being replaced is the “more laissez-faire” ways of organizing and managing academic work among “collegial academics of equal status working together with minimal hierarchy and maximum trust” and the control of academic work associated with managerialism has “replaced collegiality, trust and professional discretion” which also benefited women (Deem, 1998, p. 48).

Deem (1998) also explains that new managerialism is ‘infused with notions of masculinities’ and this with the traditional “gendering of organizational cultures in universities by the wide permeation of masculine values, beliefs and practices” (p. 50) makes it “incompatible with concerns about equity and feminist values” (p. 66). Blackmore (2000) states that “the values and dispositions emanating from marketed systems of competitiveness, individualism, performativity, and differentiation do work against values of gender equity reform such as cooperativeness, community, responsibility, and caring” (p. 4) She believes that globalization discourses do impact on equity issues and produce a “new emotional economy of organization around self-performance, optimization of individual gains, competitiveness and survival” (Blackmore, 2002, p. 4).

Globalization and South African Higher Education

How does South African higher education in the context of globalization and the new knowledge-based network economy respond to the challenges evoked by the increased globalization of higher education, and the impact of the social, political and economic processes of globalization? And how does higher education meet the challenges of sustainable development and renewal in South Africa, particularly in the context of globalization. The key question relates to the role of higher education in South Africa in the context of neoliberal globalization.

“...Africa’s stories of the development process are narratives of blocked transitions, routes not taken, itineraries hijacked, highways populated by robbers and bandits, and journeys led by shifty and unreliable scouts and guides. For people who travel into unknown territories these are commonplace experiences of journeys, both real and mythical. The hope is always that at the end of the journey one gets to the Promised Land in one piece” (Aina, 2010, p. 22). This was the description coined by Aina in his engagement with the politics of higher education transformation in Africa. For him, given their histories of slavery, colonization, apartheid and subsequent inequitable economic development, for most nations on the African continent “intellectual self-determination is a political, economic, and cultural imperative” especially if it is to contribute to, among other things, African peoples’ “collective emancipation from ignorance and domination: (p. 23). He explains that despite a half a century of reforms in African higher education, it continues to lack a clear mission and vision that links it to the critical challenges of their contexts locally and globally. African higher education transformation, he argues, has not happened in ways which benefit African nations & its people because of the lack of “relative autonomy” and “self-conscious capacities” (p. 23) to meaningfully respond to Africa’s needs and challenges which he attributes to years of colonization, inept and corrupt post-colonial governments and currently to structural adjustment and globalization. Real transformation is possible, he explains, but it must be premised on an engagement with the politics of change, which he claims the current literature on African higher education reform does not do, understandably so, given that reforms are influenced and largely led by the west.

I find Aina’s distinction between reform and transformation a useful one to cite, as it speaks to the notion of engaging with a politics of higher education restructuring. Transformation he explains, “refers to an intentional social, political, and intellectual project of planned change aimed at addressing historical disadvantages, inequities, and serious structural dysfunctions” which “challenge assumptions, values, and power relations and offer alternative visions and situations” (p. 33). Transformation not only implies a break with the past literally and epistemologically; it implies a fundamental change in structures, relations, cultures and institutions and going beyond reform. He argues that higher education in Africa can only contribute to development of an economically viable, democratic & socially just society if it goes

beyond reform. He sees reform as “managerial or technocratic tinkering and modification of formal policies, practices and structures” geared toward bureaucratic change than “social movement inspired progress” and understood as a top-down hierarchical process “led by managers and technical specialists”, influenced by external agencies (p. 24-25). He believes that transformation is possible and achievable if a “fundamental and inclusive reengagement with the vision, mission, structures, and values” is undertaken. This he says is not idealism and cites South African higher education as an example of an opportunity seized to overtly and deliberately engage with transformation.

Corporatization in South African Universities

Mohanty, (2006) states that the values and ideologies underpinning the corporate university directly contradicts the values of the democratic public university whose goal is to produce a critical citizenry. Its primary purpose as a place for critical and independent scholarly work means that academic freedom is essential, particularly in relation to the state or market (Mohanty, 2006). du Toit (2007) identifies academic freedom as the “key legitimating concept of the academic enterprise” (p.12) and explains that it includes a number of constituent elements. Drawing on the work of Graeme Moody, he identifies three claims to academic freedom which include: academic freedom in relation to the individual; “academic rule (within the university)”; and “institutional autonomy of the university (in its external relations to the state and society)” (p. 15). Academic or scholarly freedom is “freedom of inquiry, research and teaching” which requires “scholarly discipline and authority” and is protected from external interference (p. 15). Academic rule is defined as “self-government or rule by academics” within the university through established internal governance structures such as “the (collegial) department, academic faculty boards, the academic Senate” (p. 15). du Toit explains that universities are not only confined to academic work; there are property, administrative and bureaucratic affairs that must be seen to. These are not the responsibility of academics and it is important to distinguish this from academic work which is the core work of universities and the prerogative of academics. As such, the university leadership must be in the hands of academics not professional managers, and senate which traditionally is made up of professoriate, not council must have the ultimate say in academic affairs. Institutional autonomy relates to the degree of autonomy a university has in

terms of its external relations with the state, funding agencies, the corporate sector, local communities and society at large.

Cloete & Kulati (2003) indicate that in SAHE senate, which ought to be the primary governance structure in terms of academic governance, has increasingly been marginalized. They provide three reasons for this which are based on anecdotal accounts. One is that “senates have not taken an active role in the strategic decisions of the institution” due to councils becoming more assertive and vigilant as a result of their fiduciary responsibilities and because of the executive management by the vice-chancellor and his executive deanship (p. 21). With the pressure to be research productive and to raise more funds through contract research, many professors see their participation in senate as being of lesser importance. They also indicate that many senior academics work privately to subsidize their salaries and this moonlighting maybe a further reason for their declining attendance at senate. A third reason relates to the delineation of the roles of senate and council which separates academic and financial decision making which are not so clearly distinguishable in terms of governance. They refer to the conflict between the council and senate of University of Natal (NU) and the University of Witwatersrand (Wits). In 2002, both councils were accused of extending their jurisdiction over financial matters without the requisite support of senate. This related to the appointment of the vice-chancellor at NU and the dismissal of the vice-chancellor at Wits. This increasingly marginal role of senate is also attributed to the centralization of decision-making powers in the university executive supported by council.

Is academic freedom being threatened? Critics claim that the corporatization of the university is indicative of the influence of both the state and the market and in the context of the university/corporate complex, academic freedom is being compromised Mohanty (2006). Du Toit (2007, p. 24) in his examination of scholarly freedom in the context of the corporatization of South African universities and explains that while academic freedom has been entrenched in the South African Constitution, “it is not clear how this will protect academics whose controversial public statements may be deemed to bring their institutions ‘into disrepute’ or whose ‘line-managers’ may consider them guilty of ‘insubordination’ any more than the employees of business firms in similar situations”.

Given that the university is about knowledge production and dissemination, Mohanty (2006) explains that it remains a site of struggle and contestation and therefore a critical place of feminist critique. Feminist scholars and academic women have challenged masculine hegemony, male privilege and gender inequity in the academy, largely because universities foster critical thought. While they have made significant gains over the last few decades reflected in the development of gender and women's studies programmes as well as the development of feminist paradigms which challenge gender inequity within the academy and well as in wider society, they have also experienced a backlash in recent times. Feminist scholars have been denied tenure because of the nature of their work which is perceived as political and unconventional; disciplines, particularly in the humanities and social sciences where women academics tend to be dominant, are receiving less funding therefore leaving them at risk; and women and gender studies programmes which have been the basis for feminist scholarship are being rationalized because of the lack of funding, (Mohanty, 2006; Blackmore, 2002; Brooks and Mackinnon, 2001).

As discussed previously, government endorsed the National Commission on Higher Education's recommendation of cooperative governance which is located within a state supervisory model. A key motivation for this was "the need to transcend the adversarial relations between state and civil society arising from the apartheid era" (Department of Education, 1997, 3.6). This model of cooperative governance is premised on "the principle of autonomous institutions working cooperatively with a proactive government and in a range of partnerships" (Department of Education, 1997, 3.6). The White Paper also proposed the creation of "an enabling institutional environment and culture that is sensitive to and affirms diversity, promotes reconciliation and respect for human life, protects the dignity of individuals from racial and sexual harassment, and rejects all other forms of violent behaviour" (Department of Education, 1997, 1.13). The Ministry acknowledged that governance in universities still reflected struggles for control, competing interests, priorities and views which result in a lack of consensus, conflicts and chaos. To address these challenges, the proposed governance structures within institutions would be made up of a council, the senate and an institutional forum. The establishment of these structures was to be achieved through a participatory democratic process and must ensure representivity of

diversity in its makeup. Council is the highest decision making body responsible “for the good order and governance of institutions and for their mission, financial policy, performance, quality and reputation” (Department of Education, 1997, 3.34). Senate is the highest decision-making body in terms of the academic and research functions of a university. The establishment of institutional forums is to increase the participation of staff and students in the institutions governance structures and to provide a forum for debate and discussion of the institutions transformation agenda. The function of the institutional forum includes among other things: implementation of policy; identification of problem areas; selection of candidates for senior management; development of equity plans, promotion of an institutional culture that promotes human rights and supports teaching; learning and research; provision of a forum to mediate and resolve conflicting interests and disputes as well as monitoring and assessing institutional transformation. The stage was therefore set for the democratic process of institutional transformation. In addition, the Ministry in response to evidence of sexism and racism in universities proposed the establishment of mechanisms to:

- “create a secure and safe campus environment that discourages harassment or any other hostile behaviour directed towards persons or groups on any grounds whatsoever, but particularly on grounds of age, colour, creed, disability, gender, marital status, national origin, race, language, or sexual orientation
- set standards of expected behaviour for the entire campus community, including but not limited to administrators, faculty, staff, students, security personnel and contractors
- promote a campus environment that is sensitive to racial and cultural diversity, through extracurricular activities that expose students to cultures and traditions other than their own, and scholarly activities that work towards this goal.
- assign competent personnel to monitor progress in the above mentioned areas.”

(Department of Education, 1997, 3.38)

The Ministry also supported an institutional culture that promoted gender equity through the establishment of an equitable and supportive climate for women students and staff. Women’s full and equal participation was to be achieved through addressing:

“women’s representation in senior academic and administrative positions and institutional governance structures, child care facilities at institutions, affirmative action for women’s advancement, and mechanisms to draw women students into postgraduate studies and into science and technology. Institutional information systems should incorporate mechanisms for monitoring and collecting data on women students and staff.” (Department of Education, 1997, 3.43)

However, Cloete and Kulati (2003) remind us that agreement in principle does not necessarily translate into action. The shift to increased government steering in higher education (See Chapter Five) resulted in a top-down decision-making process, which in turn influenced institutional leadership to adopt a more centralized top-down decision-making process. How then did UKZN position itself in this new context of cooperative governance? Did it go the route of transformative or managerial leadership (Cloete and Kulati (2003)? The managerial approach aims to restructure the institution to become more competitive and market driven by adopting corporate managerial principles and practices. Those who adopt this approach see globalization as an opportunity rather than a threat. The transformative approach to leadership demonstrates aspects of cooperative governance and transformative processes which include: “critical self-reflection”; “negotiated transformation”; “active forums”; “role differentiation”; “expanded leadership”; “trust”; “directive leadership with consultation”; “constructive/critical relationship between the chairperson of council and vice-chancellor (Cloete & Kulati, 2003, p. 13-14). The UKZN Council and executive adopted the corporate route and this is reflected in the following statement by Council:

“The University is committed to the highest level of corporate governance and the principles of discipline, transparency, independence, accountability, responsibility, fairness, and social responsibility advocated in the King Report on Corporate Governance. The Council endorses and is committed to giving full and complete effect to the Code of Corporate Practices and Conduct, and the Code of Ethical Behaviour and Practice as set out in the King II Report” (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2005, p. 6).

Council in this report further clarifies that “the role of the chairperson of Council is separate from the chief executive officer, the Vice-Chancellor” (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2005, p.

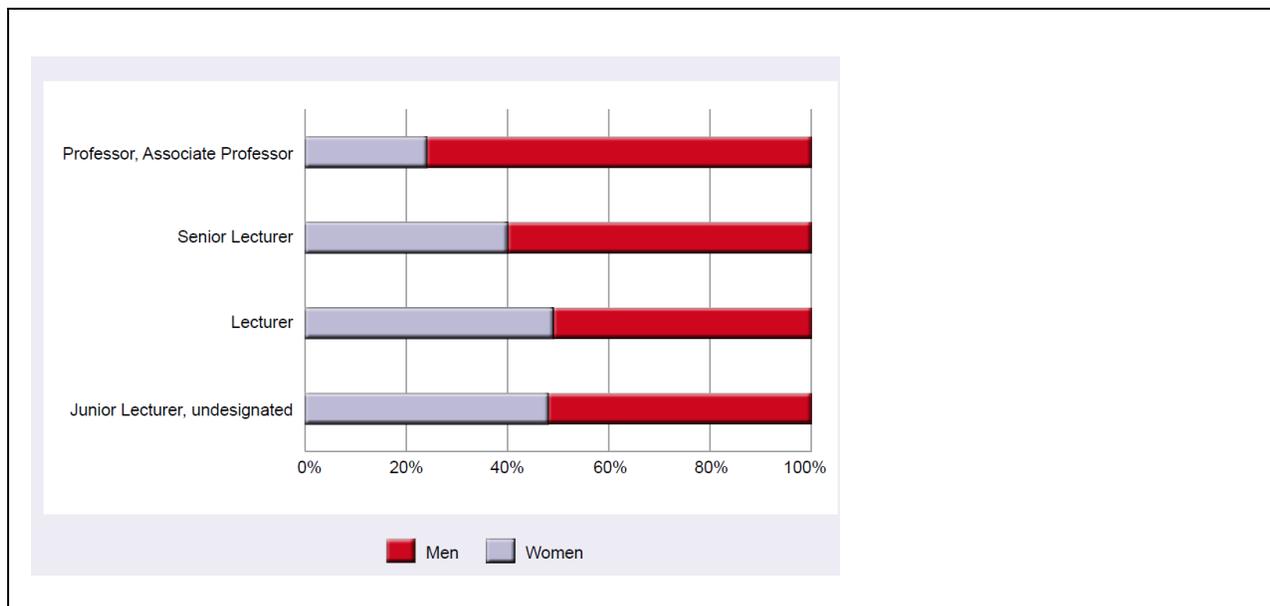
6). Clearly, UKZN has adopted a managerial approach and the question is: How do participants experiences the shift to corporate managerialism and what are the consequences of the accompanying practices for women academics?

Gender Equity in South African Higher Education

Gender equity is a national priority in South Africa and this is articulated as a Constitutional imperative and upheld by a gender equity legislative framework and the National Machinery for the women's empowerment and gender equality. The national machinery is a set of coordinated structures in and outside government aimed at achieving gender equality in all spheres of social, political, economic and cultural life (Office on the Status on Women, 2000). Within government, the structure of the national machinery includes Cabinet, the supreme policymaking structure, the Office on the Status of Women, based in the Presidency, and Gender Desks or Focal Points in all government departments. In 2012 the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill was put forth by the Department of Women, Children and People with Disabilities. The Bill provides for the establishment of a legislative framework for the empowerment of women and provides an obligation to adopt and implement gender mainstreaming. It emphasis the need to recognize the economic value of women's role in South African society and promotes the achievement of at least 50 % representation and participation of women in decision-making structures in all entities. This, with the impressive array of equity legislation and policies is testament to the priority given to gender equity in South Africa. The question remains: Has policy been implemented in a way that has led to the achievement of gender equity in higher education?

As a country, we have made significant strides in advancing gender equity in all spheres, and women have made significant progress in the workplace. There has been a significant increase in women employed in academic and administrative posts and in total there are more women than men employed in South African universities. However, there are more men than women employed in academic positions (i.e. as instruction and research staff); women remain concentrated in the humanities and social sciences and at the lower levels; they remain under-represented in science, technology and engineering and in senior managerial and leadership

positions. In 2005 women made up 44 % of academic staff with a marginal increase of 2 % by 2010. Of the permanent staff employed in 2005, women made up 44 % and by 2010 this had increased to 46%. There was an increase in the total number of staff employed on a temporary basis from 57% in 2005 to 63% in 2010. Women constituted the majority of temporary staff with 62% in 2005 and 64% in 2010. This clearly demonstrates the gendered casualization of academic labour in SAHE.



Academic staff (headcount by gender and level of appointment, 2007

Source: CHE (2009). Higher Education Monitor 8. The State of Higher Education in South Africa

In 2005 there were 475 women and 1 170 men in senior management positions. By 2007, men still dominated senior academic positions with 24 % of associate professor and professor and of 40 % senior lecturers being women. There was an increase in the number of women enrolled for doctoral study in 2007 with more women enrolled in education and more men in science, engineering and technology. Of the total doctoral graduates, 42% were women (CHE, 2007). However, of the total number of staff in academic positions in 2010, only 35 % of women had a doctoral qualification. More universities are now stipulating a doctoral degree as a criterion for promotion into senior academic and management positions and this will be a barrier to women’s advancement within the hierarchy (CHE, 2010).

Gender has been a focus in our universities in terms of research and scholarship, staff recruitment and development and student enrolment and achievement. All the major universities have gender and women's studies departments and programmes which have made a significant contribution to research and scholarship on gender and gender justice in the South African and African context. These institutes have achieved global recognition for their work in terms of feminist and gender activism, scholarship and research. In 2007, the academic journal *Feminist Africa*, a publication of the African Gender Institute, University of Cape Town brought together the work of key feminist thinkers in Africa when it dedicated two editions to feminist perspectives on gender and higher education in Africa. Academics working from a gender and or feminist perspective have produced significant research exposing gender injustices in general. With the impressive gender equity legislative framework in place and the remarkable scholarship emanating from our universities, one would expect major gains in terms of gender equity in all spheres of life, and certainly in our institutions of higher learning.

Despite the increase in female staff and students in higher education and the introduction of equity plans and programmes to support the recruitment and development of staff such as mentoring programmes and designated funding for post-graduate studies and research, disparities still exist. Shackleton, Riordan & Simonis (2006) investigated the initiatives aimed at achieving greater gender equity. They found that the academic staff profile still reflected a pyramid with women constituting 70% of assistant lecturers and only 7% of full professors. While a strong policy environment with gender equity as a goal existed, there was vagueness about implementation strategies. They found that staff development to address gender equity was not a priority and there was little effort put into providing any programmes. A study conducted by Moultrie & De La Rey (2003) confirmed the need for professional development of women academics in leadership as well as the need for organized peer support structures.



Figure 1: Headcount student enrolments in public higher education by gender, 2001, 2006

Source: Council on Higher Education (2011). Higher Education Participation 2011

While there has been a significant increase in the enrolment of women as students, there are still gender disparities in relation to the access, enrolment, participation and achievement of female students which are obscured by the overall enrolment rates.

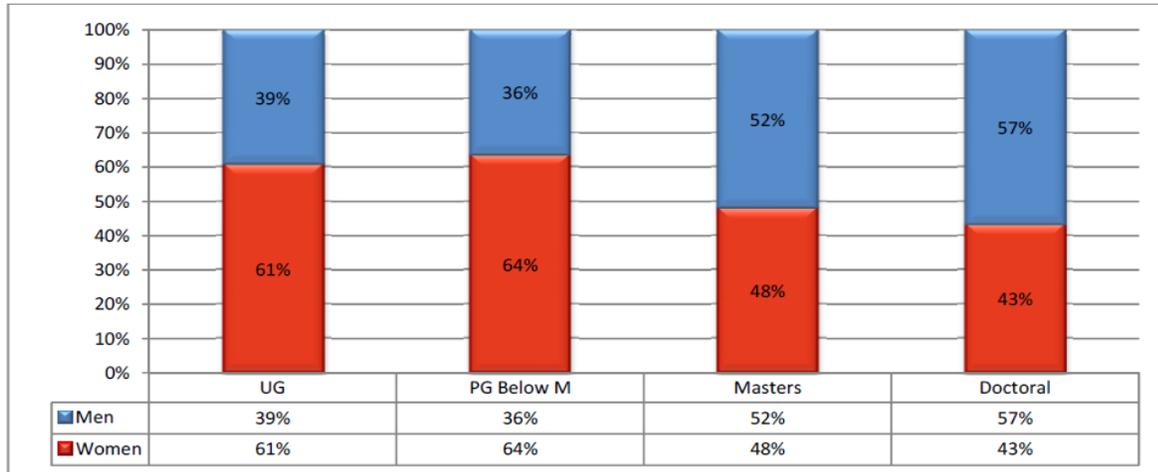
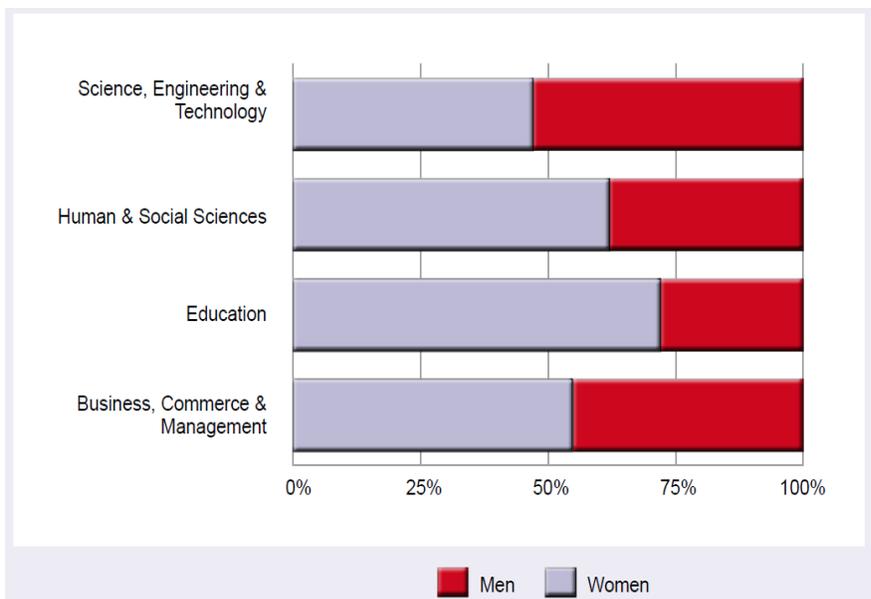


Figure 2: Proportion of men and women enrolling in public higher education by qualification level

Source: Council on Higher Education (2011). Higher Education Participation 2011

Women remain concentrated at the undergraduate level and the number of women enrolled at the masters and doctoral level decreases. This supports the view that there is a lower pool of women from to draw on in appointing more women academic positions, particularly at the senior level.



Graduates (headcount) from public institutions by gender and field of study, 2007

Figure 3: Proportion of men and women enrolling in public higher education by qualification level

Source: Council on Higher Education (2011). Higher Education Participation 2011

There are still lower numbers of women gaining access into the fields of science, technology and engineering. Women remain concentrated in education, social and human science, the health sciences and in commerce. (CHE, 2011) A study conducted by Shackleton, Riordan & Simonis (2006) found that women staff and senior women students play a significant role in raising awareness of Engineering as a career choice for young women. They found that women staff in their study played a significant role in recruiting female students, often taking on the responsibility over and above their formal workloads. While this led to an increase in the enrolment of female students, women still remained a minority in the faculty as staff and students.

Gender inequalities persist in our universities and studies have demonstrated that in all aspects of academy women continue to be excluded, marginalized and discriminated against and continue to experience sexual as well as verbal harassment or bullying, violence and victimization (Mama, 2003; Bennet, 2002; Mama, 2006; Barnes, 2007; Bennet, et.al., 2007). Unfortunately, the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions was almost silent on gender inequality. In its report, it commented that women continue to experience exclusion, discrimination, victimization, violence and sexual harassment in higher education but acknowledged that sexism and patriarchy were not stressed in most institutional submissions. Higher Education South Africa (HESA, 2010) commented that the Ministerial Committee's emphasis on race could be a reason for this omission in institutional submissions. HESA states that there was nonetheless enough evidence in the report to suggest the need for all encompassing initiatives to make universities safer for women and to foster enabling institutional cultures which are women sensitive and women friendly. This means changing institutional cultures to accommodate women rather than expecting women to succeed in an environment characterized by "expectations, norms, values, traditions and ways of behaving" (Higher Education South Africa, 2010, p. 18) that are derived from and entrenched in masculinized conceptions what an academic is.

While equity continues to feature strongly in higher education policy, its priority has been displaced by the emphasis now being placed on development. This is clearly reflected in policy discourse which emphasizes responsiveness to the labour market needs of the economy. I find Mama's (2006) conception of development in post-colonial Africa insightful. Mama (2006) makes the critical point that development, which I acknowledge is a huge priority in South Africa, "requires much more than just technical skills, particularly when development requires social development, and includes commitments to gender equality, social justice and democracy (p. 54)." Even economic development, particularly in a post-colonial, post-apartheid context requires intellectual development of a critical nature that draws on the collective experiences of its people. She further explains that intellectual development is an aspect of culture, and "without a sense of culture, of collective history and context, we are disabled" (p. 55); in that it obstructs our ability to develop a sense of purpose and social responsibility. We cannot pursue our political and economic aspirations if we have no sense of who we are as a people, our collective histories of struggle against colonialism, apartheid and gender, racial, ethnic and class oppression. Our awareness of our social reality and our responses to it is what must guide our social, political and economic development. (Mama, 2006)

This means that even in the context of neoliberal globalization with the current external pressures and opportunities for global participation, South African higher education transformation must be informed by the collective histories of its people and by who we are as a diverse country in Africa. Higher education has a responsibility to contribute to the transformation of our society in terms of redress and equity. It also has a special responsibility to pursue gender equity as a national, regional and global policy commitment (Mama, 2006). This means that universities must ensure that gender equity is prioritized in relation to institutional development, staffing, planning and service delivery. Universities must produce gender sensitive graduates who are capable of advancing national and global policy commitments to gender equity. In addition, as knowledge producers, universities must ensure that they do not reproduce and promote scholarship that reflects hegemonic masculine epistemologies, methodologies and disciplinary rules. They must ensure the development of "gender competent theories, research and analysis that are grounded in a thorough and respectful understanding of African realities" (Mama, 2006, p. 57).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented a review of conceptions of globalization, discussed the impact of globalization on education and examined the globalization of higher education and the implications thereof for gender equity. I have drawn on the critical theoretical debates on the globalization of higher education and have discussed the key conceptual themes that emerge from this discussion as they relate to the restructuring of universities in relation to structures, policies, processes and practices.

To demonstrate the gains achieved and challenges currently facing us in achieving gender equity in South African higher education, I have reviewed relevant literature. Despite national and regional policy commitments to gender equality as well as declarations and resolutions of the African higher education community to which South Africa is a signatory, South African universities are still male-dominated spaces, with institutional cultures that are dismissive of gender as an institutional dynamic which continue to reflect masculine hegemonic norms (Mama, 2003; Mama & Barnes, 2007; Shackleton, 2007). Mama and Barnes (2007) comment that universities as institutions of higher learning ought to be leading and not lagging behind in realizing our aspirations for democracy and social justice. They state that the persistence of inequalities reflects a lack of commitment to gender issues as well as to taking women seriously in the academy. Mama (2003) explains that universities do not represent a gender neutral organizational climate and suggests that there is evidence to indicate that they may operate in ways that reproduce gender inequalities.

Chapter Three

Feminist Research in the Context of Globalization: A Theoretical Framework

“I...cannot dissociate the genealogical account from a sort of narrative of my own theoretical and political origins as a feminist: the personal is not only political, it is also the basis for the theoretical” (Braidotti, 1991, p. 147).

Higher education is a critical space for social development and reproduction. Historically it has been gendered, raced and classed in ways that have seen it serve the dominant elite. In the context of a democratic transition at national level, and a range of forces at global level, there has been a significant change in the SAHE landscape (see Chapter One). This investigation seeks to interrogate the experiences of women academics at one institution in this context, in order to understand what the gains, losses, obstacles and potentialities are for achieving a greater degree of social justice as defined by Nancy Fraser. In this chapter, I begin by examining feminism and feminist research in the context of globalization and consequent conceptions of social justice. I then discuss feminist standpoint theory, which informs this research investigation. I also explain Nancy Fraser’s Post-Westphalian theory of democratic justice, which provides the analytic framework for my analysis of the women’s narratives of higher education reform, in terms of distribution, recognition and representation as three separate elements of social justice.

Feminism

I have already identified myself as a feminist. I am a feminist because I am conscious of my own oppression as a woman, I am aware of other women’s experiences of oppression; I see how women are oppressed at a micro level in their social relations as well as at a macro level in terms

of the dominant ideologies that structure women's lives and oppress them. I am not just aware of it; I live it, I experience it and I challenge it – every day in my life, simply because my life is gendered. I am not suggesting that every day I engage consciously with my oppression as a woman – much of this happens quite unconsciously. For me, feminism is not just about holding particular beliefs or being involved in particular forms of action – it is a state of being – it is an ontological position one assumes. Feminism is about taking women seriously and about making women's experience the central feature of what I am doing, in my research and in my practice. I understand feminism as a political movement, which is interested in women's oppression; with identifying, exposing and challenging women's oppression in the home, the workplace and in society. It is concerned with bringing about changes in the material and social conditions of women's lives with the aim of increasing their equal and full participation in all aspects of social, political and economic life; it is concerned with ending women's oppression.

Stanley & Wise (2002) in the development of their feminist epistemological and ontological approach, question what makes one a feminist and what feminism is. Is feminism something in your head, a set of political beliefs and an understanding of how these affect your life as a woman? What makes one feminist? Is it being involved in a feminist activity, feminist project or campaign that makes one feminist or one's work feminist work? What about those who hold such beliefs but also believe that there is nothing that can be done until the revolution comes because it is about dismantling structures? So you have these ideas in your head but you continue doing things the way you have always done because you believe you have no control over structural changes – or do you? Does engaging with the nature of one's social relations with significant males in your life constitute feminism? Are only women feminists and are all women who challenge women's oppression and work for women's freedoms feminists? I do not attempt to answer all these questions but what it did raise for me is the challenge of defining feminism. The significant shifts in feminism, which are characterized by the denouncement of totalizing theories, the celebration of difference and recognition of 'otherness', its institutionalization within the academy, feminism as an alternative and its multiplicity, are difficult to define (Kemp and Squires, 1997).

Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002) ask what feminism is in the twenty-first century. They contend that it is not easy to define feminism in the twenty-first century because of the diversity of beliefs, practices and politics. Many textbooks have sought to define feminism and feminist research (feminist epistemology and theory) but in as much as there are common features that help group feminist social scientists (as liberal, radical, Marxist/ materialist, postmodern, Black or post-colonial), inevitably, there are feminist researchers who do not fit a category and who do not attempt to or want to fit any category. Feminism has also developed out of women's movements in different historical contexts and periods in different ways. In addition, feminism and feminist notions of social justice are embedded in varied experiences of women's oppression and are expressed in a range of theories of gender and power. To define feminism is problematic too as it assumes that women as a group of females constitute a category which clearly differentiates them from their male counterparts. It also assumes that there is an agreed upon notion of what constitutes social injustice, that women share common experiences of their gendered existence and as an oppressed group notwithstanding their cultural and social diversity. Given its western roots and having located my study within the feminist paradigm, I remain wary that feminism remains contested and heralds for me a critical engagement with feminism and feminist research and methodology.

Feminism has predominantly been about theories of male domination that saw social relations between men and women as well as feminist struggles as political; a political struggle, which continues to be waged inside and outside the academy. While feminism has been and is about theorizing power relations between men and women, it has not produced a common or unified theory of power. Feminists have drawn from a variety of sources in their conception of power, their investigation into the exercise and effects of power as well as their actions in challenging unequal power relations between the sexes. While it advocates women's emancipation, it has no political centre from which to develop a definitive and authoritative identification of the goals and strategies for women's emancipation. The conception of emancipation is also problematic in terms of how it is conceived, by whom and for what purpose (Ramazanoglu and Holland, 2002).

Two critical features characterize feminism in the current context – academic feminism and feminism outside the academy (Kemp and Squire, 1997). This fragmentation was the result of the splitting of the women’s movement that occurred with the growth of second wave feminism as well as the emergence of multiple theoretical perspectives. While this fragmentation was viewed as problematic for feminism, it is now seen to be symptomatic of feminism depicting its multifaceted nature. In addition, it demonstrates the growth and recognition of feminism within the academy and the diversity of approaches to feminist activism that has emanated from these perspectives (Kemp & Squires, 1997).

Institutional feminism which refers to the institutionalization of feminism within the academy (also referred to as academic feminism) has been criticized for its elitism and exclusivity. The responses of academic feminists to these criticisms are to acknowledge the political roots of feminism and more importantly to ground feminist theory in practice. That it is elitist and exclusive may be true, but feminist academics have engaged critically with issues of representation and method, particularly in respect of their location as researchers. The goals of feminist scholarship are viewed as complementary to feminist activism, not contradictory to or critical of it. Feminists within and outside the academy have challenged the exclusivity of feminist theory in terms of its accessibility to all. This has led to the emergence of post-feminist and post-modernist theorizing, which has emphasized the politics of difference and the question of the ‘other woman’ (Kemp & Squires, 1997). It has also resulted in increased reflexivity as well as the popular use of auto/biography as a methodological approach, signalling the location of the researcher and the purpose of feminist research as being research for women by women, not research on women. Feminist scholars have emphasized the overtly political nature of feminist scholarship claiming that it is not just about knowledge production. Notwithstanding this, feminist scholarship has been characterized by feminist theorizing around epistemology, ontology and representation in an attempt to address the tensions between political and academic, the personal and theoretical and self-representation and re-representation (Kemp & Squires, 1997).

So what does feminism in the twenty first century look like? As Mohanty (2006) questions, “what would a socially just feminist politics look like” in the current political and economic context? Mohanty (2006) explains that it requires an understanding that being a woman has political consequences in the current economic and political climate characterized by neoliberal globalization. It requires an understanding that as women we experience injustice based on our economic and social positions of marginality and that the intersection of racism, sexism, misogyny and heterosexism underlie and fuel political institutions of rule and form the social fabric of our lives wherever we are in the world. According to Mohanty (2006) not only does an economically and politically just feminist politics require such an understanding, it also has to have a vision for change and strategies for effecting change.

In her critique of Western feminisms and what she refers to as ‘falsely universalizing methodologies’, Mohanty (2006, p. 223) argues that feminism must pay attention to the “micropolitics of context, subjectivity and struggle as well as to the macro politics of global economic and political systems and processes”. Inspired by a vision of transnational feminist solidarity, she argues for a grounded particularized analysis combined with global economic and political frameworks. While Mohanty’s position has been critiqued by some Western feminists as one that argues against a common feminist project and privileges “local over systemic, difference over commonality, the discursive over the material” (Mohanty, 2006, p. 224), it is a critical argument that reminds us of the hegemony of western feminism and makes a strong case for the standpoint of post-colonial Third World feminisms stressing the importance of the particular in relation to the universal, not in opposition to the universal. The focus on differences, on subjectivities, on the local in relation to the universal in no way advocates a postmodern position. Instead it argues for recognition that an understanding of differences, of particularities, enables an understanding of commonalities, of the universal.

This has particular relevance to this study in that it aims to problematize women’s experiences of higher education reform in the context of globalization. While Mohanty (2006) describes the university as a contradictory place where “knowledges are colonized but also contested” she sees

it as a site of feminist struggle, critical dialogue and engagement. Sharing her experiences in the American academy, she also acknowledges that it is a rapidly shrinking public space, particularly in the context of academic globalization, and advocates an anti-capitalist critique of the corporate university (see Chapter Two). As described significant changes characterize higher education in South Africa, which clearly reflect global trends like the corporatization of the university and the “capitalist values of profit, competition and accumulation” (Mohanty, 2006, p. 6). The critical question this raises is how are women being positioned and what are the consequences for women’s professional lives and work in the university. Will a feminist anti-capitalist critique of the corporate university provide better understanding women’s experiences in academia and the implications thereof for social justice?

Feminist Research

A key aim of feminist research is to bring about change in the conditions of women. Feminist researchers by and large are committed to research that both contribute to knowledge in the social sciences and promote the emancipation of women. Feminist research aims to challenge the basic structures and ideologies that perpetuate women’s oppression by investigating and documenting women’s lived experiences, by interrogating unequal power relations between men and women, by exposing and challenging sexism and by exposing women’s subjugated knowledge. Feminist theorists work for social change and social justice for women through their scholarship – their teaching and their research. Feminist approaches to research and to knowledge building aim to give voice to women’s lived experience, to expose hidden knowledges in women’s experiences with the intent of generating women-centered solidarity and social transformation (Brooks, 2007).

While feminism as a political struggle aimed at interrupting women’s oppression has its roots in the women’s movement, feminist research is largely located within the academy. The post-empirical crisis in knowledge production gave way to two significant research paradigms in the social sciences: the interpretive or hermeneutic and the critical paradigm. Theorists in the interpretive paradigm challenged the application of positivist methods to the social sciences and

argued that an understanding of human social behaviour involves studying conscious human agents and understanding the meanings they attach to their actions. The key objective of such an understanding of human social action is *verstehen* which means empathetic or participatory understanding. The term was coined by sociologist Max Weber to refer to the study of intersubjectivity, the action of social actors from their viewpoint. This supports the view that the social world can be understood from the standpoint of social agents and therefore emphasizes subjectivity over objectivity (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007).

In this sense, feminist research has an interpretive dimension. However, feminist research is located within the critical paradigm. I use the term paradigm in the Kuhnian sense to mean a framework of beliefs, values and methods that count as valid for a particular epistemic community. Critical theory has as its key aim the exploration of historical and social location of subjects in material reality. Research within the critical paradigm utilizes approaches that seek to expose hidden relationships and ideas and concepts that lead to an understanding that is directed towards change in an emancipatory direction. In critical theory, criticism does not imply negative judgement but refers to action that aims to expose beliefs and attitudes that limit human freedom. "...the critical theorists' approach is to emancipate – that is, to uncover aspects of society, especially ideologies, that maintain the status quo by restricting or limiting different groups' access to the means of gaining knowledge" (Nielsen, 1990, p. 9). Critical theory aims to expose and challenge the dominant ideology, namely, capitalist political and economic organization (Nielsen, 1990). In this respect, critical theory can be understood as research that attempts to identify injustices within a society and as such explicitly contains a transformative agenda (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). Critical theory rejects the notion of an objective reality and objective knowledge and asserts that knowledge is socially constructed because every individual's or group's social and historical location influences the knowledge they produce. In terms of its emancipatory and transformative agenda, critical theorists see their research as initial steps in the process of political action (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005). As a political project, this research aims to expose whether gender equity is being enabled or impeded and in what ways, in this context of higher education reform.

Given that critical research is partisan research and is not value free, neutral and objective, but socially constructed, whose views should be privileged and what criteria should be used? Critical theorists argue that the views of the less powerful should be privileged as they have a more complete view of the world; they have ‘double consciousness’¹¹. This refers to the knowledge and awareness that oppressed people have of the dominant worldview as well as the worldview of the less powerful, their own. In my view, the term double consciousness is inadequate in describing the consciousness of the oppressed. This can mean that in being aware of the dominant worldview as well as their own, the oppressed are aware of their oppression. This is not necessarily the case. Freire (1970) describes the duality that oppressed people experience, a duality that they internalize. According to Freire (1970) by internalizing the consciousness of the oppressor, the oppressed are at the same time themselves and their oppressor. He refers to this as the ‘tragic dilemma’ (p. 30) that the oppressed face continually, of being conflicted in their choice of being fully themselves or being divided; the choice between human solidarity or alienation; of being spectators or actors, of speaking out or being silent in that to be fully human is to be wholly themselves or to be like the oppressor. This contradiction can only be resolved when the oppressed, in their struggle for emancipation, see their oppression as a “limit situation” which they can change and “not a closed door from which there is no exit” (Freire, 1970, p. 31). While Freire advocates a pedagogy of the oppressed by the oppressed for the liberation of the oppressed, he states that the oppressed understand better the significance of an oppressive society, who suffer the effects of this oppression and who know the necessity for their emancipation. This for me also supports the case for standpoint epistemology, an epistemological position advocated by feminists, which I have adopted in this research. It is not just the knowledge and awareness that oppressed people have of both the oppressor and oppressed worldviews that privilege their knowledge; it is also the resolution of the duality oppressed people experience through conscientization that is the force that engenders their emancipation (Freire, 1970).

¹¹ A term first used by W.E.B. du Bois (DuBoisopedia. Retrieved on 02/08/2012 from www.library.umass.edu)

Feminists have critiqued traditional epistemologies and advocated for feminist epistemologies which privilege women's experience and subjugated knowledge. They emphasize the holistic and synergistic nature of feminist research and the research process from its conception through to the dissemination of the research findings. Feminist researchers are interested in the interconnectedness of epistemology, methodology and methods as well as the ontological position of the researcher in relation to the research. They argue that research – knowledge production is value-laden, that the positivist tradition has privileged certain types of knowledge that have been produced from privileged locations in particular socio-historical and material contexts. Feminists have challenged the notions of rationality, universality and objectivity characteristic of positivist research by advocating that research starts with the experiences of women from the standpoint of women. Feminist epistemologies not only privilege women's experiences and women's subjective knowledge; they also incorporate women's emotions. They argue that by calling attention to women's lived experience, their subjective and situated perspectives, their emotions, both the researcher and research participants become instruments for knowledge production as is evident in this study. Such a position was first advocated by feminists such as Hartsock (1983), Jagger (1983) and Harding, (1987) and Nielsen (1990).

So, of what relevance is my conception of feminism to my research? The question I attempt to answer is this: how does feminism inform what I am doing? I am investigating women academics' experiences of higher education restructuring. In the first instance, I am making women the central focus of my research. When I explain that women are central to my investigation, I also imply that there are other components to this research – as a feminist project, the goal of emancipation is a critical one. Does this mean that I intend, through this research investigation, to bring about women's emancipation? Very often, the notion of emancipation in feminist research evokes concerns as to how this will be achieved. While emancipation certainly features as an ultimate goal in terms of the contribution this research will make to understanding women's oppression, my intention is not to suggest that this is a direct goal of this research; that the knowledge that is produced here will free women academics from their oppression. In the tradition of critical theory, I perceive this as a first step towards political actions that aim to identify injustices and interrupt women's oppression.

I have explained how I experienced the university, as a woman – as a student and as a lecturer – as alienating and as oppressive. I also explained that this was not just my experience, that friends, colleagues and students described similar gendered, raced and classed experiences of higher education. For example, when black women academics experience racism in their classes, as my black female colleagues and I have, in our relations with white students, male students and even female students, what does this suggest? How are such oppressive experiences of racism and sexism addressed in the university, at the micro level and at the institutional level? What are the experiences of white women academics in relation to male academics, white and black male students and female students? Do such students show more confidence in white male staff, white female staff, black males than they do black women academics? How does race and gender intersect and how can we understand these women's experiences. Are these old problems resurfacing – were they always there, or are there different problems emerging in relation to how women academics experience working in the university?

My sense was that this research would do several things. It would highlight the issues women generally confront in the university with respect to gender equity and equality; issues that have previously been identified such as the low representation of women in senior managerial positions, as well as the low representation of women in the natural sciences and elite professional faculties such as engineering. On the individual level, women still experience sexism. However, in the current context of restructuring, the research aims to examine these 'old' issues of social injustice in terms of the gains and threats to gender equity in the university, in this context of globalization and the corporatization of higher education. Naming women's oppression is the first step in working toward social justice (Freire, 1970) and this is my intention, to name women's experiences of oppression in higher education, but to do so by understanding it within the current wave of higher education reforms in the current context of globalization. These questions I raise here are not new; they have been raised many times before and continue to be raised. If research has already investigated women's experiences of inequality, inequity, marginalization, alienation and exclusion in higher education what is different about this research and why is it important? I attempt to answer these questions through

the discussion of feminist standpoint theory that follows. While research has investigated women's oppression as academic staff in the academy internationally and locally (Blackmore, 1999; Morley, 1999; Brooks & Mackinnon, 2001; Mama, 2003; Zeleza, 2002) this research is located within the context of South African higher education reform in the wider context of neoliberal globalization.

Feminist Standpoint Theory

hooks (1989) explains that there is still a tendency within the academy to view theory “which is Euro-centric, linguistically convoluted, and rooted in Western white male sexist and racially biased philosophical frameworks” as being meaningful and significant (p. 36). She advocates that we expand our notions of theory rather and be more cognizant of how such theory “rather than breaking down structures of domination... are used to promote an academic elitism which embraces traditional structures of domination” (p. 36). Having been socialized into the traditional dominant theories of such hegemonic western patriarchal research, seeing my way out of the quagmire of this commonly privileged and for me, oppressive way of knowing was a daunting challenge. hooks (1989) reminds us that it is very easy for us to become “complicit in structures of domination” because “institutional structures impose values, modes of thought, ways of being on our consciousness”), and when one is perceived as not working within these boundaries, one's work is questioned for theoretical and intellectual rigour (p. 36). In trying to conform to the traditional confines of research within the dominant perspective, I recall the endless hours and struggle of trying to reconcile my desire to produce feminist research, which is linked to the concrete lives of women with these dominant notions of what, constitutes theory and intellectual rigour in research. hooks (1989) reminds us that universities as central sites of knowledge production not only privilege certain kinds of knowledge but support and perpetuate all forms of domination within a highly competitive work environment. She explains that the feminist researcher must be conscientious about supporting monolithic notions of theory and will need to “continually assert the need for multiples theories emerging from diverse perspectives” (hooks, 1989, p. 37).

As a feminist study this research investigation draws on feminist standpoint theory and Nancy Fraser's theory of democratic justice as a framework for the production and analysis of women academics' concrete experiences of higher education restructuring in the current context of higher education reform and globalization. Standpoint theory is not without controversy. Harding (2004) acknowledges that standpoint theory is controversial but sees this controversiality as a valuable resource that it contributes to feminism. Ramazanoglu and Holland, (2003) draw our attention to the different ways of thinking about feminist standpoint, which includes debates about whether it is a theory or an epistemology. They explain that feminist standpoint requires a theory of gender and power, conceptions of knowledge and conceptions of experience and reality. They state that approaches to feminist standpoint vary because there are many feminist theories and epistemologies.

Epistemic Privilege

Standpoint epistemology is premised on the idea that members of society who occupy a subordinate position in society have a fuller view of social reality than others because of their disadvantaged position. Feminist standpoint epistemology argues that women's experiences of oppression gives them epistemic privilege in that it provides a powerful lens with which to understand social inequality and social injustice in society. It also provides a base from which to envision a socially just society and identify strategies to realize the goal of social justice for all.

Hartsock (1983) explains that while feminist Marxists and materialist feminists have argued that the position of women is structurally different from men and hence the lived experiences of women is vastly different from that of men, they have not paid particular attention to the epistemological implications of this claim. She further states that it is not Marx's critique of capitalism that is helpful to feminists but Marxian meta-theory and explains the epistemological implications of the claim that women's lives are structurally different from men's. In the same way that Marx privileges the lives of the proletariat as a point of departure for an understanding of the relations of production – of capitalism – she argues for making women's lives “a privileged vantage point on male supremacy, a vantage point which can ground a powerful

critique of the phallographic institutions and ideology which constitute the capitalist form of patriarchy” (Hartsock, 1983, p. 231).

Hartsock (1997) argues that a standpoint is not just an interested position, it is an engaged position that asserts that there are some perspectives on society that conceal the real nature of human relations. Standpoint epistemology is based on the following premises. One’s material position, that is, one’s livelihood – what we do - both enables and limits what we can know. Given that material life is structured in different ways for different groups, the more powerful and less powerful will have inverted and opposed understandings of the world. The vision of the powerful structures the material relations in which all must participate and it is therefore partial and reflects the values and interests of the more powerful. Furthermore, it conceals the way the more powerful dominate and exploit the less powerful, thereby presenting a distorted version of reality that serves to maintain, reinforce and legitimate the domination and exploitation of the less powerful. The vision of the less powerful requires a science to reveal the true nature of the social relations that structure the lives of the powerful and powerless and ‘a pedagogy of the oppressed’ (Freire, 1970) which emerges from a struggle to change these social relations. It is only the view of the less powerful that has the potential to be more complete and to expose the unequal social relations that characterize social life (Hartsock, 1983, Jagger, 2004).

Jagger (2004) argues that the standpoint of the oppressed is not only different from that of the powerful, it is also ‘epistemologically advantageous’. Not only does it provide a fuller view of social reality, it is a view that represents the interests of the whole of society. However, this standpoint, and in the case of women, the standpoint of women cannot be discovered by surveying women’s beliefs or in their “naïve and unreflective worldviews” (Jagger, 2004, p. 57). Women’s perception of reality can also be distorted by the dominant male ideology and dominant structures of society. A process of scientific and political struggle is necessary to establish this worldview (Jagger, 2004). Both Hartsock and Jagger emphasize the need to develop the worldview of the less powerful through education, or in Freirean speak ‘conscientization’ (Freire, 1970). While women’s lived experiences provide them with an

awareness of their situation, it does not necessarily provide an understanding of the sources of that situation, and neither is this awareness necessarily an awareness of their situation as oppression. Nielsen (1990, p. 11) explains, “Without the conscious effort to reinterpret reality from one’s own lived experience – that is, without political consciousness – the disadvantaged are likely to accept their society’s dominant view”. Does my research aim to bring about the conscientization and emancipation of women in the university? I cannot and do not discount the value of the research and the research process in contributing to participants raised awareness of their subjectivities as well as making a contribution to the body of knowledge aimed at understanding social injustice and generating forms of action.

As Freire (1970) has argued the oppressed have a heightened awareness and sensitivity to their lives as well as to the lives of the powerful dominant group. In this sense then, women have an awareness of their own oppression (albeit not in terms of necessarily having a raised awareness of it) and an awareness of the lives of men, as the dominant group. Brooks (2007) states that women have a “working, active consciousness”, of both perspectives, theirs as well as men’s (p. 63). In terms of the sexual division of labour, men are not always conscious of the domestic responsibilities that women carry out and their dependence on it. Women not only assume responsibility for childrearing, domestic chores and care of the aged and sick, they must also balance these responsibilities with other responsibilities in their professional and social lives. I include responsibilities in their social lives to take into account the lives of women in the African context, in terms of the responsibilities of being a part of extended families, as well as the consequences for black women in South Africa living in the context of HIV and AIDS. In addition to this, women must learn to wrestle (and yes, it is a struggle) their way in a male dominated public sphere of the capitalist marketplace. This double consciousness that women develop serves two purposes: it is either a way in which women learn to conform to their social roles or it is a way they learn to survive. According to Nielsen (1990, p. 10), by learning the rules of the game, the dominant perspective of the world, of how men view the world, women learn to “read, predict, and understand the interests, motivations, expectations, and attitudes of men”. She also explains that because of the sexual division of labour, women will know the world differently, and while one does not assume that all women are aware of what they share with

other women or have a raised awareness of their subordinate position in relation to men, they have the potential to develop this awareness. Hence the emancipatory goals of feminism and feminist research!

Maria Mies (1991) describes how she has been criticized for advocating that women's experiences be given epistemic privilege. She says that the criticism implied that many women, after having read her work will be merely content with telling their stories without any attempt at analysis or interpretation. She agrees that this might occur but attributes this to "a superficial, individualistic and deterministic concept of experience". Experience to her is not personal experience in terms of feelings a woman has in a particular instance; it is 'taking real life as a starting point, its subjective concreteness as well as its societal entanglements.'" According to Mies, the need to begin with women's subjective experience arose as a result of women's lives, their histories and their ideas being excluded from dominant sciences and the introduction of this subjective factor corresponds with the popular feminist slogan, 'the personal is political' (Mies, 1991, p. 66). She further argues that we risk being conspiratorial in our own "scientific nonbeing" unless we develop a basis from which we can produce authoritative knowledge as well as judge oppositional theories. That basis is our subjective experience and our critical engagement with and self-reflection on it and the practice that emanates from it.

Arguing that traditional epistemologies exclude black women and distort their social experiences in their discourse, Patricia Hill Collins articulates a black feminist epistemology which privileges black feminist thought and Black women's experiences. Collins (1997) argues that race and gender influences knowledge and explains that African American women have not only developed a black feminist standpoint but have done so using alternative ways of producing and justifying knowledge. Breaking with traditions of her early training as a social scientist, Collins (1997) describes how she looked to her own experiences as a black woman and to other black women's experiences and thoughts for core themes that were deemed important to them.

Other examples of her departure from traditional methods were marked by her use of language (whereby she embeds her position in the group) and her reliance on Black women's voices instead of statistics. This highlights the point made by Harding, that while traditional methods of evidence gathering are utilized by feminist epistemologists, how they are used is what distinguishes them as feminist methods. Collins does not claim that black people share similar experiences or histories, but points out that black societies "reflect elements of a core African value system that existed prior to and independently of racial oppression" (Collins, 1997, p. 199). She further posits that following various forms of racial domination, black people share a common experience of oppression just as women share a common experience of sexism or gender domination. Collins argues that because black women have access to Afrocentric and feminist standpoints, a black feminist standpoint should reflect aspects of both traditions.

Why then is a black feminist standpoint necessary? While a black feminist standpoint shares elements of both an Afrocentric epistemology and feminist epistemology, it also reflects aspects that may be unique to black women (Collins, 1997). The critical point she makes here is that black women's conceptual orientation, allows them to be a part of a group while simultaneously standing apart from the group. At times they may share elements that more closely resemble black men, and other times their experiences more closely resemble elements of women's experiences.

A further dimension of Collins' articulation of an Afrocentric feminist epistemology is the distinction between knowledge and wisdom. "Living life as Black requires wisdom", where being black and women means surviving by knowing the dynamics of race, gender and class oppression. The point she makes that for most African American women, those who have lived the experience and claim to know are more believable than those who have only read about these experiences has some resonance with me. This reflects the privilege afforded to black women's experiences within which black feminist epistemology is rooted in this study.

Emotionality and an Ethic of Care

Positivism has emphasized reason over emotion and in the realm of reason, emotion has been perceived as distorting reality, viewed with great suspicion as irrational and needing to be suppressed and eliminated from all interpretations of social reality. Jagger (1997) explains that in the western tradition reason was associated politically, socially and culturally with the powerful (i.e. men) and the public domain while emotion was associated with members of the subordinate group (i.e. women). Socialization theory describes how women are socialized into expressions of emotion while this in men is perceived as unacceptable and a sign of weakness. Alison Jagger argues against what she refers to as dispassionate inquiry, calling it a myth which “promotes a conception of epistemological justification vindicating the silencing of those, especially women, who are culturally defined as the bearers of emotions. Women and other members of subordinate groups typically perceived as bearers of emotion – gay men, members of particular racial, ethnic and religious groups – are perceived as “subjective, biased and irrational” (Jagger, 1997, p. 191).

Feminists argue for the recognition of emotions in social research, seeing it as a political motivation for research and as influencing what problems are selected for investigation and how. Social injustices are not experienced as being devoid of emotions, and in the case of the oppressed, very strong emotions of pain, hurt, anger, frustration and even love and compassion are experienced. This makes for a strong case for privileging emotions in this investigation, because it is such emotion that signals to us that something is terribly wrong with the way traditional notions of social reality have been constituted. The emotions of anger, mostly which I experienced as a result of the alienation and exclusion I describe in my biography and the sexist and racist experiences colleagues and I experienced was a political motivation for this investigation. Through privileging participants’ emotions, as I have, I aim to produce “subversive” understandings that can challenge “dominant conceptions” of social reality and help us see that what are often taken to be facts are so constructed to “obscure the reality of subordinate people” (Jagger, 1997, p. 191). Whose emotions should be privileged and how do we trust the women’s emotional responses? Adding her voice to other feminist standpoint theorists, Alison Jagger endorses the standpoint of the subordinate, of women, as the perspective of social reality that is less partial, less distorted and therefore more reliable and more appropriate.

A critical contribution to feminist epistemology in general is the use of and emphasis on dialogue. This highlights the point that knowledge emerges not from an objective existence but from lived experience through dialogue. Tracing the roots of dialogue to the African oral tradition, Collins draws a distinction between dialogue and adversarial debate, an element of traditional epistemology. The use of dialogue implies the presence of two subjects, thereby emphasizing the humanity inherent in this Afrocentric way of knowing. Another element of dialogue relates to an ethic of caring which supports the point that all knowledge is value laden. The ethic of care highlights the following: the uniqueness of individual experience; the appropriateness of emotion and the capacity for empathy: a key feature of the feminist interviews that I conducted and the reflexive position I assumed in my relation with the research participants (see Chapter Four).

I want to add the voice of Carol Gilligan here, to support this notion that women know the world differently to men. Gilligan (1997) in her theories of gendered moral conceptions and understandings, states that “In view of the evidence that women perceive and construe the social reality differently from men and that these differences centre around experiences of attachment and separation, life transitions and invariably engage these experiences can be expected to involve women in distinctive ways” (p. 150). Women define their lives in relational ways, and Gilligan’s work draws our attention to the sense of integrity women possess which she sees as intertwined with an ethic of care. Her work on adult development indicated that including women’s experiences brings “to developmental understanding a new perspective on relationships” (p. 151). She also clarifies that “the concept of identity expands to include the experiences of interconnection” (p. 151). In this regard the moral domain is extended through the inclusion of responsibility and care in relationships.

Carol Gilligan’s thesis provides a powerful challenge to the dominant theories of development, and more broadly to dominant male voices behind the grand narratives dominating the human and social science, which has ignored and silenced women’s experiences and voices and my

research aims to provide a voice for women in the university by privileging their experiences in the restructured university. According to Gilligan, this failure to acknowledge and include the different experiences of women stems from the assumption that a single mode of social experience and interpretation exists. Her contribution to feminism has been useful in illuminating the dialectic between an ethics of care and an ethics of justice. The ethics of care is based on the premise of non-violence, while an ethic of justice is premised on a notion of equality and fairness. This is highlighted through an understanding of the disparate modes of experience, the experience of women and men that are ultimately connected. Inequality between the sexes and the violence that it engenders hurts both men and women. Gilligan argues that a dialogue between fairness and care provides a more comprehensive understanding of gender relations in the private as well as the public sphere.

Developing a Feminist Sociological Imagination

“Neither the life of an individual nor the history of a society can be understood without understanding both” (Mills, 1959, p. 3). The acclaimed American sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959) in his writings about the rapid political, social and economic changes which characterized twentieth century American society described the disillusionment and sense of being trapped in their personal lives that individuals come to experience as a result of larger social and structural changes. The more conscious they became of their personal troubles, the more “trapped they seem to feel” (p. 3) and the greater the sense that they are unable to overcome it. He explains the reason for this as the inability of the individual to connect his or her personal troubles to “historical change and institutional contradiction” (p. 3), which to the individual appear impersonal and distant. “They do not possess the quality of mind essential to grasp the interplay of man and society, of biography and history, of self and the world” (p. 4). Mills argues that we cannot begin to address personal problems and social issues without understanding both the individual and the history of that society. In order to transcend this feeling of being trapped, this inability to understand and connect our personal experiences to the wide structural transformations that underlie them, we need the sociological imagination. The sociological imagination, Mills describes, is “a quality of mind” which enables the individual who possess it

to understand her personal life experiences within the larger historical context, that is, “to grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society” (p. 6).

In order for an individual to understand her personal problems she needs to locate herself within the current period and only by becoming aware of the plight of all individuals in her circumstances can she know her own chances in life? Mills argued that social research which does not interrogate the intersection of biography and history within a society has not completed the intellectual journey; and the distinction he makes between the ‘the personal troubles of milieu and the public issues of social structure’ is an “essential tool of the sociological imagination” (p. 8). In his distinction between troubles and issues, he explains “a trouble is a private matter” which is located in individual biographies and their immediate milieu. Public issues, which transcend individual biographies and personal milieu, have to do with matters linked to the institutional and historical possibilities of social structure and are therefore “a public matter” (p. 8).

Three key questions underpin Mills’ sociological imagination, which he explains social analysts ask:

- (1) What is the structure of this particular society as a whole? What are its essential components, and how are they related to one another? How does it differ from other varieties of social order?
- (2) Where does this society stand in human history? How does any particular feature we are examining affect, and how is it affected by, the historical period in which it moves? And - what are its essential features?
- (3) What varieties of men and women now prevail in this society and in this period? In what ways are they selected and formed, liberated and repressed, made sensitive and blunted? What kinds of ‘human nature’ are revealed in the conduct and character we observe in this society in this period? And what is the meaning for ‘human nature’ in each and every feature of the society we are examining? (p. 6)

It is these kinds of questions that enable the social researcher with the sociological imagination to understand what is happening to the individual in her private life and what is happening in the world (the public sphere) as the intersection of biography and history within society. For Mills, the “sociological imagination is the most fruitful form of self-consciousness ” (p. 7). His conception of the sociological imagination in terms of the trilogy – biography, history and society – best captures for me the theoretical framework that underpins the methodological standpoint I have adopted in my investigation of women academics’ experiences of higher education reform in the context of globalization and the ensuing globalization of education. I came across a discussion on the website of the Women’s Studies Online Resources (WMST-L)¹² on the origin of the feminist slogan, “the personal is political”. The term is commonly attributed to Carol Hanisch who wrote a paper titled, *The Personal is Political*¹³ in 1970. I found it quite interesting and relevant that Mills’ (1959) discussion of the intersection of personal problems and public life is also cited as a source and basis for the slogan. This slogan was used by the women’s liberation movement of the 1960s to refocus attention on women’s private lives in developing shared understanding women’s experiences of oppression within a social and political context.

So how does this inform my research investigation? According to Mills, in order for us to identify and understand private problems and public issues and their intersection within society, we need to begin by asking what values we cherish are being threatened and what values are being supported in terms of the changes that characterize the current period. For example, the broad goal of my research investigation is to investigate what is happening in higher education

¹² WMST-L website which is an international electronic forum for people involved in Women's Studies.

See <http://userpages.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/pisp.html>

¹³ Carol Hanisch’s paper *The Personal is Political* was first published in *Notes from the Second Year:*

Women’s Liberation in 1970 which was edited by Shulamith Firestone and Anne Koedt who Hanisch explains came up with the title of the paper. See <http://www.carolhanisch.org/CHwritings/PIP.html>. It was widely circulate in the Women’s Liberation Movement. She had originally written the paper as a memo in 1969.

and what effect this is having on the individuals within it, in particular, the women academics. Higher education in South Africa and the world at large, is characterized by rapid transformation (see Chapter One). It is important for us to understand what these changes are; who do these changes affect; and in what ways they affect individuals. Values such as equity and social justice, particularly in respect of South Africa's history of apartheid, have been identified as the values we 'cherish' to inform higher education transformation. But how do these values play out in the experiences of those within higher education institutions? Are these values being threatened or supported? Do they lead to "well-being" in that individuals believe the values they collectively cherish are being supported or do individuals feel these values are being threatened leading to a sense of "crisis". On the other hand, are they simply "indifferent" because they are unaware that the values they cherish are being threatened or supported, or are they unaware but still experience a sense of "unease"? (Mills, 1959, p. 11).

Mills' description of the changes that characterized the twentieth century as a "time of uneasiness and indifference – not yet formulated in ways as to permit the work of reason and the play of sensibility" aptly describes the current context of globalization. It is therefore the political and intellectual responsibility of the social scientist to formulate these personal problems and public issues in terms of values threatened or supported, "to make clear the elements of contemporary uneasiness and indifference" (Mills, 1959, p. 13).

In order to understand our experiences of higher education transformation in this age of globalization, we need a socially justice feminist politics and a feminist sociological imagination that provides the means for "understanding the intimate realities of ourselves in connection with larger social realities" (Mills, 1959, p. 15). One theory that engages with conceptions of social injustice, power, identity and egalitarianism in a reframing of a theory of justice in a globalized world, which has relevance for this study, is Nancy Fraser's Post-Westphalian theory of democratic justice (Fraser, 2008) which I discuss below.

Locating Second Wave-Feminism Historically

As stated above, western feminism, in particular, second-wave feminism, has dominated scholarly feminist research globally. Fraser (2008), who acclaims the progress within the feminist movement from it being exclusionary and dominated by white, middle class heterosexual women to becoming more inclusionary of black, lesbian and working class women, is critical of what she sees as a failure of feminists to locate developments within wider historical developments. In historicizing second-wave feminism that she sees as critical to theorizing justice, she draws attention to three phases, which link to wider historical developments. The first phase she states relates to the emergence of second-wave feminism as a new social movement nurtured by the radicalism of the New Left. The radical youth protests in the 1960s against racial segregation and the Vietnam war saw the emergence of the New left in the United States (US). A combination of liberal, radical and Marxist political movements emerged as new social movements to protest various forms of oppression naturalized and masked by capitalism and social democracy. In response to its critique of a narrowly economic class imaginary, feminists exposed various forms of male domination and by politicizing the “personal” expanded the debates to include domestic labour, issues of sexuality and reproductive rights (Fraser, 2008, p. 102). Second-wave feminism was one of the more progressive and visionary of the new social movements which challenged the “gender exclusion of social democracy” and by problematizing “welfare paternalism and the bourgeois family, they exposed the deep androcentrism” of capitalism (Fraser, 2008, p. 104).

This second phase, Fraser states, marks the shift to an emphasis on culture giving rise to a new cultural imaginary and a second form of justice claim, recognition justice or a “politics of recognition” (Fraser, 2003, p. 7). While cultural transformation was a feature of the first phase, the distinction in the second phase was marked by “its decoupling from the project of political-economic transformation and distributive justice” (Fraser, 2008, p. 105). A politics of recognition calls for the recognition, respect and rights of culturally different social groups, differences that form the basis of their oppression, such as gays and lesbians, ethnic minorities and women. Discontent with the lack of gains against injustices of political economy, feminists shifted the struggle to recognition of cultural differences and the eradication of status hierarchies

in their pursuit for social justice. While Fraser describes this shift in feminist imaginary of viewing oppression as consequence of cultural domination, she reminds us that this was not peculiar to feminism and characterized almost all social movements. She also claims that this shift from redistribution to recognition, as she calls it, links to the fall of communism and corresponds with the resurgence of neoliberalism and corporate globalization. A consequence of the fall of communism was an upsurge of struggles for recognition, particularly in terms of nationality and religion, thereby marking a shift from a politics of redistributive to a politics of recognition. At the same time, neoliberal influences in the form of structural adjustment policies began to threaten developments in post-colonial states. Structural adjustment policies in the South not only led to reduced social spending, it also reduced the scope for “egalitarian redistributive projects” leading to an “enormous surge of identity politics...much of it communalist and authoritarian” (Fraser, 2008, p. 108). This left post-colonial feminists in a quandary in terms of reduced state capacities and a growing “communalist chauvinism” both of which threatened egalitarian feminist projects (Fraser, 2008, p. 108). With the expansion of neoliberal globalization and its influences across borders, post-colonial feminists began to recast their projects within transnational spaces, recognizing that social justice projects could no longer be supported within the boundaries of the nation state. For Fraser, this marked the beginning of the third phase. She explains, feminists taking cognisance of the impact of neoliberal globalization and “women’s vulnerability to transnational forces” have rejected the state-territorial frame within which gender injustices have been challenged (p. 112). They have recognized the need to work transnationally to address gender injustice by synthesizing recognition and redistribution, as is the case in Europe where feminists have challenged the economic policies and structures of the European Union and anti-globalization, anti- World Trade Organization protests by feminists have targeted global economic policies and governance structures.

A socially just feminist politics for the twenty first century needs to acknowledge that claims for social justice must take into account recognition and redistribution. For me, Frasers conceptualization of justice in terms of recognition, redistribution and representation provides a useful theory to understand and challenge gender injustices in a globalized world. I therefore

draw on this theory to examine the experiences of women academics in the globalized corporate university.

Fraser's Post-Westphalian Democratic Theory of Justice

Fraser's Binary Theory of Justice

In her initial conception of justice, Fraser (1997) distinguished between two types of injustice that society experiences. The first is socio-economic injustice which is produced by the political-economic structure of society and includes exploitation, economic marginalization and deprivation. The second form of injustice is cultural or symbolic injustices which are embedded in “social patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication” (p 14). This form of injustice includes cultural domination, non-recognition and disrespect. While theorists have looked at each as being distinct from the other, Fraser argues that both forms of injustice are pervasive in society and both therefore should be remedied. While the distinction between the two forms of injustice are analytical, she argues that in practice they are intertwined because “economic institutions have a constitutive, irreducible cultural dimension” and “discursive cultural practices have a constitutive, irreducible political-economic dimension...underpinned by material supports” (p. 15). As a result, they overlap each other in a way where they reinforce each other dialectically resulting in a “vicious circle of cultural and economic subordination” (p. 15). The cultural subordination of women in some postcolonial contexts for example is institutionalized in the state and economy, and economic injustice prevents them from participating equally in the making of culture in the public and private domain. She maintains the distinction between these two frames of justice and relates it to two corresponding forms of remedy. The remedy for economic injustice she refers to as redistribution would entail some form of political-economic restructuring such as the redistribution of income, the reorganization of the division of labour, or the transformation of other basic economic structures. The remedy for cultural injustice or recognition as she calls it, would require some form of cultural or symbolic change, such as “recognizing and positively valorizing diversity” (p. 15). On a more radical level it would require the overall

transformation of “societal patterns of representation, interpretation, and communication in ways that would change *everybody’s* sense of self” (italicized in original, p. 15).

In examining the relation between redistribution and recognition and their corresponding remedies, Fraser recognized the tension between the two claims for justice which critics saw as a flaw in her bivalent theory of justice (Fraser & Honneth, 2003). The remedy for cultural injustices calls for the recognition and upward valorization of culturally subordinate groups by calling attention to the accepted specificity of the group thereby promoting group differentiation. Recognition has been associated with struggles over gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity and nationality, commonly referred to by its proponents as identity politics. On the other hand, remedies for economic injustice call for the dismantling of economic arrangements that underpin group specificity and therefore promote dedifferentiation as is the case with feminist calls for the abolishment of the gender division of labour (Fraser, 1997). Distribution claims for justice have been commonly associated with class struggles. In her engagement with her critics, she draws attention to what she refers to as a false antithesis. The common identification of redistribution with class struggles and recognition with cultural struggles and perceiving them as mutually exclusive, Fraser (2003) explains is misleading. Firstly, she states that treating “recognition- oriented currents within feminist, anti-heterosexist and anti-racist movements as the whole story” masks alternative currents aimed at challenging sexist, heterosexist and racist forms of economic injustice traditionally ignored by class struggles (p. 12). They also ignore recognition dimensions of class struggles. In addition, equating recognition politics with identity politics reduces what she sees as a plurality of different kinds of claims to a single claim for “affirmation of group specificity” (p. 12). Fraser argues that each paradigm expresses a distinct perspective on social justice which are not mutually exclusive, and in principle can be applied to the injustices of any social movement.

Fraser's Three Dimensional Theory of Justice

Responding to her critics and in her recognition of the influence of globalization and geopolitics, Fraser (2008) argues for a three-dimensional theory of justice. The theory she argues must incorporate the political dimension of representation together with the economic dimension of redistribution and the cultural dimension of recognition. In addition, she argues that the political dimension of representation must be understood as including three levels. Fraser begins with defining justice as parity of participation and in which requires "social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life" (p. 16). To address social injustice then means identifying and dismantling institutionalized barriers that impede parity of participation of all. In her previous bivalent theory of justice she had identified two dimensions of justice. Firstly, she explains that economic structures can deny some the resources necessary for full and equal participation who therefore experience redistributive injustice or what she now calls maldistribution. Addressing this form of injustice requires economic redistribution. Secondly, she notes that people can also be prevented from participating as peers fully by "institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value" which deny them equal social positioning, and they therefore experience status inequality or misrecognition (p. 16). Addressing status injustices requires changes to institutionalized systems of value to promote equal respect and status and parity of participation.

A key point that Fraser (1997) makes in relation to the recognition, redistribution nexus is that culture and political economy always overlay each other and addressing social injustices most times require both recognition and redistribution. She explains that economic institutions have a cultural dimension in that they are imbued with signification and norms, and cultural practices have a political-economic dimension in that they are propped up by material supports. In this sense recognition and redistribution are imbricated in a way where they reinforce each other dialectically. If we look at the university as an institution, economic disadvantage has impeded the full and equal participation of some and consequently, in the making of culture. Historically, women were excluded from higher education as staff and students in South Africa. Apartheid education, institutionalized in the state and economy further impeded the full and equal

participation of blacks and women on the basis of their race and gender. In restructuring higher education, both redistribution and recognition remedies are necessary.

An analysis of gender injustices in higher education reveals both an economic and cultural dimension interconnected in such a way so as to dialectically reinforce each other. For example, gender is encompassed in the political-economic dimension in terms of the division of productive and reproductive/domestic labour. Gender is also seen to structure the division within productive labour in terms of wage differentials between men and women as well the dominance of men in higher paid, higher status professions as in the sciences, and women in lower paid female dominated occupations, as in teaching or administrative work. In this sense then, gender engenders social injustices which require redistributive redress. However, gender also has a “cultural-valuational differential” in that “a major feature of gender injustice is androcentrism: the authoritative construction of norms that privilege the traits associated with masculinity”, accompanied by “cultural sexism: the pervasive devaluation and disparagement of things coded as feminine” (Fraser, 1997, p. 20). In this sense then, gender’s bivalent dimension of redistribution and recognition overlap, dialectically reinforcing each other in that sexist and cultural norms are institutionalized in the state and economy. Women’s economic disadvantage impedes their participation in the public sphere, as has been the case in higher education. This consequently impedes parity of participation and their democratic and equal participation in the making of institutional culture. That in turn feeds into their exploitation, marginalization and exclusion in the university, resulting in a vicious cycle of economic and cultural subordination.

Fraser claims that these two dimensions of justice alone cannot provide an adequate theory of justice for the current context of neoliberal globalization. It requires a third dimension, the political dimension which in a constitutive sense refers to the “scope of the state’s jurisdiction and the decision rules by which it structures contestation”, in terms of the criteria for social belonging thereby identifying who is entitled to “just distribution” and “reciprocal recognition” (p. 17). This political dimension of justice is about representation on three interrelated levels. Firstly representation relates to the “boundary-setting aspect of the

political”. In this sense representation is about social belonging, i.e. about “inclusion in or exclusion from, the community of those entitled to make justice claims on one another” (p. 17). The second aspect of representation relates to the “procedures that structure public processes of contestation” (p. 17). Fraser explains that what is important here are the terms “on which those included in the political community air their claims and adjudicate their disputes” (p. 18). At both levels we can question whether the relations of representation are just. Are people who ought to be included, wrongly excluded by the boundaries of particular political communities? How are the political communities decision rules agreed on? Do these rules accord all an “equal voice in public deliberations and fair representation in public decision-making” (p. 18)? Fraser explains that the political dimension of representation is conceptually different from the economic and cultural dimensions. This view of justice as parity of participation means that it can produce conceptually different forms of injustice, while interwoven is not reducible to the economic and cultural dimensions.

From Misrepresentation to Misframing

Fraser (2008) distinguishes between two levels of misrepresentation. The first arises when those included are prevented from fully participating as peers due to political decision making rules. This she refers to as ordinary-political representation. For example, do gender-blind rules interwoven with gender-based maldistribution and misrecognition prevent women from fully participating as peers, and if so are gender quotas an adequate remedy, she asks? The second level of misrepresentation which Fraser says is less obvious relates to how the boundaries of a community are set. This arises when the boundaries are set in such a way as to exclude some people from the opportunity to participate altogether. She refers to this level of misrepresentation as misframing. Misframing refers to frame-setting or boundary setting, which Fraser sees as the “most consequential of political decisions” (p. 19) because it is constituted of members and non-members but effectively excludes non-members from the world of those “entitled to consideration within the community in matters of distribution, recognition, and ordinary political representation (p. 19). In other words, the boundaries or political space are set up in such a way that they exclude some people completely from

considerations of justice. Fraser explains that in the current context of globalization with borderless nation state, we do not have what she calls “normal justice” where claims for justice were framed as a matter of the bounded nation state and citizenship determined membership to the community entitled to consideration for justice (p. 48). She explains that we are living in times of “abnormal justice”, in which multiple discourses of justice and disputes over justice abound which lack a shared understanding of what constitutes justice and who is entitled to considerations of justice (p. 48). Neither is there a shared understanding among those who dispute justice claims on the agency of redress.

The notion of justice as it related to citizens of a bounded nation state is one frame of justice. In these times of globalization, what constitutes a political spaces and who are subjects of justice are no longer easily identified and therefore require multiple frames of justice. How then do we conceive of and develop these frames of justice? Fraser proposes that “allegations of misframing” be submitted to what she refers to as the “all-subjected principle” (p. 65). In this view subjects of justice are not identified in terms of “shared citizenship or nationality”, “common possession of abstract personhood” or the “fact of causal interdependence” but in terms of their subjection to a given governance structure which establishes the rules that govern their interaction (p. 65). Broadly understood, governance structures Fraser explains encompass relations of power; are not restricted to nation-states; and include non-state agencies such as the WTO and the IMF as well as transnational agencies such as the International Criminal Court. She also uses the term subjection broadly which does not only apply to citizens or those falling within a state jurisdiction but includes subjection to the “coercive power of non-state and trans-state forms of governmentality” (p. 65). In this sense, South Africa is recognized as a member of the global economy and subject to rules imposed by its governance structures (See Chapter Two). In framing the what and who of justice in relation to South Africa and South African Higher Education, we can look at how it is subjected to the governance structure of the global economy and identify the contestations of what and who. This Fraser explains must be done by theorizing justice dialogically and institutionally. What she means is that a theory of justice must “frame disputes dialogically, as

political conflicts whose legitimate resolution requires unconstrained, inclusive public debate” (p. 68).

Olson (2008) explains that Fraser's democratic theory of justice would allow subjects to decide what norms and values should regulate their lives. In other words, to ensure parity of participation, all subjected to an identified governance structure, like the university, must be involved in deciding the norms and values that govern their lives. However, Olson explains that while Fraser's political dimension provides the basis for identifying the norms and values that underpin justice, such normative appeals to political participation can potentially be paradoxical. In other words, participation could simultaneously resolve one set of problems and create another which he refers to as “the paradox of enablement” (p. 247). The paradox, he explains, comes from the “complex interconnection between politics, economy and culture” because the political domain tends to be normatively delinked from but empirically coupled with economy and culture. He cautions against a narrow interpretation of Fraser's theory and proposes the problem can be resolved by examining the tension between democracy and justice. He acknowledges that his proposal, which focuses “on the recursive character of political processes, the reflexive character of citizenship, and the political processes between political theory and public deliberation”, while resolving the tension will place limits on democracy (p. 247). By empirically linking the political to the economic and cultural domain we can identify economic and cultural barriers to parity of participation. Examining gender injustice in this way would demonstrate the objective (economic) conditions such as wage differentials and the intersubjective (cultural) conditions such as sexual harassment in the workplace that impede parity of participation for women. In this sense then women are prevented from participating as peers in both the economic and cultural sense, that is, they experience a “double impediment to participation” (Olson, 2008, p. 249). Such an analysis Olsen explains leaves out other important spheres of activity that are not purely cultural or economic. He sees this as a narrow albeit tempting way of reading Fraser because it links to her earlier binary theory of justice and explains that participation cannot be theorized solely in terms of culture and economics. Another narrow reading of Fraser he explains relates to her characterization of participation as “social interaction or as occurring in

social life” (p. 250). One reading of this is that “participation means being able to do all the things that any other adult in one’s society can do”, which he refers to as “rich conception of equal opportunity” (p. 250). He claims that viewing participation in social life as equality of “opportunity, possibilities, and choices” frames it as “consumerist” and individualistic and “non-social” in that it is primarily about “consumption of lifestyle options” (p. 250). Olson argues that the development of a “normatively sophisticated conception” of parity of participation necessitates a description of the social dimensions of participation in a more subjective sense. Participation must be envisioned as being “interactive” in the sense of being actively involved in a “cooperative endeavour” in which participants have decision-making powers or “voice”. This is what makes it political in character which extends beyond formal political participation as in voting in elections to include other spheres of social life, as in the workplace. Participatory decision making processes in the workplace could focus on wage issues in terms of a distributive perspective, or on sexual harrassment in terms of a recognition perspective. However participation in the workplace is not only about economic redistribution and or cultural recognition. It is also about the justice of “participatory procedures” as in who has decision-making powers, who has voice in meetings and what rules govern participation. In this case participation is about the rules of engagement, i.e. about participation which cannot be reduced to either culture or economy. It addresses questions of justice in terms of the policies and principles underpinning cooperative decision-making as well as its intersection with economic and cultural justice claims. In the case of the corporatized university, parity of participation does not only relate to the economic domain, like high tuition fees and its consequences for the poor, or the cultural domain in terms of the low representation of women in leadership and management. Women’s representation in leadership and management can be understood in relation to both redistribution and recognition. In addition, the political aspect of this also relates to parity of participation in terms of decision making in the corporate university. Women as a minority in the senior management structures of the corporate university where decisions are made also raises the question of justice in terms of parity of participation in decision-making which influences parity of participation in the economic and cultural domain. The critical question this raises relates to political procedures in place and the political dynamics which determine membership and participation. In recognition of the potential political paradox between

democracy and justice, Olson's extends Fraser's democratic theory of justice from "perspectival dualism" to "a perspectival trio of economy, culture, and politics.

Conclusion

In this Chapter I have discussed the meaning of feminism and the aim of feminist research. Developing on that, I have described feminist standpoint theory and methodology which informs this study. In locating my research with feminist standpoint theory I signal that the goal of my research, in keeping with the tradition of critical theory, is the first step towards political action which aims to identify injustices and interrupt women's oppression. Drawing on Nancy Fraser's democratic theory of justice, I present the analytic framework which I use to make sense of women academics experiences of higher education restructuring and its implications for how we understand and address gender and social injustice in the current context of globalization.

Chapter Four

The ‘Contaminated’ Research Process

“How researchers see and present research isn’t a product of pure, uncontaminated, factual occurrences. All occurrences are a product of our consciousness because they derive from our interpretation and construction of them” (Stanley & Wise, 2002, p. 154).

Introduction

In this chapter I present a personalized discussion of the research process, one that is influenced by personal and political values and is subjective in terms of the interests, identities and histories that are brought to bear on the research by the researcher and research participants. In this respect, the process presented is certainly not a ‘hygienic’ one but one which is open to continual interpretation in that the research activities tell us something about ourselves as researchers as well as about those who participate in the research. This implies too an acknowledgement that the researcher has a responsibility, through her personal and “intellectual biography”, to provide “accountable knowledge” which provides the reader with the reasoning that underpins the research process as in relation to the political and emotional involvement of the researcher (Letherby, 2003, p. 9).

Denzin and Lincoln (2008) define the qualitative research process as consisting of three interrelated generic activities which include epistemology, ontology, methodology, theory and analysis. To begin with, the researcher assumes an ontological position, that is, the researcher begins with a set of ideas or framework. This ontological position evokes a specific set of questions, an epistemology, which she will attempt to answer in “specific ways”, a methodology. In Chapter Two, I have discussed feminism and the feminist research paradigm, within which I

have located my study, theoretically and methodologically. I also explained the use of standpoint theory and methodology as the methodology employed in this research.

I find this explanation of the qualitative research process useful in presenting the research through a focus on the three interconnected research activities, namely, ontology, epistemology and methodology in terms of the five phases as presented by Denzin and Lincoln (2008). The five phases of these generic research activities include “the researcher and researched as multicultural subjects”; the research paradigm; methodology; methods of data collection and analysis; and interpretation. I find this explanation a useful starting point as it allows me to place in perspective the standpoint I have assumed within this research process. It also allows me to integrate my personal biography as the researcher and as a research participant, following in the feminist tradition and to insert and effect reflexivity in the research process. Stanley and Wise (2002) assert that there are consequences to presenting the research process as orderly, coherent and logical, as “hygienic research” (p. 153), which appears as if it is free from problems, challenges and emotions. In the prologue, I described my anxiety and difficulty with beginning this writing process and the tensions I experienced with attempting to match what I was doing with textbook descriptions of the research process. While I do not dispute the necessity to present research in some scientific form, I agree with Stanley & Wise (2002) that presenting our research in the scientific ‘hygienic’ manner is ‘research as it is described’, not ‘research as it is experienced’. As a feminist project, I think it is necessary to confront this contradiction in terms of our consciousness as researchers and the research ideology of hygienic research (Stanley & Wise, 1983). I have discussed this in the prologue, in terms of the ways in which I have ‘broken out’ and ‘gone native’ as well as later in the chapter where I describe and discuss my place in the research. I therefore present the research process in a ‘reconstructed form’ narratively as this is inevitable. In describing the research process and activities, I also examine the dynamics of actually doing feminist research by exploring the political, practical and ethical matters in doing feminist research.

Given my stance in terms of challenging androcentrism in research, I am wary of the consequences of my choices and actions as a novice feminist researcher. I feel that I need to explain the ways in which I attempt to move beyond the boundaries of 'normal' scientific research to the last detail, even though what I am doing speaks for itself, so that my readers won't 'sanction' or 'excommunicate' me for these choices (Stanley & Wise, 2002). hooks (1989) argues that the academy is not a site known for truth telling which facilitates the coming together of the oppressed to talk, write and publish our way out of oppression to emancipation, where our works bear testimony to the significance of our struggle to work for transformation. The reason for this she explains is that we are trapped within a cultural context that defines freedom only "in terms of learning the oppressor's language", and "assimilating... into the dominant hegemony" (p.29). Our work as feminist researchers requires us to develop alternative oppositional discourses and one way in which to do that is enter the process as subjects of research.

Feminist Standpoint Methodology

Feminist research is premised on the notion that society is structured unequally and hierarchically; that it is grounded in the political struggles for women's emancipation inside and outside the academy. Having set out a theory of knowledge in terms of feminist epistemology, what then constitutes a feminist methodology? A methodology is a framework that provides theoretical engagement with how authoritative knowledge is produced in the research process.

Traditional epistemologies have been critiqued and rejected in terms of the ways that dominant conceptions of knowledge attribution, acquisition and justification marginalize and exclude women and other subordinate groups (See Chapter Three). Dominant epistemologies have not only disadvantage women by excluding them from inquiry but they have also denied them epistemic authority and privilege, producing theories that represent women and other subordinate groups as inferior, deviant, or significant only in the ways that they serve the interests of dominant groups.

What are the methodological issues associated with privileging women's lived experience and is there a specifically feminist methodology and feminist methods? Methodological challenges associated with basing feminist knowledge on women's experiences have been explored by feminists in response to criticism that they have simplistic beliefs in experience as the source of knowledge of material reality. Harding (1997) raises several critical questions in relation to what constitutes feminist social research – feminist methods, feminist methodology and feminist epistemology. If feminist epistemologists employ traditional methods of research inquiry and apply traditional epistemologies in a feminist way, can an undistorted and complete account of women's lived experiences be developed? (Harding, 1997)

Using women's experience as a basis for social inquiry has implications. Thus far I have been using the plural 'women's experiences' and this formulation highlights some of the ways in which feminist analyses differ from traditional ones (Harding, 1997). In the first instance it heralds that "there is no universal man, but only culturally different men and women" (Harding, p. 163). Women's experiences are culturally different in terms of race and class, and within experiences women experience conflicts in terms of their social positions. I am always aware of how my own experiences as a wife, a mother, a feminist academic and so forth conflict with each other. Rather than this being problematic, it is seen to be a valuable source of feminist understanding. Feminist research analysis has also positioned the researcher critically within the research process. The researcher positionality – her social positions, her beliefs and assumptions are located within the research investigation being undertaken and are critically engaged with in terms of how these may have shaped or influenced the research investigation. Harding argues that we need to circumvent the objectivist stance characteristic of traditional scientific inquiry, rendering our subjectivity as the researcher invisible. This is one way of presenting a less distorted understanding of social reality. Harding argues that the researcher's subjectivity also forms part of the empirical evidence advanced in the research findings, is exposed to the same analysis and increases the objectivity of the research. She states, "They can be thought of as methodological features because they show us how to apply the general structure of scientific theory to research on women and gender" (Harding, 1987, p. 9).

Given that there are many feminisms and varied political positions within feminism, defining a feminist methodology proves problematic. The distinctiveness of feminist methodology derives from the relations between epistemology and politics in feminist research (Ramzanoglu & Holland, 2002).

Nielsen (1990) identifies five basic epistemological principles underpinning feminist methodology. The first is the “necessity of continuously and reflexively attending to gender and gender asymmetry as a basic feature of all social life” (p. 72). The second principle emphasizes the “centrality of consciousness raising as a methodological tool. Thirdly, there is a need to challenge the notion of objectivity that assumes a separation of object and subject and the view that personal experience is unscientific. The fourth principle highlights the importance of ethical issues in feminist research and the “recognition of the exploitation of women as objects of knowledge” (p. 72). The final principle enforces the notion of “empowerment of women and transformation of patriarchal social institutions” (p. 72). These five principles have been discussed within this chapter and serve as a summary of this section, but are further elaborated in the next chapter as it has informed the research process. Having established the ontological, epistemological and theoretical basis for my study, in terms of feminist standpoint theory, I now present Nancy Fraser’s theory of democratic justice which I draw on as the analytic framework that informs this study.

There has been much debate about what constitutes feminist methodology and methods in social research with a tendency for defending qualitative approaches to investigating women’s lives which focused on their subjective experiences and the meanings that emanated from their recall and interpretations. The early feminist researchers were intent on identifying approaches to research which maximized their ability to explore women’s experiences (Maynard, 1994). In emphasizing the need to understand women’s lives from their perspectives, qualitative interviews began to take precedence as a favoured method of inquiry into the open-ended exploration of women’s lives. And so qualitative methods and in particular the face-to-face in-depth interview came to be viewed as feminist ways of generating useful knowledge (Cook and Fonow, 1990;

Maynard, 1994; Gluck & Patai, 1991, Oakley, 2000). Cook and Fonow (1990) ask if feminist methodology is about what researchers do or that which they aim for and argue that feminist methodology incorporates a critique of social science in terms of the sources of knowledge and in this sense “is in the process of becoming” (p. 71). We can identify our research and our ways of doing research as feminist in terms of the questions we ask, our location within our research and the purpose and aims of our research.

Coming to the Research Question...

In the Prologue, I explain that my personal experiences as a black woman academic was an impetus for this research investigation. In other words, my experiences of sexism and racism in the university were a strong motivation for this research, but I was also very cognizant of the wider institutional and structural changes taking place which were impacting on my professional life as an academic. Experiences of sexism and racism are not new experiences and there have certainly been many gains in terms of equity. We have institutional policies in place, and actions have been taken to implement these policies. So why does inequity and injustice still prevail in the university? How are the current changes within and beyond the university affecting the people (and for the purpose of this research, the women academics) within the university in terms of equity? How are women academics positioned within sexist, patriarchal and phallogocentric knowledge systems? How do they mediate dominant social relation within the academy as they engage with teaching and research?

My interest in the globalization of higher education, the ensuing corporatization of the university, and its gendered implications began to grow. Reformulated as an investigation of women academics experiences of reform and restructuring in the university, led to the development of my research question:

- How is higher education reform in the context of globalisation affecting the lives and work of women academics?

The way in which I have chosen to address this question is to problematize the relationship between globalization, higher education reform and gender. I contextualize this investigation within the current trends of economic and political globalization, and examine the effects this has on higher education reform. I then examine, through an investigation of women academics experiences in the restructured university, the implications of higher education reform.

A key principle underpinning feminist methodology relates to acknowledging the pervasive influence of gender. In this regard, women academics and their experiences of higher education are the focus of this inquiry, in that I privilege their subjective experiences.

All narrative inquiry in the social sciences, whether it is biographical, life history or autobiographical research is framed by Mills trilogy of biography, history and society. In the next section of this chapter, I discuss the narrative approach to my feminist research investigation and describe the research process as it unfolded narratively, in keeping with the narrative tradition.

Narrative Inquiry

Narrative inquiry as a qualitative research methodology privileges experiences in that narrative researchers collect or construct stories about those being studied, in which the goal is to study the narrative or the descriptions of the series of events recounted by a narrator! In this regard, narrative researchers begin with the assumption that the narrative forms the fundamental entity that accounts for human experience. In addition to privileging experience, narrative researchers' study of narratives are temporal and contextual, and in constructing the narratives, researchers draw on varied research methods. (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007; and Chase, 2005).

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) explain that "life – is filled with narrative fragments, enacted in storied moments of time and space, and reflected upon and understood in terms of narrative

unities and discontinuities” (p. 17). Through their studies of education, of life in classrooms, schools and other educational settings, they came to view educational studies as a form of experience, and narrative for them was the most effective way of understanding and representing that experience. For them, narrative is both a phenomenon and a method. Given their approach to narrative inquiry as a study of experience narratively they view “narrative thinking” as “a key form of experience and a key way of writing and thinking about it” Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p. 18). They therefore define narrative inquiry as “a way of understanding experience”, where the researcher and the researched collaborate “over time, in a place or series of places, and in social interaction with milieus. An inquirer enters this matrix in the midst and progresses in this same spirit, concluding the inquiry still in the midst of living and telling, reliving and retelling, the stories of the experiences that make up people’s lives, both individual and social.

Riessman (2008) in her review of working definitions of narrative highlights the diversity of understandings of the concept and explains that narratives in the human and social sciences can refer to texts at several overlapping levels. They can refer to “stories told by research participants” (p. 6) which she points out are interpretive; they can also refer to the researcher’s interpretive accounts which she develops from interviews and fieldwork – “a story about stories”. A reader can construct a narrative from her or his engagement with both the participants’ and researcher’s narratives.

For the purpose of this research, narrative inquiry refers to” stories lived and told” by both the researcher as narrator and of research participants narratives form the basis for this investigation (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, p. 20). The researcher as narrator presents a “story of stories” in respect of the narrative accounts of the research as process as well as the interpretations of participants’ narrative interviews. The narrative approach resonates with my feminist aim of privileging the participants’ experiences and examining the influence of higher education reform and globalization on the work and professional lives of women in the university through the construction of their personal and professional narratives. Feminist researchers’ critique of androcentric assumptions of social research and their challenge to epistemological and methodological traditions of positivism, led to a shift in privileging women’s experiences and

subjugated knowledge (see Chapter 2). The narrative turn marked a significant development toward narrative sociology which is viewed as a more inclusive and reflexive study of narratives by social researchers (Maines, 2006).

While narrative cuts across a range of theoretical approaches there are common assumptions which underpin narrative inquiry. Firstly, there is consensus that all social activity is narrative in nature and that “narratives are forms of human conduct best conceptualized as social acts” and are “inherently collective processes” which relate to representation and are often political (Maines, 2006, p. 122). In conceptualizing narratives, Maines specifies the following propositions on which a narrative sociology can be based:

- the socialized individual is always in a potentially narrative situation in interaction with others; most speech acts and self-representation contain elements of narratives;
- varied context, audience, perspective and power relations result in the production of multiple versions of narrated events;
- narratives and narrative situations are potentially sites of conflict and competition or cooperation and consensus;
- while all narratives are potentially rational accounts, they remain incomplete as a result of human ambiguity and varied linguistic competence;
- narratives range from the personal to the institutional to the cultural and exist over varied time-span and therefore change;
- given that social science data is interpreted data, un-interpreted data does not exist; sociological facts are narrated facts in that they have been processed through some form of narrative structure that makes events factual;
- “data collection is an act of entering respondents’ lives which are partly formed by still unfolding stories” and hence their stories about the same event will vary at different times to different audiences (Maines 2006, p. 123).

The narrative turn in social research is characterized by four themes referred to by Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) as turns which for them marks a change in direction from one way of thinking or being to another. The use of the term ‘turn’ highlights the evolutionary rather than logical nature

of the development of narrative inquiry as well as the pace at which changes have and continue to occur based on researchers' experiences. The extent to which one embraces narrative inquiry depends on how far one turns in one's thinking and action across what Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) call the four turns toward narrative inquiry. These turns relate to: changes in the relationship between the researcher and research participants; a use of words as data rather than numbers; a shift in focus on the local and specific from the general and universal; and recognition and acceptance of alternative ways of knowing.

Clandinin & Connelly (2000) identify the tensions that result from working at the boundaries between thinking according to narrative inquiry and thinking according to grand narratives in relation to the following: temporality, people, action, certainty and context. According to them, "learning to think narratively at the boundaries between narrative and other forms of inquiry is, perhaps, the single most important feature of successful narrative thinking" (p. 25). For them, temporality forms a central feature of narrative thinking where experience is viewed as being temporal and events are expressions of something that has a past, present and implied future. "Our lives are embedded within larger narratives contextualized within a longer-term historical narrative." (p. 19). Narrative inquirers take for granted that people are always in a "process of personal change" and therefore the narrative history or biography of an individual is relevant to narrative thinking and is a central feature of narrative inquiry. Unlike grand narratives, actions in terms of thinking narratively are not taken as direct evidence. Instead, an action is viewed as a narrative sign and must be narratively interpreted before attaching any meaning to it. In this respect, meaning could only be attached to the actions of participants through an understanding of their narrative history.

Another reason for embracing a narrative approach relates the focus on context in narrative thinking. Unlike grand-narratives which focus on events, people and things as context-free, context is always present in narrative thinking in which "the person in context is of prime interest" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 32).

Clandinin & Connelly (2000) identify four tensions that they experienced at the boundary between narrative inquiry and formalistic inquiry. While formalists begin their inquiry in theory, this feminist narrative inquiry in privileging experience begins with participants lived and expressed narratives. Another tension of working between the boundary of thinking narratively and formalistic research traditions relates to the outcomes of contributing to the development of theory and of replicating and applying a theory to the research problem. Clandinin & Connelly (2000) explain that the first outcome may be an intended outcome of narrative inquiry but the second outcome is uncommon in narrative research. A third tension identified relates to the place of people in the research inquiry. In narrative inquiry there is a shift in focus on people as exemplars of “an idea, a theory, a social category” to people as embodiments of lived experience and narratives who “compose lives that shape and are shaped by social and cultural narratives” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 43). In relation to the place of the researcher in the research, narrative inquiry views the researcher as “autobiographically conscious” and reflexive in terms of the process, locates the place of the researcher in the research and as well as their reactions to their work.

Locating my Place in the Research

I found Liz Stanley’s (1992) concept of auto/biography as an approach to integrating the standpoint of the researcher with production of knowledge, namely, the research endeavour useful. For Stanley:

Life presents us with complex views of ‘the self’: with competing estimations of character, motive, behaviour, intention. Biography should recognize this, document and present these versions concerning its subjects rather than try to eradicate them through searching for a seamless ‘truth’ about subjects and/or events in their lives. (p. 11).

She also argues that in order to produce “accountable” knowledge the researcher must make explicit her “intellectual biography”. This is also one of the ways in which I attempt to address the ethical dilemma in terms of the power dynamics in the research by locating myself as a subject within the research. From a feminist perspective, Stanley argues that:

...ideas are produced within a particular social milieu” and the social networks within which the biographical subject located their activities and work need to be closely examined rather than being divorced from the social contexts within which they lived (p. 8).

Earlier I explained how the academic space is not one which values the truth, and Stanley also advocates that the feminist researcher produce alternative discourses from socially shared understandings through alternative ways within specific cultural settings which reflect “the specificities of the life and work of a particular biographical subject” (Stanley, 1992, p. 8). As a feminist researcher this allows me to bring my particular location and position into the research.

As a reflexive process, I write about my experiences as the researcher as well as a research participant. Reflexivity in the research process refers to a conscious effort by the researcher to explicitly identify power relations and the exercise of power in the research process. It refers to attempts to identify what knowledge is contingent upon, the social location and positionality of the researcher, and how the research process is constituted. Feminist theorists engage in reflexivity or what critical theorists refer to as a form “self-conscious criticism” in the sense that the researcher becomes aware of and engages with both the “ideological imperatives and the epistemological presuppositions that inform their research as well as their own subjectivity, intersubjective and normative reference claims” (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2005, p. 305). This means that the assumptions we hold are made evident and our epistemological and political positions are stated thereby allowing the researcher to assume a critical stance. I reconstruct the research process, that is, describe what I did, how I did it and why I did what I did as vividly and honestly as I could through my auto/biography.

I already began the process of reconstructing the research process in the prologue of this thesis with the beginnings of my personal and intellectual auto/biography. Denzin & Lincoln assert that behind the research process “stands the personal biography of the researcher, who speaks from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic community perspective... and “from within a

distinct interpretive community that configures, in its special way, the multicultural, gendered components of the research act” (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008, p. 28). As a feminist researcher and research participant, I cannot ignore the influence of my subjectivities in the research process or my emotions and experiences. For example, I describe my experiences as a black woman academic within the restructured university which led to the identification of the focus of this research and in re-presenting my experiences and the experiences of the women participants implies a representation that is gendered, raced and classed. In this respect my location as the researcher influences the research process as well as the interactions between the participants and myself. While we occupy the same position as women, there are other social positions that we occupy which come to bear on the research process. In this regard, our social locations other than our gender may be more prominent in our experiences and influence the relations and interactions within the research. I cannot deny that in as much as gender is a significant issue for me, race is too. I became very aware of how this impacted on my relationship with the research participants in terms of racial differences. The racism I have experienced cannot but influence my relations with participants who are white. I was very aware of my feelings of resentment toward my white colleagues, who I perceived as racist. In my interviews with the black participants, our racial social location enabled a shared understanding of racism within the academy. I have been very articulate about my views on issues pertaining to racism and sexism, and I am aware that this is not always well received by my colleagues, that it makes them uncomfortable, that they avoid contact with me as a result and it has at times led to tensions. I cannot say that this does not influence the research process, understandings and outcomes.

In terms of my position as a research participant, I have drawn on Carolyn Ellis’s work on autoethnography to construct a narrative of my experiences of restructuring in the university. Referring to autoethnography as “systemic sociological introspection, Ellis (2004, p. xivii) explains autoethnography as writing one’s lived experience as a narrative which may take various forms. She defines autoethnography as “research, writing, story, and method that connect the autobiography and the personal to the cultural, social and political” (p. xix). I find this useful in that I am not interested in writing my autobiography as a literary endeavour. As a research participant, I want to write about my experiences as a woman academic in the context of the

restructured university and autoethnography allows me the possibility of connecting my personal experiences to the cultural, the social and the political. Ellis (2004) explains that the way in which one does this is by looking “through an ethnographic wide angle lens” by focusing outward on social and cultural aspects” of one’s personal experience and then by looking inward thereby “exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations” (p. 34). These personal accounts of experience are captured in “concrete actions, dialogue, emotion, embodiment, spirituality and self-consciousness” and are represented as relational and institutional narratives informed by history and social structure, which are revealed dialectically “through actions, feelings, thoughts and language” (Ellis, 2004, p. 34). Autoethnography allowed me to locate my narrative within the interviews I conducted with the women as well as within the research as data. I conducted what Ellis (2004) refers to as reflexive a dyadic interview, which in many ways takes a conversational form. While the focus of the interview is the participant and her story, I also examined my thoughts, responses and feelings. An example of my account of the reflexive interview is explaining what has brought me to this research as well as how self-knowledge was used to make meaning of the data. I initially documented my experiences of the interviews as field notes but did not sustain this when began to write my narrative. I regret not having persevered with my daily logs, especially during the period the interviews were conducted as my interaction with participants brought to the fore epiphanic episodes in my narrative, which I had to later write about from memory. An epiphany is an event one experiences within which one is so powerfully absorbed that one is left without an interpretive framework with which to make sense of it (Ellis & Bochner, 1992).

The Research Site

The research site for this investigation is the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). Given the inclusion of my experiences as a woman academic in a restructured university, it made sense to use UKZN as the site for my research. There were other reasons which support this as an appropriate choice, albeit not an unproblematic one. I discuss the ethical issues related to locating my research in the university at which I work and selecting a small sample of women academics as respondents in Chapter Three. A key reason for selecting this as my research site

relates to the restructuring of the university as a result of the wider transformation in higher education in South Africa. The other relates to the identity of the university as one of the merged institutions in the country resulting from a merger of two universities in the province, one a historically advantaged white institution (HWI) and the other a historically disadvantaged black institution (HBI).

Inviting Participation

As a feminist standpoint study, I felt it was appropriate to seek out the voices and views of women in the university. I see their appointments as representing some measure of institutional movement towards greater gender equity, viz. the redress of gender imbalances in the institution's employment practices. The women's academic positions also give them a reasonable possibility of offering informed comment on institutional restructuring and gender issues, and the interplay between globalizing forces and these issues. Seeking out their personal experiences I believed would yield useful insights into the opportunities and challenges facing women in higher education (HE) and the ways in which women have responded to the changes taking place.

My aim was to identify women academics across disciplines, levels and positions in the university and to select a sample from that. My attempt to obtain a list of names from the director of human resources was unsuccessful as this information was only available to managers. I then resorted to identifying the women academics in the university through a time consuming process searching faculty and school pages on the inner web. I then emailed all of the women academics I had identified explaining my research and inviting them to participate. I received a response to every email I sent out, negative as well as positive responses. I was encouraged by the responses from many of the women, who even though they declined to participate, expressed their interest in the research, commented on its relevance, and provided reasons that prevented them from participating. Many cited demands on their time and heavy workloads for declining my invitation. I was also aware that staff was wary of expressing their views on the university

restructuring given the sanction of academics who were critical of the university executive's approach and management of the restructuring.

Of the twenty-five positive responses I received, the majority were from education and I decided to use them as the primary sample. Given my intention to identify participants across disciplines and levels, and positions I was reluctant to omit the women from the sciences and humanities. I decided to include three of the participants from the humanities, and two from the sciences as a secondary sample against whom I could compare my findings. The differences between education as an applied field of study and the other faculties which are made up of traditional disciplines provided one basis for my analysis. In addition, given my own experiences as an educator, educationist and teacher educator, I was aware of the difference between our faculty and the traditional faculties in respect to the professional and academic identities staff assumed, the qualifications and programmes we offered, as well as the our student body, which included a significant number of non-traditional students. I interviewed eleven women in education, three in humanities and two in the sciences. In Chapter Five I introduce my participants through a brief biography of each one of them.

My Relationship with the Research Participants

The narrative turn marks a significant shift away from positivist notions of research objectivity, neutrality, atemporality and context free research. This move reconceptualized the relationship between the researcher and the researched where the status of the researched shifts from being the object to being the subject of the investigations. There is an implicit understanding that the research subject is “not bound, static, atemporal and decontextualized” Pinnegar and Daynes, 2007, p. 11). I find this useful in discussing the relationship that emerged between the participants and me.

My early research training emphasized researcher objectivity and as I developed in my understanding of feminist research and narrative inquiry, I was freed from the burden of maintaining this objective distance from the research respondents (see Chapter Four). My

approach was to view the participants as women academics like myself, who were going to share their experiences of working in the restructured university. I read Letherby's (2003) engagement with the language we use in research in relation to how we refer to those who are being researched. It is not uncommon to find reference to them as respondents, research participants, subjects or informants, particularly in research accounts which reject the historical objectification of the researched. Letherby (2003) considers the implications of each title in respect of the relationship between the researcher and researched particularly in feminist research. According to her, some researchers choose to refer to the researched as participants to equalize the researcher/respondent relationship but sees this as problematic in that it implies equal participation which gives the researched more control over the research process, which in fact is difficult in practice. Right from the outset, decisions over the research focus, aims, questions, theory, methodology and methods render the research relationship a highly unequal one. Maynard (1994) explains that it is difficult to reduce the power dynamics between the researcher and researched and unlikely that one can completely eradicate it. Feminist researchers are very cognizant of the unequal power relations in the research process and the reflexive researcher makes this explicit. The reflexive researcher explicates this unequal relation by making explicit the political motives, values and emotions that influence choices and decisions. I chose to refer to the researched as participants but do not imply equality of participation.

Once I had identified the participants in the research I began the process of negotiating our relationships. The researcher-participant relationship is a "tenuous one, always in the midst of being negotiated" and I experienced this throughout the process, at times feeling excited by the kind of relationship that was developing and only once did I feel despondent because of my perception that I was there "almost as an uninvited guest" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 72).

Once I had confirmed commitment from participants I set out to meet with them to set up a time and place for the interview. Of the fourteen women I interviewed, only three of them were unknown to me prior to this.

My initial desire and impetus was to invite them to be equal collaborators in this research endeavour with the view to making it participatory but I cannot claim to have achieved this. My plan was to invite the women to a focus group interviews, use the research instrument from the globalization research project to generate issues affecting women academics in the restructured university and use the opportunity to review my interview questions and collaboratively decide on the approach and nature of the in-depth interviews that were to follow the focus group interview. This did not materialize as I had anticipated, I abandoned the focus group interview after piloting it and decided on only doing the in-depth narrative interview. Once the interviews were conducted and transcribed, I sent these to participants to review and invited each of them to co-write their narratives as one way of enabling them greater participation and control over the research process. While some participants expressed an interest in doing this, it did not happen and they agreed to read the transcripts and respond to it by correcting, adding or qualifying the raw data presented. Apart from the reasons stated earlier for the unequal relationship between the researcher and research participants in respect of research decisions there was the challenge of time and commitment on both my part and the part of the respondents to develop the narratives collaboratively. With the nature of doctoral research it is difficult to establish an equal relationship between the researcher and research participants given that decision about research and research process are the sole responsibility of the researcher. While I acknowledge the unequal nature of this relationship, I do view this as a negotiated co-constructed and collaborative one. It was collaborative in terms of the interactive nature of the interviews and co-constructed in terms of the nature of the relationships that emerged from the experience. In the first instance I did not view the women in my research as passive informants and set out to develop a genuine rapport with each of them. Given our commonality as academics in the same institution, I viewed them as colleagues but I was also aware of our differences in terms of our academic positions. In fact, I was initially quite intimidated about interviewing women who occupied more senior positions than I did, had longer service in the institution and were experienced researchers with significant publication records. I was very conscious of how I thought their experience and knowledge of interviews would influence me, my approach to the interviews and the way in which I conducted them.

The fourth phase of the research process relates to the methods or techniques that were employed in generating the empirical data in the project which I explain in the next section. I also explain the process of analysis that I employed. I begin with what constitutes feminist methods and whether there are specific methods that are feminist in nature. As I stated earlier, I locate myself as the reflexive researcher and a research participant and the method of inquiry that provided the basis for my auto/biography is auto-ethnography.

The Feminist Interviews

My approach to investigating the women academics' experiences of higher education restructuring was to conduct in-depth narrative interviews to explore their professional lives as women academics. I began with a biographical history of their careers with the aim of tracing how they had come to occupy the academic positions they held. In addition, it was necessary for me to locate their current experiences in a historical context.

In terms of the practice of research, my understanding is that there are no feminist methods in that the methods favoured by feminist researchers are not specific to feminism, but are common to all social science research. Feminists have appropriated research methods, developed them to suit the aims of feminist research and even pioneered some which have come to be used generally in the social sciences. With that said, what then makes this research feminist in terms of the process and techniques adopted? In this section I recount the five principles underpinning feminist methodology and show how these have informed this inquiry and the research practice. In the first instance, women's subjective experiences are privileged as explained elsewhere. Secondly, in appropriating methods in the social sciences, feminists do not blindly adopt research techniques but do so in critical ways which attend to issues of power, position and ethics in order to ensure a non-exploitative relationship between the researcher and the researched. As explained earlier, feminists address the power dynamics in the research process with the full knowledge that it cannot be completely eradicated. As a subject in the research, the researcher assumes a reflexive position in the research. The final principle underpinning feminist research practice has to do with the implicit notion of its political nature and potential to bring

about women's empowerment and emancipation. I have dealt with this elsewhere. In this section, I discuss the feminist interview as a key characteristic of feminist research practice.

There are various approaches to narrative interviewing but I found Harding's (2006) approach appealing in that she does not view the biography as necessarily consisting of a series of experiences and events captured chronologically as an expression of who the person is. Instead, she argues, "the present is a crucial reference point for attempts to re-member the past and subjects are co-produced by interviewer and interviewee". She further explains that the biographical interview, theorized as emancipatory, can be used to "contextualize the historical actions of subjects, showing how personal and social meanings underpin action in everyday lived ways" (Harding, 2006, p. 1). In congruence with critical and feminist research, a key underlying assumption of biographical research is that participants have agency. The research participant is viewed as knowledgeable and capable of co-producing a narrative of experiences and the biography is created out of an encounter between two subjects who share conventions for speaking, listening and understanding (Harding 2006). The approach adopted here, referred to as the narrative approach, focuses on understanding the participants "unique and changing perspective as it is mediated by context which takes precedence over facts" (Harding, 2006, p. 4). This approach places emphasis on how the participant recounts her past, what she chooses to verbalize or omit and what is emphasized. It highlights the interplay between the interviewer and interviewee and the participatory nature of the interview in an attempt to co-produce the narrative of experiences that the participant can be satisfied with (Harding, 2006). Whether I call it a narrative, biographical or in-depth interview, the key point is that the narrative technique of producing women's subjective experiences is a way of making the research more participatory and a way of "evaluating the present, re-evaluating the past and anticipating the future" (Letherby, p. 89).

I found Clandinin & Connelly's (2000, p. 49) framework which they refer to as the "three-dimensional narrative inquiry space" useful in providing me with terms and a research space "to travel – *inward, outward, backward, forward, and situated with place*" in the research process. They focus on personal and social interaction, continuity in respect of past, present and future,

and combine this with the notion of situation to generate what they refer to as “a metaphorical *three dimensional narrative inquiry space*, with temporality along one dimension, the personal and social along a second dimension, and place along a third” Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 50). I use this three dimensional space to define the research process in terms of the temporal dimension and temporal issues, the focus on personal and social interactions and the places or sequence of places within which they occur.

To begin with, their notion of interaction focuses on what they refer to as four directions in the investigation: inward refers to internal conditions such as emotions, aspirations, aesthetic and moral dispositions and outward focuses on the environment; while backward and forward refer to temporality in terms of past, present and future. This implies that when one undertakes narrative inquiry, that is does research into experience, one experiences these two dimensions simultaneously in the four ways described. One positions oneself in the research process along these two dimensions by addressing personal and social issues by focusing inward on the internal and outward on the existential temporally, that is by focusing on the event as well as its past and future. In my narrative interviews both the participants and I journeyed back and forth from our earliest experiences to our current experiences in terms of the spaces we presently occupy within the university.

Earlier I described the process of identifying and inviting women in the university to participate in the research. Once I had negotiated a time and place for the interview I was ready to start. In order to create a comfortable space for the interview, I asked participants to identify where they would like the interview to take place. A few chose to have the interviews in their offices, while most chose the option I had provided, over breakfast or lunch at the staff club. While most of the participants were known to me, it was still important to ensure that I established a space which made the women feel comfortable in sharing their experiences where they were they could trust that I would maintain complete confidentiality. More than that, recalling past experiences can be a traumatic experiences, as was proved by the many emotionally laden moments that participants experienced during the interview making them feel very exposed and vulnerable. Many of the

participants made a point of asking for my assurance that strict confidentiality would be maintained with a few expressing fear of losing their jobs:

“I really need you not to attribute my name to any of this because you really, really could cost me my job.” (Helen)

A few indicated that they had no problem with being identified in my research which I chose not to do. I therefore gave all the participants pseudonyms.

My interviews were unstructured in that I began the interview by explaining the focus and aim of my research as well as my feminist approach and then asked participants to tell me what had brought them to this point in their professional lives. I was interested in the career history but chose to ask them to decide how far back they went in terms of narrating their experiences that brought them to this juncture. Armed with a basic plan, as well as an interview guide, which allowed me to probe the various aspects that constituted the women’s professional lives, allowed them to largely control where the interview and I took my lead from what they said, while still keeping the overall focus of my interviews in mind. The interview guide consisted of a set of topical areas which focused on the various areas of academic life as my interest was in the women’s professional lives and their experiences of university restructuring. I found it useful to start with a narrative of their career history as I believed that this would allow participants to establish the changes they had experienced. I believe that this approach also provided the impetus for the women to begin sharing their experiences. It was interesting how this approach got participants into the interview as reflected in this excerpt from my interview with Lillian.

Lillian: Okay, so shall I kick off talking about my entry point into the academic...

Me: And you can go as far back in terms of your career and what has brought you to this point.

Lillian: I guess my disclaimer would be that I’m feeling quite negative about the institution and the way in which I don’t believe it’s transformation but corporatization. I’m fiercely opposed to a lot of the changes that are taking place – and it’s global: it’s

the corporatization of our lives in total. And having recently read The Shock Doctrine, by Naomi Klein, I'm even more fiercely opposed to the way in which our lives are being altered by business, marketplace values, or I think what Ghandi said, instrumental rationality: everything being driven by market principles. But to go back, I started officially as an academic on this campus in the drama department 20 years ago in January this year.

I was really excited by how this interview began as Lillian responded to my explanation that I was interested in her experiences of higher education reform and restructuring in the context of globalization. It triggered an immediate response about how opposed she was to these changes, which she referred to as corporatization. After the interview she described her experience of it as being cathartic, and she was not the only participant who experienced the interviews as therapeutic, albeit at times quite distressing.

The narrative interview is a useful way to gain in-depth insight into the specific aspects of a participant's life. In this instance, Lillian began to describe her entry into academia. A second observation is that the researcher in such an in-depth interview dialogue spends a great deal of time listening to the participant. I wanted to gain more insight by asking probing questions that sought more information, an elaboration, explanation, feelings, reactions and actions. There were various ways in which I probed participant's responses. I would remain silent and nod as a gesture to continue or indicate acknowledgement with an 'uh-huh' sound to affirm and encourage the participant to go on. I also used an echo probe where I repeated what was said and asked participants to explain further.

Me: Uh-huh. When you say academic development you're talking about developing students' academic literacy skills and academic...Before you go on to that, how did he respond to you?

I also used leading questions to probe responses and to lead participants to a specific issue that I wanted them to elaborate on.

Making Meaning: Analysing and Narrating the Interviews

Feminist researchers are often confronted by the dilemma of how to work within disciplinary traditions in innovative ways with the aim of transforming masculine hegemonic traditions. In their attempts to transform disciplinary research traditions and to write in women's experiences, feminists have developed alternate ways of writing about women's lives. However, with it came the challenge of dealing with the contradictions of working within disciplinary traditions while challenging them. This has also meant that the feminist researcher has had to develop strategies for generating, analysing and writing up the research data.

As a feminist researcher I have taken the standpoint of privileging women academics experiences, but I do not claim to give them voice, merely create the space for their voices to be heard. Riessman (2008) draws our attention, even as feminists, to the need for us to confront issues and decisions we make in relation to representation throughout the research process. She describes five levels of representation in the research process: attending, telling, transcribing, analysing and reading.

Clandinin & Connelly (2000) explain that when we embark on converting field notes or data into texts, we are once again confronted by the tensions of working at the formalistic and reductionistic boundaries. In negotiating these tensions and the uncertainties that I experienced as a result, I paid particular attention to issues of voice, signature, narrative form and audience as well as the place of memory in the construction of the research texts (Clandinin & Connelly (2000). In this section, I describe my experience of working through these tensions in terms of the methods of analysis and interpretation of the data as well as selecting a narrative form for my research text.

Clandinin & Connelly (2000) draw our attention to the tensions the researcher experiences about what to do with the masses of field text, about how to represent researcher and participants'

voice as shared stories, about what form to present the research text to one's audience, all the while negotiating the tension of working at the boundary of formal and reductionist traditions. One does not begin the process of analysis and interpretation at the point of leaving the field. This process begins right at the outset of generating field texts and is an ongoing and iterative process, commonly referred to as interim analysis. As I began to read and re-read the transcripts, I immediately began to code the data inductively using descriptive terms and organized these into temporary categories. While this began to provide me with a sense of the emerging themes, I was nowhere near having a sense of how to convert the field text into a research text. As I looked outward to issues of form and audience I was completely overwhelmed by the vast amount of data I had and at a loss on how to present this to the research community. Once again my formal research training kicked in and I rigorously began to organize the data into segments, categories and emerging themes. The more I did this the more my discomfort grew with the tension I experienced in terms of how to balance the necessity of converting the data into a research text for my audience without compromising the voices of the participants. I had a set of diverse narratives each with its own qualities. Given my approach to begin with participants' professional biographies, the narratives started at different points and the form of the interview was largely shaped by this. I was also aware that participants themselves were engaging in a form of analysis as they recalled their experiences and there were times when they would vocalize their reflections and analysis of their accounts of their experiences in the university. This added another dimension of depth to the narratives as I attempted to find a way of segmenting and bringing together these diverse experiences into an overall narrative research text. Clandinin & Connelly (2000) explain that the writer at this stage is faced with the task of presenting "a text that at once looks backward and forward, looks inward and outward, and situates the experience within place" (p. 140).

By beginning with coding and categorizing, I was working at the formalistic and reductionistic boundary. As I went back and forth between the literature on women, higher education and globalization and the data, I felt a strong urge to write about the social and structural inequalities that the women's experiences of sexism and racism within the institution represented but this meant presenting the research as an argument on social structures where the women's

experiences become secondary as they are used as a representation of social inequality. Given the relationship I shared with the participants, especially those known well to me made it difficult for me to set up their experiences as a representation of formal categories, even when there was a strong inclination to develop race as a category, particularly as I perceived this a collective experience of black participants, including my own experiences of racism. In sharing our experiences of racism and sexism we became enraged and this led to a strong urge to present these experiences as cases of social inequality because this would be one way of working to challenge racism and sexism and working toward social justice. Again this reminded me that while the coding and categories were useful in helping me select data for inclusion in the overall narrative of my thesis, I was still confronted by the problem of how to “represent these storied lives in storied ways” not as “exemplars of formal categories” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 141).

A further tension relates to the use and place of memory in the research narrative inquiry. In this research, I have created my auto/biography from memory, participants have shared their experiences from and as stated elsewhere, much of my recollections of the field experience were from memory. In writing my auto/biography without field notes, I was aware that in these cases “memory takes on a factual un-nuanced quality” where what is expressed as an interpretation of an event becomes asserted as a fact, something Clandinin & Connelly (2000) explain is not uncommon in autobiography. However, they explain that it is important for us to remember that in our remembering we are selective about what we choose to reveal and that these are shaped and retold in the continuum of our experiences. In resisting the inclination to generate themes that cut across the narratives, which would be one form in which to present the research findings, I was drawn to the idea of developing participants’ narratives in a way that honoured the richness of the participants’ experiences. I was confronted by two issues in relation to this approach: how do I present this in a form acceptable to my audience, particularly those who work in reductionistic ways so that they do not see my work as unscholarly and; how do I write these narratives without compromising the authenticity of participants’ experiences and their confidentiality. As I explored possibilities for the form of my research text, I began with writing up each of the participant’s narrative. Halfway through the second one I realized that it would be

very easy to identify who the participants were, even with pseudonyms. I struggled with finding a way of presenting the narratives without compromising the confidentiality of participants. I could not for example talk about the experiences of the three women in science without identifying that they were in the faculty of science. Their experiences were contextualized, and I could not describe these experiences without contextualizing them. I realized that this was going to be a challenge irrespective of what form I selected to present my research text in, and while I had guaranteed participants anonymity, this presented a challenge. Selecting my university as the site for my research, and participants I knew well already created challenges with maintaining anonymity.

Clandinin and Connelly (2000) explain that what often seems clear, researchable and interpretable in theoretical terms prior to fieldwork become less distinct during the field experience. I was very clear about studying participants' experiences in terms of gender and equity and framing this within the discourse on higher education reform and globalization. For example, one of the theoretical concepts was corporatization and managerialism, and I could see how the participants' experiences could be interpreted in light of the restructuring and the implications for gender equity. This however did not become as clear as I had envisaged as I was reluctant to reduce participants' experiences into formal categories because I now understood that "people are never only (nor even in a close approximation to) any particular set of isolated theoretical notions, categories or terms. They are people in all their complexity. They are people living storied lives on storied landscapes" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 145). Another difficulty with working with a theory or set of concepts relates to the fact that participants have a multiplicity of voices and Clandinin & Connelly (2000, p 147) caution against seeing participants as being "tied to one theoretical structure or mode of behaviour that would leave them with the appearance of being unidimensional".

In developing the research text, I also faced the challenge of maintaining a balance between my voice as the researcher-narrator, as research participant and the voice of participants. In the

tradition of feminist research, my goal was to privilege the participants' voices and to find ways of not just identifying what has been said but also what has not been said.

Presentation of Findings and Discussion

hooks (1989) explains that the academy is not a place for truth telling and when we speak about our domination, we are speaking to those who dominate. The presence of the dominant influences the direction and shape of our words and language and the academy therefore is also a place of struggle. To gain access into the privileged halls of academia, we have to learn the language of the dominant. "We are rooted in language, wedded, have our beings in words... The oppressed struggle in language to recover ourselves – to rewrite, to reconcile, to renew. Our words are not without meaning. They are an action – a resistance" (hooks, 1989, p. 28). Rather than search through the evidence for "truths' about subjects and/or events in their lives" I have presented the narratives to the reader by making available as much of the evidence from participants' interviews (Stanley, 1992, p. 10) which are included as appendices (See Appendix One, Two and Three). This allows for the active participation of subjects in the construction of their narrative and it also enables the reader to "make their own evaluation of whether and to what extent they find the result plausible or acceptable" (Stanley, p. 10). In addition, by locating the narratives within the social, cultural and organization context of the academy, the narratives attempt to reflect experiences that are personal as well as collective. I have therefore not placed any emphasis on presenting a quantitative analysis of the narratives by identifying how many of the participants reflect particular experiences.

After a detailed analysis of individual narratives I concluded that there was substantial overlap between participants to develop a collective narrative. An in-depth analysis of individual narratives led to the identification of key themes that I then used to inform the construction of the collective narrative. The development of a collective narrative did not preclude the inclusion of differences between and within the individual narratives. In my choice of narrative strategies, I was cognizant of my relationship with the participants as a researcher/participant. Rather than position myself as the "authoritative voice" by privileging my narration and interpretation of

their stories I chose to privilege participants' narratives (Chase, 2005, p. 664). I did this by developing a "supportive voice" which allowed me to "push the narrator's voice into the limelight" (Chase, 2005, p. 664-655). To privilege participants' voices, I decided to present their stories in their voices by including actual extracts from their interviews. Admittedly, the choice of what to include and leave out was mine as well as how to organize and edit those parts of the interviews I included in the narrative.

A criticism of such an approach common in narrative research, particularly from a sociological and feminist perspective, is that the narrator's voice is romanticized as authentic (Chase, 2005). It is valid to ask why participants' voices should be trusted but my intention here was not to establish authenticity which necessary, but rather to "create a self-reflective and respectful distance" between my voice and the participants' (Chase, 2005, p. 665). This in no way implied a lack of authenticity, in terms of reflexivity, voice and reciprocity. This narrative strategy also allowed me to reflect "descriptive reflexivity", a process of reflecting back on one's experiences and describing that experience, which participants engaged (Letherby, 2002, p. 8). This is appropriate as the interviews I have explained were dialogic in that they were co-constructed with the participants and therefore address the issue of trust, respect and authenticity. Given my decision to present the findings as narratives, the question of how trustworthy my research was arose. I was aware that I needed to address the issue of whether or not the data could be trusted. As a feminist researcher using narrative methods, my intention was not to seek out facts and truths and Riessman (2008) points out that "a narrative is not simply a factual report of events, but instead one articulation told from a point of view that seeks to persuade others to see the events in a single way" (p. 187). Riessman (2008) emphasises the importance of trustworthiness not truth and unlike positivist research. According to Riessman the quality and trustworthiness of the research can be strengthened by making explicit the research position you have adopted and the methodological choices you have made. I believe that this is reflected in my detailed account of the research methodology, the research process and a justification for my methodological choices. In addition, the transcripts were given to participants to review and my analysis and thesis was sent to participants and read and reviewed by my supervisors.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented the research process in a “reconstructed form” narratively. In describing the research process and activities, I have also examined the dynamics of actually doing feminist research by exploring the political, practical and ethical matters in conducting feminist research. Drawing on standpoint theory as the theoretical and methodological approach adopted for the research, I have described how I have located standpoint methodology within narrative enquiry as a process for generating, interpreting and re-presenting the data.

Chapter Five

On Becoming an Academic

Introduction

As women, we are grounded in communities and life experiences which affect how we construct our identities and this does not exclude how we construct our academic identities which are complex and incorporate our social positioning, our often contradictory roles as well as our life experiences inside and outside the academy (Ropers-Huilman, 2008). There is therefore a constant negotiation and re-negotiation of our identities as members of the different communities to which we belong – our families, our social class, gender, race, ethnicity, our roles and of course as members of academia. In negotiating our academic identities, we are further confronted by the complexities of a changing work environment.

Why is it important and or relevant to examine the impact of policy and institutional changes on individuals' academic identity? Henkel (2000) explains that our occupations are a significant source of identity for us and our academic identities are not only informed by our work but are deeply embedded within defined communities and central to the dynamics of academic life. In this regard it is necessary to examine the effect of changes on academic identities as this informs the nature of the relationship between academics and the institution and tells us what it means to be an academic in a globalized academy.

Traditionally academic work included research, teaching and community service work and this largely defined an academic identity. While the university continues to define the roles and responsibilities of academic staff in terms of their research, teaching and community service work, the notion of academic and academic work in the restructured university is now

problematized in relation to who is defined as an academic, what informs an academic identity in terms of one's disposition, expertise, skills and life history as well as the impact of restructuring on the nature of academic work (Blackmore & Sachs, 2001).

As Mills (1959) informs us, in order for us to identify and understand private problems and public issues and their intersection within society, we need to identify the values we cherish that are being threatened and/or supported in terms of the changes that characterize the current period. That begins with identifying who we are and what informs our personal and academic identities. In presenting my findings on the construction of participants' academic identities I also drew on Henkel's (2000) conceptual framework to support my analysis of how women academics construct their academic identities or identities in academia. Henkel draws on the communitarian philosophy in her construction of a conceptual framework to investigate the formation of academic identities. The key emphasis of a communitarian conception of identity is on values and the dynamic between the individual and the collective. Given that individuals' experiences are embedded in a history informed by a context and the traditions of the communities to which they belong, the construction of their identities can best be understood as part of the moral space – in terms of what they value and what has meaning for them. “So selfhood and the good are inextricably intertwined themes: your identity is essentially tied up with what you are committed to, what overwhelmingly you value and what you strive for” (Henkel, 2000, p. 15).

The key concepts she derives from the communitarian conception of identity are:

- The distinctive individual who is the subject of a unique narrative history located within a chosen moral and conceptual framework.
- The distinctive individual who is identified by the belongings she has attained.
- “The embedded individual, emergent from, working within and making an individual contribution to communities and/or institutions with their own languages, conceptual structures, histories, traditions, myths, values, practices, and achieved goods;

communities and institutions provide the bounded space within which the individual works”.

- “The embedded individual as inheriting scripts for the fulfilment of a range of roles from the communities and institutions of which he or she is a member”.
- Within communitarian philosophies the concepts of distinctiveness and embeddedness are juxtaposed and understood as compatible and mutually reinforcing, thereby perceiving identities as flexible and individually and socially constructed.

(Henkel, 2000, p. 16)

The main purpose of this chapter is to historicize and examine participants’ construction of their academic selves and to identify the issues that women have and continue to experience in assuming an academic identity. This is accompanied by a narrative letter (See Appendix One) which captures their experiences in their own words. I begin with an introduction to the participants where they describe themselves and their entry into higher education in a narrative form. I then identify and discuss the factors that influence the construction of their academic identities. In the next two chapters (Chapter Six and Seven), I theorize these issues in the context of institutional and organizational change, and academic work, i.e. teaching and research, and identify what this means for the academic self in the corporate university. My aim is to examine their experiences in order to understand what the gains, losses, obstacles and potentialities are for achieving a greater degree of social justice, namely democratic parity of participation, as defined by Nancy Fraser. To this end the women’s narratives about their lives are analysed in terms of recognition, redistribution and representation as three separate but interrelated elements of social justice.

Introducing Ourselves

Hilda's Story...

I met Hilda in her office on her request on two occasions as she felt more comfortable being interviewed in there. She was one of three associate professors and began her academic career as a part-time lecturer at the previous University of Durban-Westville. After I introduced myself and my study I asked her if she had any questions. I was quite interested by her questions on my research methodology as she probed how many participants I would be interviewing, how I was going to ensure validity and reliability and address issues of ethics. We had an interesting discussion of my methodology in terms of my feminist approach which I pointed out differed quite significantly from positivist approaches more commonly used on the natural sciences. We also had an interesting discussion about the structure of my thesis, with some very useful advice from her about setting up the chapters in a way which then could easily be converted into papers for publication. I am grateful for this discussion as there were certainly lessons in it for me. It also reminded me how acutely aware we are of the need to be research productive and to publish our work. It was not enough for me to do just do my PhD and produce a thesis; I must have a plan to ensure that I get as many publications from it as I can.

Dear Reader

I have been an academic in this institution in the faculty of science for the past seventeen years. Because a university is driven by merit, I would hope that I have got where I am because of merit, because of what I've achieved academically and also in terms of my teaching – that it's been at my best. If I had to say one word that it's not just because I'm a woman that I've been put in this place.

I completed my PhD at the beginning of 1990 and chose to travel and work overseas for which I was heavily criticised as the expectation was that I would continue with

postdoctoral research. I definitely wasn't the brightest one in our honours class but I think I was the first one to get my doctorate but I often wonder why my classmates who were much smarter are not in an academic institution or have not pursued a doctorate. So I came in at the bottom of the pile and I think I have to be very grateful ... there weren't – there still aren't – many females in our department.

My entry into academia was a temporary job in what was previously referred to as academic development, a programme offered to facilitate student access to the curriculum. In 1994 I was offered a permanent position to teach in the Science Foundation programme (SFP)¹⁴. During this time I also did some teaching in the Biological Sciences. I was fortunate – I was mentored by some of my male colleagues in terms of teaching and my male research supervisor in terms of research. That was a very nice beginning ... for me, working in the university, because...the ... Science Foundation Programme was mainly a core group of people...and we used to meet once a week. It is sad, higher up we don't meet across disciplines, or we don't talk enough across disciplines, like all of us teaching first years...I learnt a lot and it was a nice place where... most of those people were women ... and they were very dedicated. And I think that what was fantastic about it was that students that you had hadn't enough points to get into the faculty but they showed potential, and so most of them really worked hard and one realised that it was just because they lacked the background on it. And so that's when I started teaching first and second year as well. It was really rewarding to see those students pass through. But at the end of first year, if they're good at biology they normally go into medicine, so we battle to retain them.

¹⁴ The Science Foundation Programme is a programme that was offered by the Centre for Science Access in the Faculty of Science and Agriculture. It was aimed at improving access for African students from disadvantaged schools in the fields of Mathematics, Science and Technology given the significant under representation of African students in the Sciences more than in any other discipline in the university.

I remained in the science foundation programme for eleven years and was sad to leave as I really enjoyed teaching there. The classes were small and we got to know our students; our methods were innovative and largely tutorial based which facilitated student development. That was quite different from the large classes in undergraduate where you resort to the traditional lecture where I don't think much learning takes place. As a result I developed an interest in education and this has certainly helped me reflect on and change my teaching methods.

Yours sincerely,

Hilda

Betty's Story...

Unlike most of the participants in the study I was not acquainted with Betty who was one of the first participants to respond positively to my request to participate in the study. Given that she had resigned from the university, she was very keen to share her experiences with me, a reason she cited for leaving the university.

Dear Reader

...it's been a long road to get here. I never had any ambition to be an academic; I never had any intention to be an academic. When I started studying, I wanted to be a zoologist and work with animals.

After completing my Masters I began working and during this time I embarked on my doctoral degree with the university. In my second year of study I was offered a part-time lecturing post to first year science students. The following year I was offered a tutorship on the Science Foundation Programme (SFP), in a temporary capacity. I found this first experience daunting and I must admit my approach was to go and haul out my first year notes... I just had no background about any kind of approach or philosophy when I started.

In 1994 I was permanently employed as a researcher elsewhere and ended my tutoring contract but my association with Natal University continued between 1997 and 1998 when I was again employed as a contract temporary lecturer. In 1999, while completing my doctorate, I was offered a permanent position in the Faculty of Science and Agriculture. During the nine years I served as lecturer, senior lecturer and associate professor, I mostly taught at the undergraduate level, usually at the first and second year level. Teaching at the postgraduate level in the Sciences is the prerogative of my white, male colleagues. This is very very male-dominated; very heavily male-dominated faculty. I think out of fourteen academic staff there are three women. It's one of the reasons why I feel I have to leave ... – I think that there's a lot of discrimination against women although they deny it, but I think that there is. And I think that women are definitely seen as sort of lower quality than men. And I think that they know that ... I have studied education; so they always sort of go: Oh, that education research rubbish, you know. None of them know anything about education.

I have resigned this year to take up a post as a researcher at another organization. It's quite interesting to reflect back on my past career. It's ...very interesting moving to a new institution, where senior management is dominated by women who have a very different approach and attitude to the male academic leaders. It has also been a major eye opener to see how old boy's networks operate, and I think that I have become much more aware of women leadership / academic challenges over the past few months. A major difference now is that I have some influence and that my opinions and contributions are valued - a major change from the last 9 years in academia.

Yours sincerely,

Betty

Fathima's Story...

Fathima began her narrative by describing her career history as a 'meandering story' because it wasn't planned or deliberate. At one point she became quite emotional and indicated that she didn't want to talk about her second experience of applying for and not receiving a promotion to associate professor. I suggested we continue another time but after composing herself, she wanted to proceed.

Dear Reader

After completing my honours I got a job as a teacher as there was a shortage of science teachers. I then registered to study part-time for the professional teaching qualification but before I completed that I fell pregnant and I resigned to stay home with my baby. After a year of being at home I took a part-time teaching job. I then had my second child and was back at home for a period of time. My son was born with a disability and I because of the experience of having a child with a disability registered for a diploma in Special Education. By that time I had had my third child. During my studies I did my teaching practice at a special school and when I completed my studies I was offered a job there and remained there for three years. My husband was then offered a job at this university on the Pietermaritzburg campus so we relocated and that was literally the end of my teaching career in schools. When the kids started school I registered for the Master in Science (MSc) degree and was invited by one of the professors to join his research project. I started off very insecurely andlacking a lot of confidence and built it up gradually. I completed my MSc in three and half years, fitting my studies in around children's school times and activities. At the end of that I actually got my masters with distinction so suddenly I thought well maybe I'm not so bad at this. And I'd enjoyed it and I identified a further project that came out of the project that I worked on for my masters and I carried on and did my Phd in three and half years... It was just a wonderful time so I wasn't formally employed at the time but I got a 'bursary' and that contributed to the family income. I was forty when I got my Phd but I didn't have a permanent job but it was a great time working on my research and being able to have the

privilege of that the time with my children. Once I completed my PhD I knew I had to get a job but it was very clear I wasn't going to be considered for employment in zoology. But there were some posts coming up and I applied once or twice but the competition was very fierce and it was very strongly male dominated. I'm not saying that was the reason but some of the people I knew I was up against were definitely far better than I was and had proved to be so subsequently so it was very clear that I wasn't going to be employed there. I was offered a post at the college of education which I accepted somewhat reluctantly because I loved being in the research environment and I really enjoyed being in the academic environment. It was difficult taking the job at the college and I sat there wondering what I was doing but it was a job and I had to earn a salary and... I wasn't going to get a job where I really wanted to be so there was a period of unhappiness.

It was a very difficult for women to break into the sciences and there was a strong masculine ethos in the department. There were very good women undergraduate and postgraduate students but somehow they didn't get in. At the time I must say there were excellent postgraduate students and the top students were male. I was also a very good postgraduate student and my female colleagues were really good post grad students but we were competing against people who were really good. I don't think you can fault the system. I had applied for a job that I was well positioned for in terms of my research and publications. I believed everything was in my favour but the job went to somebody who had fewer publications than I did at the time and he had taken a longer time to complete his masters and PhD but he was better than me. He was better than me there is no doubt about it, intellectually he was superior. But on paper my qualifications were better than his. But I wasn't shortlisted for that.

I spent the next eight years at the college and during this time I was also appointed as an honorary lecturer at the university in zoology. In my capacity as an honorary lecturer I supervised a few postgraduate students and joined a research group based on the Durban campus as a way of keeping my research going. I could get a staff card and I had

use of all the university facilities such as the laboratories, specimens and library. It suited me at the time to have this honorary appointment as my payback was the use of the facilities and access to research funding. You are in a sense a member of that community although you are not teaching... you're there but you're invisible, you can do the work but you're invisible. For example, I had co-supervised a doctorate student and did most of the work but my name was left of the graduation booklet as one of the supervisors. When I inquired the explanation was that it was an oversight.

The School of Education and Development at the University of Natal had begun a process of restructuring their teacher education qualifications in line with the new Norms and Standards for Teacher Education. Part of this plan was to open access into their continuing education qualifications through offering them as distance education programmes. Because of my experience in the teacher training college I was offered a job there and this was how I came to be in academia. Initially I was appointed on a temporary contract position but in that year my post was converted to a permanent post as senior lecturer. This was in recognition of my publications in the years at science. I would have liked to have pursued my career as a scientist all those years before but that was not possible.

Yours sincerely,

Fathima

Florence's Story...

After my interview with Florence she expressed how recalling her experiences evoked anger and resentment, but she also expressed how cathartic an experience she had found it to be. Often in the interview she would stop, reflect and comment that she had not thought about a particular experience in the way she now saw it. Being given the opportunity to share her experiences in the university also allowed her an opportunity to reflect on it, something she explained one doesn't often get to do.

Dear Reader

I think it is quite interesting how one ends up as an academic because I certainly didn't want to be an academic. I mean I didn't think: when I grow up I'm going to be an academic. I didn't have parents who were academics. The university was not something that was part of my life in any way. Growing up in a family of readers of classics led to my love for the classics, and in university I excelled in the languages – English and French. As I was unsure of what to do once I completed my degree, I opted to do a Higher Diploma in Education (HDE) but I didn't really want to be a teacher. I continued with postgraduate studies and while I was completing my Masters I was offered a leave substitute position for an academic on sabbatical. This marked my entry into the University of Natal - and I enjoyed it immensely. I mean I suddenly realized: actually I am an academic, this is ridiculous. I loved it, I loved the teaching, I just loved the challenge of it. When I began lecturing it was not my field of specialization so it was very challenging, very hectic, but I really enjoyed it. When my husband's new job resulted in our relocation to Pietermaritzburg I had to give up the contract lecturing post but approached the head of department on the Pietermaritzburg campus about work in the department. The university had opened admission to Black students and offered a part-time Bachelor of Arts (PTBA) degree. I happened to be in the right place at the right time as the Department had just initiated a project to address the needs of English second language (ESL) students and my qualifications and experience in Education and the Languages was an advantage. I was offered a position in the English Department but I my teaching was on the PTBA. However, when the need arose, I was used by the English department to teach but this was not part of my designated position. So it was wonderful, I mean that was really where my passion for helping students who didn't have English as their first language deal with the language and the literature. Given that these were part-time students, classes were held in the afternoons and evenings. So, I really enjoyed that but then the mornings I was over at the English department. The English department at that stage was almost entirely male. It was a big department, all ...middle aged men and I was this new little girl, kind of thing. Very much treated as such. They were a very

chauvinistic bunch. Very chauvinistic, old school. So it literally was a case of just being very quiet and having no power or say at all in anything. If you spoke at meetings they kind of ignored you..., you know, as if you weren't there. And then you would make your suggestion and later on – someone, a man would make the same suggestion, and everyone would say: what a good idea It was terrible in that sense ... But M was there and became a very close dear friend and mentor. She was there for approximately 15 years as a part time contract person. There was only one woman in a permanent academic post.

The program I was teaching on eventually came to an end as a result of the lack of funds but because I was now known within the department I remained there in a contract post for the next ten years as a temporary lecturer! So ten years as a temp, ten years!... Ten years as a temp, with no benefits, no sabbatical, no medical aid, no pension: nothing. When permanent posts came up they were always filled by men and if there were no suitable male candidates, then these posts were advertised overseas. We three women staff were not only in temporary positions with no benefits, we also had a much heavier workload than the male staff – like one and a half times as much teaching as any of the men – but we were overlooked for permanent positions - So it was actually very humiliating; it was a very crushing experience. I did it because I loved it and I needed to be employed, and I really enjoyed what I did.

Yours sincerely,

Florence

Lillian's Story

I met Lillian for the first time on the day of our interview at the staff club. After initial introductions, we proceeded to get some coffee and discussed the quality of service and food at the staff club. Lillian was totally at ease and exuded such confidence and enthusiasm, which made me a little nervous because as a novice researcher, I was initially apprehensive about

interviewing academic women. She began by expressing her concern about how useful she would be to my study but expressed great interest in my research study. She had just read Naomi Klein's 2007 book, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*¹⁵, and jumped right in by expressing her angst about the corporatization of the university.

Dear Reader

January 2009 marked the twentieth year since I first started at this university in an academic position as a junior 'replacement' lecturer. I, however, didn't remain at the institution for the entire twenty-year period. I was employed on a six month contract, and fell in love with my job, and surprised myself by how much I loved teaching, and making theatre. Employing academic staff in short term contract positions remains a common practice and I have been warned... about the institution's love of short term contracts... so they don't have to do anything about your needs, they just use you. I worked in a contract position for three years before leaving the university. After spending some time out of the country, I decided I wanted to return to academia and applied for a job at the University of Zululand.

The University of Zululand was a historically black institution established during apartheid, and as you know, the establishment of historically black universities in South Africa was overtly political. The challenges to being an academic in that environment were enormous. Of course it was post-94, it was part of the whole – the doors of culture and learning (access) shall be open. This university was unlike the white privileged institution I studied and subsequently worked at. It was an extremely unkind environment ...for a number of reasons. It was a really interesting time because they just opened the

¹⁵ In her book, Klein argues that neoliberalism and free market policies have gained prominence because of the deliberate strategy used by leaders where major crises like the Iraqi war and natural disasters like Hurricane Katrina are exploited to push through controversial policies. Such times present an opportunity because citizens are too caught up emotionally and physically reeling from such crises and disasters to effectively resist these exploitative policies.

doors and admitted large numbers of students, including students who would, on the basis of their poor results have not been admitted, and this was further compounded by the language issue. We really, genuinely had students who could not speak any English. It was here that I became involved in academic development work, developing and running academic development programmes – aimed at developing student’s academic literacy skills. The political climate at the time was also very volatile and it was not uncommon for students to go on boycott and this significantly impacted the academic year.

In 1997 I took up a post as the academic development co-ordinator; in charge of Supplemental Instruction (SI) and the Writing Centre at Rhodes University and a year later returned to this university as a senior lecturer in drama because of my love of making theatre. It’s a really strange discipline to be in, an unusual environment because of the combination of practice, teaching and academic research and teaching and I’m sure if you speak to fine artists and other people in strange Cinderella disciplines, which is what they sometimes call us, they would say the same. And that plays a lot into my perception of the institution because we regard practice as research, or practice-led research, the university thinks is playing. In fact, that’s my PhD title, ‘Why do you bring us playing, when we have serious issues?’ The perception that theatre, fine art, music is playing’. Now there’s a positive connotation to playfulness and playing because I think that way you are exploring the boundaries, you’re extending the boundaries. Playfulness should be embraced and embraced in education.

But we’ve been under siege as a discipline for as long as I’ve worked here and that plays greatly into my sense of self that you.. it’s very hard to take yourself seriously as an academic when you’re in a Cinderella discipline. Because people tend to say to you: but is there any theory in drama? Or what do you have lectures about? What do the students write in the exams? As if there’s no theoretical underpinnings to your work, all you do is sort of bugger around on stage. Which really gets up my nose. So right from the moment I

stepped into the institution I was aware of the state of siege and in fact that very first year I remember the committee of university principals asking for a review of drama departments nationally and their contribution to academic life and scholarship. They argued that it was an applied discipline and should therefore be moved to the technikons. ...how can you have an applied discipline on the university ...suddenly we were pariahs. So right from the word go I've always had the sense as an academic that we weren't taken seriously as contributing to scholarship.

Yours sincerely,

Lillian

Victoria's Story

I found Victoria quite charismatic and appreciated her enthusiasm and candour. We met three times at the staff club and when she got going she became quite animated which I found quite delightful. It was very encouraging that participants overall were not restrained and very forthright in their interviews. While I indicated that anonymity would be maintained, she indicated that she was not fazed by her identity being revealed. She was one of two participants with over twenty years of experience in higher education. Her wealth of experience and her view of the changes over the last twenty years was very informative.

Dear Reader

After completing my undergraduate degree in art at this university a very long time ago I was faced with the decision of what to do. I had no burning ambition and decided I wanted to go overseas where I went to art school and studied glassblowing and ceramics. When I return to South Africa I began my masters at this university ...and halfway through my master's one of the lecturers left and they said: 'Would you like the job'? And I said: Ya. And they said: Sign here. Nobody asked me if I was a serial killer or anything.

I was exposed to bone china while overseas and became very interested in researching and making bone china. After completing my masters I got married and then had children which I think is also creative. My research and work making art was put on the back burner after the kids arrived as having children takes up a great deal of your time. But I continued making bone china and I had sponsors who bought my work although I did not make a lot of money from the sales. Things changed for me in 1992 when the university decided to sponsor my research. A colleague and I became interested in Zulu ceramics and now that I had funding to support my research, I began to look for and visit Zulu ceramicists and often travelling into deep rural areas where we would find, mostly woman making Zulu ceramics. This was undocumented and it opened up a whole new area of research for me which the university was happy to sponsor.

And that's how I started doing research into Zulu ceramics. I would fill my car with students and we would go off, often stopping people on the side of the road to ask where we could find people making pots. We would come across one ceramist who would then tell us about others and we would drive miles to find them. It was very rewarding for me and I became an intermediary for them to get their pots sold but I never made a profit from their work. It was not uncommon for people to buy these ceramics cheaply and then resell them for a good profit. It was very easy for these women to be exploited. I came across a ceramist in the Tugela Valley who was illiterate and most of these women did not have any formal education. She was really angry because she'd sell her pots for R50 and then she would go to Durban and her daughter would see them for R500. Now she couldn't understand why that person was making so much money. I used the funding I received to go to these places and find the ceramists, document their work, write papers – now I'm not great at writing – and deliver these at conferences. I built up my research funds this way and then used it to support these Zulu ceramists by getting the women who made the pots to bring their work to exhibitions. You must remember, these women live in deep rural areas with no electricity and running water and one cannot then assume that they understand what an exhibition is and how things work where white people come and

pay R500 for a pot. So you've got to involve the women. So through that I've become very involved in helping communities.

Your sincerely,

Victoria

Miriam's Story

Miriam and I are close friends and as a result, I was aware of many of her experiences within the university and in her personal life. I wondered how this would influence the interview and when we met over lunch at the staff club, it initially felt a bit strange. I was now the researcher interviewing a participant. However, our friendship and shared experiences of working together strengthened the co-construction of her narrative. Later, when I sent her the transcriptions, she called me exclaiming, 'Did I say all of that!' Again, this reminded me of how forthright participants were, even surprising themselves when they reviewed their transcripts. Miraim was not the only one surprised by how much they had revealed.

Dear Reader

I think the career history part is important because it impacts my identity ... as a teacher obviously had a lot of relevance – when I came to the university ...it was a big jump from being a teacher to being a lecturer in so many different ways. I started teaching at the age of 28 and taught for sixteen years. And everything that socialised me into that sense of who I was as a teacher, professionally, academically, my engagement with teachers on the staff and so on, was very different to when I came to the university. As a school teacher being critical was definitely not part of what you were supposed to be. You were supposed to be submissive and acquiesce and abide by the principal's decisions and so on. ...So the whole critical slant to your personality's very very sublimated and it's the people pleaser that comes out and doing things according to the rule book and making

sure the principal's okay with you, and making sure your results are fine and so on. So that ... the sense that I had by the time I came to the university and that was who I was.

I began at the university as a tutor on the continuing education programme and I realized that not only did I enjoy this, it was something I wanted to do full time. I was then appointed in a full-time contract position as a lecturer. When I started here it was different though because now I wasn't a school teacher doing tutoring, I was a lecturer doing lecturing. And then the contract story, and then being Coloured and so on, and I had to battle those demons of affirmative action, ... did they take me just because of this...

My memory of university is when I was at university. And being one of very few Coloured students on campus and being here with – you know you have to get a permit¹⁶ and so on – made you already feel like you didn't quite belong. So I had the sense of the ivory tower thing, big classes, professors and lecturers who spoke a lot and ... most of time I didn't know quite what they were saying... And so there was the sense of ...the university being this place of superior learning and the respect that you would have for that. But being on a contract was a huge shock for me too. To be on contract is a big challenge for you, it's a risk you're taking and almost implying that well you weren't good enough to be permanent, or as good as so-and-so and so-and-so who became permanent, so we'll put you on contract and see how you do. Now that, for me, was problematic, because I made those assumptions about my status in the School of Education. Then I assumed well maybe it's because I'm Coloured, maybe it's because I didn't do well in the interview, maybe it's because I'm not intelligent enough. So all these things then like kind of coalesce into this big burden that you're carrying when you come in to university as a lecturer, and you've got to do above and beyond the call of duty...It was a long big struggle, and what was... particularly difficult for me was to get to the point where I

¹⁶ The Extension of University Education Act (No. 45) of 1959 prohibited blacks from attending white institutions, with few exceptions. Separate universities were created for black, coloured and Indian people and the white universities were not permitted to enroll new black students, unless granted a permit under special circumstances.

could give a different point of view to other people: to be critical, which is second nature to everyone here.

When I joined the school it was quite a culture shock for me. I would just read things and first take everything in because it'd all be so new so I'd want to agree to everything because it was all so brand new. It wasn't just intellectual work – I wasn't confident in staff meetings and the head of school would say something and I would happily agree. So it was always a self-questioning...and instead of making me feel more positive about the job it made me feel more useless. And there was a lot of psychological to-ing and fro-ing in my head about that and there wasn't... somebody in the university,... where you could go and speak about these things. I'm getting there but it's come with a lot of trauma and I still feel disempowered in many situations. And I think it's mainly just my issues, not really anybody else's. My issues and my monsters that come up and remind me every now and again of what I was.

But in the classroom and in the teaching, that's where I really felt more comfortable and came into my own....I grew more and more confident in that respect ...the more immersed I became in my discipline. And then, in terms of working with colleagues, if it's within my discipline I feel a lot more confident, even though I don't have my PhD. ... I've come to realise that I don't have to say anything. I can just learn and listen... and I don't feel the necessity to prove anything to anybody...so I'm... very comfortable in my own skin.

Looking back I feel happy about myself because it reflects my growth and the confidence I had developed in myself.

Yours sincerely,

Miriam

Frances' Story...

Frances is a colleague and as with other colleagues in my school, I was concerned about how the interviews would go given that the nature of our relationship was now different. I was excited about her participation because of her long association with the university in both an academic, and technically speaking, non-academic position. She also had a wealth of experience and knowledge of institutional structures and systems and how these have changed over the last twenty years. At the time of the interviews she was also active in the union.

Dear Reader

I began my career more or less as an undergraduate student when I was invited by a professor who was then dean of my faculty to work as a research assistant to one of his researchers at the University of Zimbabwe. That was my introduction to academia and I found it exciting. Once I completed my undergraduate degree and a professional qualification in teaching I took up a teaching post at a school but I always intended to get back to academia. I returned to do my Masters degree and during this time I was offered a tutoring position with the department of Linguistics. After completing my masters, I considered my options as there were changes taking place in the university, particularly in relation to equity and affirmative action. It became quite clear that career paths were closing and I wasn't likely to go further regardless of what your abilities. I then applied for a post at what was then the University of Natal and was appointed on the Durban campus as the faculty education development officer in humanities. This position was originally located within student support services but changed to staff and curriculum development and was relocated within faculties. That works at very many different levels, so although they had appointed me within the faculty and I still remained on the outside. We got moved then – because there was always the centre-peripheral debate, you know: do we want to locate it in the mainstream, in the faculties, or do we want a central unit. And that, I think, has been certainly a theme throughout my career here, which is, you know: you're in the faculty; no we don't want you in the faculty we now want you in the centre for Higher Education Studies. Once again there are changes being made ...and it has been a cycle of structuring and restructuring. It's also been a very lonely process. Because I mean I was literally a person on my own. Very quickly they changed me from

the faculty education development officer for humanities to faculty development officer for humanities AND the social sciences, because the social sciences didn't have anybody. And so it doubled my work load with no additional support.

I've done all kinds of things from running orientation programmes to developing and running a master programme. I developed and ran student orientation programmes, developed tutoring programmes and trained tutors in departments, and supported the departments with establishing projects and programmes in their disciplines that they thought would meet their needs. My work also moved into staff and curriculum development.

Yours sincerely,

Frances

Ray's Story...

Ray was one of two Coloured participants in the research and I say this because both participants made a point of emphasising the importance of their coloured identity. It reminded me that we are most conscious of our subordinate identities and for Ray her racial background was central to her narrative. While some participants privileged their gender identity, the black participants, while acknowledging their subordinate positions in terms of gender, privileged their racial identity.

Dear Reader

I was never going to teach. ...I'm an academic today ...but that vision, or that urge or desire to teach was never there...you know when you're a young girl and you actually don't know what you really want. You know that you want to study science at university...Mr. T. was a great inspiration for biology even though he made us underline everything and redraw everything, I just loved his atmosphere in teaching and his whole

spirit about how – he really got us motivated and that, for me, is the crux of teaching. Perhaps that was the motivation to study toward a Bachelor of Science degree. My parents were both educated to Standard 8 but they encouraged us to pursue our studies further and my siblings and I are all professional people. So I applied to the university but I had to apply for a damn permit because UN (University of Natal) - you had to be white or else you had to go to Western Cape to the university for Coloureds. My father didn't have the funds for me to go there. He did pay for my studies in my first year but it was a struggle for him and my sisters who were doing nursing at the time helped out. In my second and third year I got a bursary from the Department of Education. When I registered for my honours in psychology ...I was offered part-time work tutoring and also worked in the staff restaurant. I was the only black woman in that group and I always felt out. Not that they made me feel out.

This may not seem relevant to you and...but it's the richness and the essence of all these experiences that I think is important to know. To know where I have come from, my history is to know who I am as an academic. My dad was a panel beater but because he was black he could never have his own business. He worked from home but he was always harassed by the inspectors and would have to close up and work for someone else and that would frustrate him immensely. We grew up listening to his comments and we would see the frustration and things that he had gone through. It was the intensity of family values... I think it really entrenched itself in... we weren't rich, but ... we didn't go without. So that, for me, was a very strong point... When I was at a school out in ...he was selling scrap, and we would go to school in this van with scrap. I would be so embarrassed ...and he'd say to me, 'You see this, my dear? It's giving you food on your table. If you're going to be embarrassed about this, don't eat'. And for me he was really the motivation to make a difference in life because of the difference he made in other people's lives. He died at a very young age of 46 and it wasn't an easy death. But the amazing thing is when he died my mom then became the force and you realise what a force women are when the man is not there. So I looked at her and I thought, 'you know, that's why he could be what he was, because of mom and what she was to him.' Those

were the intense things. So the rooting in terms of education and the whole thing with regard to development of attitude, development of values and who you are as a person came from those particular encounters as well.

After completing my studies I taught for five and half years at two local schools. After my son was born the Bechet College of Education needed a lecturer in education and offered me a temporary job. I thoroughly enjoyed it and the following year I took up a more permanent position. While I was at the college a post for a lecturer in biology at Edgewood College of Education was advertised. I thought it was for whites only and before I applied I called and asked the person in charge if I would be wasting my time applying because I was a coloured person. I was successful in my application and was appointed on a six month probation period. When I took up the post at Edgewood we were only three people of colour. This was a very different environment to the one I had come from. Back at Bechet you were a part of a community. And you come in here and you go to a small office... I was happy I had an office but I also had no company. You know you go to the staffroom and some people greet you and some people couldn't even care if you're there or not. So straight away you start – I must tell you I questioned my competence from day one. And you know, I thought: I can't do this... I wasn't sure if I was going to live up to expectations, because here am I working with people of a different grouping who seem to be sailing along with what they are doing. And I thought, 'what am I supposed to do here?' In 2001 Edgewood College was incorporated into University of Natal and this created great tension and insecurity because we had to apply for positions in the university. But here I am!

Yours sincerely,

Ray

Josie's Story

When we started the interview, Josie commented that it made sense to present her biography in a chronological way as this then allowed one to move backward and forward. This clearly reflected her understanding of interviewing, which many participants demonstrated. I recall how anxious I was about interviewing academics because of their knowledge of research. It also alerted me to the issue of power relations between the researcher and participants. I didn't need to feel threatened because their knowledge and experience only served to enhance this research and my initial anxiety dissipated.

Dear Reader

I guess a sort of chronology always helps one to sort of... give you some sort of way to hang it and then one can go backwards and forwards from there...I never really think of a career because I think I've always just fallen into things and never really plotted, you know, had a plot or a plan. I did my undergraduate degree here at Maritzburg and majored in history and psychology. I really wanted to do psychology but I didn't get into the honours programme and I ended up then applying for an HDE... which is kind of a strange thing... because my own schooling experience was really a fairly negative one, particularly at high school – I mean I hated school. So it was quite an odd thing to find myself in education and in the classroom but ... I really actually enjoyed my teaching practice enormously.

Once I had completed my HDE I couldn't find a teaching post and applied for a job at a non-governmental organization (NGO) based in the department of education on the Pietermaritzburg campus. Because I was in the Education department it made sense for me to pursue my postgraduate studies in Education. It was a very exciting and challenging time as it was right before and after the first democratic elections. The kind of work we did in the unit was based on the popular education – education for democracy and transformation. I think there was just such a sense at that time that one could really make a difference; that you could do something – and NGOs had quite a critical role to play at that time. But as with NGOs generally, it became difficult to secure funding and in

1997 or 1998 the unit was closed down. I then worked as a consultant and freelance writer developing teacher education materials for distance education. It was a time of innovation and there was a great sense that we could make a significant change to teacher education. I then began working with another NGO which took to me all over the country doing workshops with teachers, particularly in rural areas. ...at that point I think one thought that you were really doing a good thing. I mean now I know that it was really useless. I guess that marked my entry into teacher development and education. Because of the changes in education, the School of Education and Development as it came to be known, began to gear itself up for mass teacher education in response to the need for qualified teachers.

At this point I was employed on a part-time basis as a tutor. It was an interesting time and I recall how we would all jump into a minibus and drive to Newcastle on a Friday morning, stay overnight and spend all Saturday in tutorials with the students. It was then that the head of school offered a few of us an eleven month contract, because God forbid you would have a twelve month contract, because you might get benefits or something. The programme had expanded and was being offered in different parts of the country. I mean there were 2000 students. It was just bizarre - when I think about it now – was quite crazy. And that was obviously a massive, massive learning curve. We ended up with a diverse range of students, largely black and female English second language students for whom this was a first...that is, studying at a university and it was challenging for them. But that was a massive learning curve and our head of school was this visionary and he had had all these plans and schemes. At this time I was also part of a research project which involved research in schools. So it was a crazy time but I mean it was also a sense of that we were doing these incredible things...contributing to transformation. I think our strength lay in having a leader with a vision and the drive to make a difference as well as the common vision and collegiality that we shared amongst us. We were also able to do what we did with a small group of people because we had the support of the management of the university although it wasn't all smooth sailing. I was still in a contract position and our contracts were renewed each year. And I guess for me at that

point ...I never kind of plotted this great career. I kind of just thought, 'Oh, well, that's just how it is. And that's fine. I hadn't kind of said: I'm going to be an academic and this my route and I'm going to get a doctorate and become a professor and therefore I must have tenure or whatever.

Yours sincerely,

Josie

Helen's Story

What struck me about Helen was her reflexivity during the entire interview. Helen constantly engaged with her race and class privilege and contextualized her gendered experiences in relation to these dominant social identities. Another thing that struck me about Helen was her anxiety about participating in the research and she needed reassurance that there would be complete anonymity. Her anxiety linked to the recent experiences of staff, who as a result of being critical of the restructuring, were charged with bringing the university into disrepute, and the consequences thereof. She also reminded me that her socialization in a home with a dominant mother meant that she was not outspoken and never, until recently challenged authority.

Dear Reader

If I talk about myself in the context of higher education, that history of temporary, part time employment which ran for 8 years or so, it kind of grounded an inherent ambivalence that I have about my identity as an academic, still.

But it has taken me years and years and years to ever feel completely that I had assumed an academic identity. I was first appointed as a lecturer in a temporary contract position and that brought with it a sense of insecurity, particularly financial insecurity. I was a single parent and each year I wasn't sure if my contract would be renewed. At a psychological level it was not as uncomfortable as it might have been for others in the

same position because in a way I did not have to declare an identity that aligned itself with being an academic.

In 1999 my position became permanent and it changed everything. For one I had benefits - a medical aid, a pension and a permanent job. And with it came a new form of status: now, you were part of the academy.

When I became a permanent appointment, not a permanent academic was the point at which I had to engage with that tension within myself and kind of battle it out with myself – because it's very tiring to keep bouncing from one identity to another, because it was almost a constant internal conflict about where do my loyalties lie. It was almost like if I adopted an academic identity, I almost simultaneously adopted a degree of arrogance, a degree of superiority...

I still question why it has taken me so long to develop this level of confidence in my own intellect. I still feel quite angry that the pressure was on for people to get PhDs, which does terrible things to you – I have yet to meet anyone who didn't have the most exhausting, undermining, terrible, ragged PhD experience. It took its toll enormously for me. And I know that that's directly related to my own sense of inferiority and inadequacy – intellectual inadequacy. I've been on the campus 18 years... It's taken me 18 years to assume this identity. And in there, I think, is that deep down I still perceive my core identity to be that of a teacher.

When I came in I worked on the honours programme which we offered as a distance education programme. I was not the only woman on this programme in a temporary contract position and when I look back no one, at any point, took up our personal and professional development. ... We grew ourselves, I think. I think I've always grown myself. Actually I don't think it's thanks to the system that I grew at all. Even my PhD, I think I grew myself. I think we grew ourselves – if we grew, we grew ourselves. And we pushed limits and we learnt about distance education and we got good at that. So I think we benefited the system. I think we did a lot for this department... We were self-generating people.

Yours sincerely,

Helen

Adelaide's Story...

Adelaide took up my offer to have the interview at the staff club over lunch. Adelaide shared her excitement about participating in the research because it gave her the opportunity to speak about her experiences of racism and sexism in the university. Reflecting on the interview, many participants shared how cathartic the experience was, albeit at times painful.

Dear Reader

I wasn't employed in an academic position. When I started here I was employed to develop materials for adult learners as part of an adult literacy project with the local newspaper. I was responsible for writing articles for the newspaper supplement in English and Zulu. This was a weekly supplement aimed at promoting adult literacy. Before I came here I was a school teacher and I had been teaching for eighteen years. The public school at which I taught had an adult centre linked to it and these centres were referred to as Public Adult Literacy Centres (PALCs). After the regular school day there were classes held for adult learners. So during the day I was a high school teacher and in the afternoons I taught my learners' parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents. My experience working with adult learners as well as writing Zulu books was what got me the job in the university. It was a strange post because it was not an academic post in the traditional sense but neither was it an administrative post. I was appointed as a junior lecturer although I had no academic responsibilities.

Although I had no teaching responsibilities... the teacher inside me wanted to come out and I offered to teach on the adult education certificate programme. Whenever there was an opportunity to teach I would volunteer ... And as time went on I became more interested in teaching than in developing materials for adults. During this time I registered for the Master in Education (MEd) degree as this was the minimum

qualification required to be employed in an academic post. Working in an academic environment you see people doing research and writing papers and attending conferences and getting published and I wanted to do that too. After completing the MEd degree an academic post came up for a lecturer in adult education. I applied for the post and was successful.

Yours sincerely,

Adelaide

Albertina's Story...

Like Adelaide, Albertina expressed how excited she was about having this opportunity of sharing her experiences with me. It reminded me of the value of being able to voice our experiences and the absence of such spaces within the university to allow staff a voice.

Dear Reader

I first studied at the University of Zululand (UZ) and things were really, really harsh with the Afrikaners teaching us in the sciences – you know it was a black university but it was all Afrikaner lecturers, especially in the sciences. We had a lecturer come to the chemistry class and ask us – ‘girls what’s wrong with nursing? Boys, what’s wrong with teaching?’ You know that kind of attitude: you’re not going to make it in this faculty and this is not your place to be. That was my experience where we were told point blank that... we didn’t belong in the science faculty.

After my first year I changed to teaching because I received a bursary for teaching. I wanted to be a doctor and thought I would do a BSc and then get into medicine. During my fourth year I had lecturer who became a mentor and role model. She was a well-established science educator and was keen to promote science education in schools. She was a very hard working and dedicated woman and I was very fortunate to have had her

as a mentor and greatly appreciated what she had done for me. I recall her advice to us – her three female students. She would encourage us and say, ‘you know you need to study as quickly as you can, because you are girls and make sure by the time you get to have babies and you start families you at least have a Master’s degree. Because you will take a long break there as a woman, so that eventually when you come back at least you’ve got a Master’s degree and then you start on your PhD’. I had just completed my final honours exams when my mentor asked me to apply for her post as she was promoted. With just two years of teaching experience I didn’t think I was competent to lecture but with her encouragement applied. I was successful and appointed in a temporary contract position but she assured me that the post would eventually become permanent. I was granted a scholarship in that same year study for my Master’s degree in the US. While I was very excited by the news, I faced a dilemma in terms of taking up the opportunity. When I started working I decided to assist my mum to build a house and this had begun.... if I took up the scholarship I would not be able to assist my mum financially and they would have to continue living in the shack. I couldn’t let that happen. I wrote to the scholarship committee explaining my predicament and asked if there was a possibility of postponing it. Thankfully, they agreed and the following year I took up the scholarship.

When I came back I taught for a short while and when my husband was appointed as a principal in Pietermaritzburg I applied for a post at the Indumiso College of Education, the teacher training college for blacks. The majority of the staff there were white and I was told I would not be successful.

My association with this university started in 1996 when I was invited to work on developing materials on the new curriculum for SAIDE (South African Distance Education Institute). The following year I was appointed as a tutor on the Bachelor of Education honours programme. I remained at the college but continued with part-time tutoring at the university. In 2000, I saw a post advertised, which was one of those affirmative action post and I got that job. When I took up this post I was also successful

in securing a scholarship for my PhD studies. Because it was a scholarship for full-time study my head of school forced me to resign and he was very nasty about it because I could continue with my studies and still continue in my post. Before I applied for the scholarship I went to my HOS because ...I had only been there for like less than six months and wanted to know what the implications would be. He assured me that if I took leave without pay, I could keep my job. He informed me there were two males academics who also took up scholarships to pursue PhD studies so I wouldn't be the first one. So I went ahead and applied. And when I got it & my HOS changed completely and... instructed human resource to instruct me to resign. He said he could not wait for me for three years and needed the post. It was so harsh, I just couldn't understand what was happening... when I applied for the scholarship I didn't really think I would have to choose between my job and this – I need this job, I mean I've got a family... So, I eventually resigned ... And I remember the HOS coming to my office and telling me: 'this is not your office anymore, you're going to share it with two other women, and this is not your computer'... He was really harsh and said, '..she must decide whether she wants to work or she wants to study. If she wants to work, she must stop being greedy ... she must give that scholarship to other people who need it. It was such a harsh letter ...I was so embarrassed, here I am a student and all of a sudden the head of department says you are greedy, you want to do everything. And he said, he told them that he thought they wasted their money, he doesn't think I'll ever finish a PhD. I took up the issue and towards the end of 2002 I got this letter from the university that said, 'we have looked at your case... your post is guaranteed as soon as you finish your PhD' ... I was already so miserable... I kept the letter, but I didn't think I would want to work here... you know, the harshness of the whole environment. I did complete my PhD, took up my post and here I am.

Yours sincerely,

Albertina

Rachel's Story

Rachel, like so many other participants started off by telling me that she didn't think she had much to offer me and wondered why I was interviewing her. She commented that she didn't have any exciting experiences to share with me. When I sent her the transcript to look over she was surprised at what she shared and how much she had to offer. She commented on how this interview brought to the surface experiences, particularly painful ones that often remain sublimated.

Dear Reader

I never wanted to be a teacher when I was at school: I wanted to be an actress. So I did a BA when I got to university and I thought, 'Ohhh, what will I do?' And I did sociology and I did drama, and really I just did whatever I felt like doing because I had a staff bursary: my dad worked at the varsity when he was alive. So it was easy for me. And then I thought: what do I do with this BA now? And then the only thing I could do was an HDE. After seven years as a counsellor at a High School I left there to go and work on a three year research project as a researcher and then as the teacher educator development coordinator, that was the proper name. Then I worked on the project for a couple of years and then just did consultancy work, freelance consultancy work and then I put in my application at the university and I got this job with the School of Education and Development. I've been there for five years now. But before this I was working on a part-time basis as a tutor on the ACE (Advanced Certificate in Education) programme. And I did some fulltime teaching for the honours in research and then inclusive education at Howard College... These were contract positions ... I think I did three consecutive years of that.

When I took up my permanent post it was kind of very unsure as to where I would be, which school I'd be located in and exactly what modules or discipline I'd be teaching in. So I kind of arrived with nothing to do. I was then made to teach across two discipline and used wherever I was needed... So I was kind of a bit spread. I didn't mind. I knew

that I was kind of a new fish in a pond and so I wanted to find my feet as well. And so I didn't mind doing a bit of here and bit of there and a bit of everywhere, because it was a bit piecemeal but at least it gave me a little bit of insight into the different modules I was teaching.

But then I realised I would have to kind of focus my energies, especially when I took over the coordination post, that was a nightmare job – the academic coordination. I was just thrown in the deep end. I'd been in the system about three years... I was thrown in to coordinate a whole qualification which was growing and under pressure to grow even more. And it was an absolute nightmare. I had no admin support and I really felt very unsupported in it. I really felt like I hated my job that year, because I didn't do it well because I didn't know what I was doing. I didn't understand the qualification, I didn't understand the ramifications and you know all the little nitty-gritty things that you need to know.

Yours sincerely,

Rachel

I conclude this introduction to the participants and introduce the construction of their academics identities with a letter addressed to the self to reflect the ambivalence expressed by many participants about assuming an academic identity. My aim in addressing it to the 'self' is to reflect the reflexive nature of participants' responses in terms of their awareness of this ambivalence as well as their analysis of it. While I drew the questions in the letter from one participant's transcript, they sum up the nebulous sense participants have of their academic identities, even after more than twenty years of service.

Dear Self

I think to myself! Why do you have such a nebulous sense of who you are in the academy? Why do you experience such ambivalence about taking on an academic identity? Who do you perceive to be an academic? What are these internal conflicts and tensions you experience that keep you bouncing from one identity to another? Why have you resisted being constructed as an academic? Why can you not just embrace this academic identity? Why has it taken you so long to assume this identity?

Yours sincerely

Nebulous 'Academic' (Helen)

Findings

Women as Contingent Academics

All the participants in the study started off as temporary contract staff and through their continued employment in such positions eventually came into permanent academic posts. As a result, many experienced ambivalence and tensions in identifying themselves as academics and their conditional status has significantly shaped their academic identity. Leathwood and Read (2009) explain that “identification with academia has always held tensions and ambivalence” for women and changes in higher education can exacerbate these tensions (p. 119).

Participants stated that they had not envisioned a career in academia, were grateful to have work in the university, started as contingent staff at the bottom, and had to work very hard to gap in and get ahead. Their perceived lack of expertise and research contributed to their struggle to assume an academic identity. As a result of their marginalized status, they invested their time and energy in their teaching and their students, something that now holds no value. Their temporary status significantly contributed to their ambivalence in assuming an academic identity and led to significant insecurity, particularly financial insecurity and that served to reinforce their

ambivalence as reflected in Helen's narrative. The process of developing and articulating an academic identity for most was a long drawn out one, punctuated by experiences which continually impeded their sense of who they were as academics.

Not only did their temporary status present anxieties and insecurities, it also led to participants questioning their self-worth as well as their professional worth – a very emotional experience. Their sense of why they continued to be in this position led to questions about their competence as well as questions in relation to their gender and race. Their lack of recognition by the system exacerbated their lack of identification as academics as well as their development. Not only did they experience a lack of recognition, there was also a lack of support and participants felt that their achievements and growth was as a result of their own efforts. There was no mutual benefit and there was a strong sense that they benefited the institution, the institution did not benefit them.

Having no early aspirations or goals to establish an academic career served to reinforce their sense that they were not real academics. They were quite aware of the distinction between the permanent and temporary staff and their lack of identification as academics was reinforced by the lack of respect from permanent staff and the leadership as well as not being afforded a status as an academic.

Ginther & Kahn (2006) explain that because women tend to choose careers that do not have the rigid academic tenure timetable, they are disadvantaged when it does come to tenure and academic promotions! The time spent in contract positions further disadvantages women academics in that they enter the academic track late. Josie for example had been in the academy for eighteen years and only then obtained her doctorate and was eligible for a promotion to senior lecturer. Florence, commented that at her age and having spent the better half of her life in the university, she was not going to pursue her doctorate or apply for a promotion. Given that the rules have changed, why does she have to, after years of service to the university, prove that she is worthy. Her desire not to pursue her doctorate or a promotion maybe attributed to a lack of

ambition or fear of rejection. Either way, she was not going to subject herself to a process that did not acknowledge her service to the university, particularly in terms of teaching.

On reflection they clearly identified it as the exploitation of women as women tend to be regarded as contingent labour, holding on for permanent academic staff. In addition, the sense that there was no expectation on the part of senior academic staff that they fulfil academic roles of lecturers and more particularly of researchers in the traditional sense fostered an acceptance of their positions. While there was a sense that this was exploitative, at the time it didn't cause much anguish.

In most cases the majority, and in one case all, the temporary staff in the schools that participants belonged to, were women. Their shared temporary status facilitated the development of close collegial and supportive bonds. There was a sense that they were not just exploited but in some ways colluded in this exploitation. Their collusion came from their continued acceptance of the work as well as their temporary status. Not only was there a sense that women were easy to employ as contingent temporary staff but they were also 'cheap labour'. Their acceptance also resulted from the insecurity they experienced about being continually employed and in some instances this was compounded by their financial insecurity as single parents or breadwinners.

Many participants resigned themselves to their fate of temporary employment and in some instances there was an acceptance of this status because participants were not the only ones in such a position. Furthermore, there was a sense amongst some that they were merely 'workers' who were brought in to perform a particular task. The fact that there were several women who were in the same situation served to reinforce their sense of being workers not lecturers and this at the time made it acceptable.

Coming into the university via contract positions has also meant that the women accessed lower level academic posts, even when they met the criteria for more senior positions. In addition, the

university disregarded their years of service as temporary staff when they negotiated their salaries or applied for promotions. Their appointment into lower level posts meant that they start of earning far less than their male counterparts earn. As contingent staff the women experienced an erosion of their power, academic freedom and autonomy.

Because of their contract positions they were often perceived as, and perceived themselves, as workers who were there to fulfil a specific responsibility. The value that was placed on academic work done by permanent academics was not extended to these women. In addition, the attributes, recognition and respect that was afforded to academics did not extend to contract staff. Their experiences of not being respected and supported as academics and their sense of being undervalued in the university served to entrench the ambivalence they experienced in assuming an academic identity. Heward (1996) explains that women being self-confident and having a positive sense of their abilities from the outset is critical to the development of a successful academic career. Developing a positive sense of their abilities can be enhanced by affirmation and recognition by other academics, particularly those in managerial and leadership positions.

The casualization of academic labour is characterized by low pay and a large workload, job insecurity and a lack of benefits such as pension and medical benefits. As has emerged in this study, contract staff often assume teaching responsibilities which are devalued and replace tenured staff who are relieved to do more valued scholarly work like research often widening the gap between tenured and non-tenured academics thereby creating a two-tiered academic workforce (Kimber, 2003). Glazer-Raymo (2008) explains that the dual employment track that she described in 1999 was far more evident in 2007 due to the decrease in tenured academic positions and an increase in non-tenured academic positions or contract part or full-time employment. She explains that this has a disproportionate influence on younger women academics graduating from doctoral programmes who are channelled into adjunct academic positions which diminishes the possibility of pursuing an academic career.

With permanency came welcomed changes, particularly in the form of benefits, such as pension and medical aid, which they were denied as temporary staff. While this was not the recognition they sought, it was recognition by the system, albeit in a practical and procedural sort of way and

this brought with it a new found sense of security. In retrospect, Helen questioned if things would have been different had she been a man which she sees as very personal. Her permanency as well as that of several other women in a similar position was the result of the efforts of the head of school at the time and while his individual commitment to gender equity was acknowledged, it raised awareness of the lack of commitment to equity at the institutional level.

Defining Academic Work

While permanency brought with it a sense of security, there was also a tension in assuming an academic identity because of how an academic is perceived, as someone with certain attributes, expertise and a critical disposition. It also meant adopting a sense of superiority and arrogance which sat rather uncomfortably with some participants. Aligning oneself with an academic identity still presented participants with a challenge and it was an emotional process. One participant acknowledged that when she looked at it more impersonally in terms of what she is paid to do and what academics do it was easier to assume that identity. Completing the PhD certainly contributed to developing a sense that one was now an academic. Ironically, this came more as a result of external recognition.

All the participants commonly defined academic work as teaching, research and administration. With it came other responsibilities, such as participation in wider university structures. The university defines academic work to include community engagement and outreach work but there was an indistinct qualification by participants of what this entailed.

Most women expressed a passion for teaching and emphasized that teaching constituted most of their academic work. There was an acknowledgement that research was important and participants perceived that this was valued more than teaching in the university. Their commitment to teaching and the workload they carried impacted negatively on their ability to participate in wider university structures and well as on their research productivity.

In defining what being an academic meant, most participants emphasized the values they held in relation to their work, particularly teaching. Being an academic was about contributing to students' academic development and this by no means meant standing in a lecture room delivering a lecture. It meant doing more than teaching. It was about 'growing students' by establishing a relationship with them, by engaging with them and by learning who they are so that you can support them in their development.

While participants acknowledged doing research was an important part of one's academic work, they did not perceive it as being the most important. There was a recognition that this conflicted with the view held by the university. A key aspect related to research was participants' definition of what constituted research and their desire to do significant and 'valuable' research and not research for the sake of having publications in accredited journals. Valuable research is research that is accessible and useful to the community.

Participation in wider university structures was perceived to be important, especially within structures where decisions were made. However, in many instances, teaching responsibilities prevented maximum participation beyond the level of the school.

Establishing a Disciplinary Base

Belonging to a disciplinary community and having a strong base in a discipline was identified as being critical to one's academic identity. Participants described their struggle with establishing a disciplinary base as a result of their temporary status. Being in a temporary position meant that one was not always in the same position and in some cases this meant a complete change in the specialization as is evident in Frances' experience. While she now believes that she has a disciplinary base in education, the goal posts have shifted again, but this time in terms of institutional restructuring. The continued change from one specialization to another also impacted on her ability to explore and develop her research interests.

Florence describes her experience of being worked out of her position, what she calls ‘a silent coup’. She took this experience very personally and believed that she was deliberately marginalized which left her feeling angry and hurt. Her contract not being renewed meant that she had to move into the other specialization that she worked in teaching English literature. While she explains that this was her first love and she had a disciplinary base in it, she had a sense that she was ‘nobody’ in this department and was aware of her lack of experience which worked to further marginalize and alienate her. Coming into the department as she did, a decision made for her, meant that she was allocated teaching at the lowest level. Teaching at the higher levels and in particular specializations was dominated by male colleagues who were perceived to be the experts by others as well as by themselves. Establishing a disciplinary base meant looking for a gap and taking it. It also meant agreeing to do more by taking on additional work over and above what was already one’s teaching workload. This experience reinforced Josie’s sense of being ‘a nobody’ in this field, “a dwarf among giants”.

While the men would not include the women in their teaching by co-teaching or by relinquishing some of the teaching, particularly at the higher levels, this was not the case with the women. Women worked collaboratively and included other women in a supportive way, but it was always a struggle to get to teach their preference and at the higher levels. Being in a temporary position silenced the women out of fear of retribution if they challenged their marginalization. When Florence and a colleague did, an experience they found rather daunting, their disciplinary head claimed not to be unaware of their marginalization. The continued marginalization and exclusion left women feeling despondent and unmotivated to pursue their careers. Instead they invested their time and energy into their teaching, again reinforcing the values they held in relation to their work.

Belonging to a marginalized discipline also contributed to women, particularly in the visual arts and drama, believing that they were not really academics. The lack of recognition and value attached to their discipline by the university served to reinforce this feeling.

The few women, who had achieved seniority, did so after many years of having to prove themselves worthy of the promotion and after jumping through many hoops. They explained that men in their departments had achieved senior positions even though they didn't have a PhD or research publications. At the time it was not uncommon for academics to be promoted on the basis of seniority and length of service. While some women had strong disciplinary bases and were recognized in their field, assuming an academic identity came very late in their careers and still held some ambivalence.

Being Political

Describing an academic as a person who is political sums up the perception that one participant had of the individualism inherent in the goals that academics set for themselves and the extent of their efforts to achieve these goals. Being an academic is about finding a gap within which you position yourself as an expert. Being an expert is not necessarily about being an expert in a discipline but about having the right disposition and being able to market yourself as an academic, that is, marketing your achievements. It's about doing what needs to be done to achieve one's goals where the end justifies the means. Many of the participants acknowledged that they were not ambitious, a quality they believed their male colleagues possessed. They were not prepared to play the game of putting themselves out there as these experts because they had the right discourse, or as productive researchers because they had many publications.

Difference Matters

While most women identified themselves as women academics and reflected on their experiences within the academy from a gendered perspective, a few, particularly the women in science, did not like being labelled as woman academics although they did acknowledge that they were aware of gender issues. Two of the women spoke of the choice they made not to have children and one of them chose not to get married. On reflection, they explained that these decisions may explain their lack of focus on gender because they were not constructed as mothers or wives. One participant explained that her decision was directly related to her choice to focus on and develop her career.

Engaging with their academic identities also meant engaging with their personal identities. Their experiences reflect the intersection of their social identities and the intersection of their personal and academic lives! Some participants were very aware of their target social identities and questioned if their marginalization and exclusion was the result of being black and or women. Their experiences of marginalization and exclusion as Black women academics have created great stress, particularly in terms of believing that they had to constantly prove their worth.

Discussion

Constructing an Academic Identity

Women's negotiation of their multiple identities, which Ropers-Huilman (2008) refers to as the dance of identities, both impedes and facilitates academic productivity in terms of women's academic roles. She explains that identity construction is a complex process and we make various choices both consciously and unconsciously about which of our identities we make visible and which we conceal or mask! The choices we make are influenced by the sociocultural context within which we live and work and our reading of it in terms of what is expected of us.

For those who belong to oppressed groups, their academic identities are influenced by their social identities in terms of the extent to which they see a fit between their socio-cultural background and the culture of the academy. Feminists have long argued that the academy reflects a hegemonic masculine culture (Morley, 1995; Brooks, 2001, Leathwood & Read, 2009) and the ambivalence women experience in identifying with academia also comes from the clash with the dominant construction of the academic as male, white and middle class. The fit between the values and characteristics of the academy and academics does influence the construction of academic identities. If women are devalued and their ways of working are not acknowledged then this will not only influence which of their identities they choose to reveal or mask, it will

also influence their ability to fulfil their responsibilities and to contribute to the academy as well develop a sense of belonging.

Establishing a Disciplinary Base

An academic, participants described, was someone with expertise, a critical disposition and certain attributes. The marginalization and exclusion they experienced led to few opportunities to establish themselves in their disciplines. As a result, many lacked a disciplinary base, which they explained was critical to identification as an academic.

Our academic identities are deeply entrenched in our disciplines and to be a member of a disciplinary community “involves a sense of identity and personal commitment, a ‘way of being in the world’” (Becher & Trowler, p. 47). Our socialization into an academic identity generally begins at the undergraduate level and it is reinforced at the postgraduate level with the award of a doctorate and an offer of employment within the faculty (Becher & Trowler, 2001).

This was not the career trajectory of most of the participants who came into teaching as contract staff and who did not experience this induction into their current disciplines. Helen described how ambivalent she was and how long it took her to assume an academic identity and this was a common experience for many of the participants. Being adjunct staff significantly impeded participants’ sense of belonging and membership in a discipline and within the university. Not only were participants allocated to the lowest levels of teaching, they were also allocated to particular specializations within the discipline, which limited their choice of where and what to teach. Trying to find a space and place within the discipline often meant being *‘the donkey in Shrek’*, finding a gap and seizing whatever opportunities presented themselves as Florence described. This meant *‘being out there (Rachel)’* and pushing oneself into a gap and claiming a space. While the women displayed self-confidence, making themselves visible – “self-advertisement” which is encouraged in the socialization of some groups (Heward, 1996, p. 19) was not something that they were comfortable with. Heward (1996) explains that some groups find it easier to establish themselves within their disciplines by “making a reputation”, but

women in this sense, face a dilemma in constructing an academic identity in that self-advertisement “poses serious problems for dominant understandings of femininities and female sexualities” (p. 20). Katila & Merilainen (2002) explain that we all do and think gender, and men display their masculinity by being visible while women are more private and less visible and tend to undervalue their competence.

Participants experienced active discrimination within their disciplines in terms of teaching at the senior and post-graduate levels. Men in their disciplines tended to dominate teaching at the senior levels and often this was a form of gatekeeping. Coming into permanent positions quite late in their careers also posed a barrier to women establishing a disciplinary base. In addition, the years spent in a contract position with only teaching responsibilities meant that there was no expectation of them to do research which further limited their opportunities to establish a strong base in the discipline. Often, if an opportunity presented itself in the form of a gap, it meant a change in direction or specialization. The consequence of this meant that they were starting at the bottom of the rung again. This has significantly influenced their mobility within the university.

Our admission to an academic discipline requires both a level of “technical proficiency” in the discipline as well as a commitment and loyalty to the group and its norms (Becher & Trowler, 2001, p. 47). While participants had acquired technical proficiency in their disciplines, often without support from their male colleagues, their marginalization within their disciplines prevented them from developing the commitment and loyalty to the group and its norms, norms largely based in masculine hegemonic discourses.

Katila & Merilainen (2002) sum this well:

“We sought full membership in academia by imitating and repeating practices that we believed would take us there. Often we failed, but did not understand why. As novices in the scientific community, it took us years to realize that the core values of scientific knowledge production – that is, the values of objectivity, separation and neutrality – are

powerful myths which have for the most part been used to produce, control and normalize reality rather than explain it. It took us even longer to realize that the norms and values of scientific thought, as well as our everyday academic practices, are gendered and as such limit women's opportunities for full membership in academic organizations. We were unaware of how the cultural values associated with masculinity, such as competition, aggressiveness and visibility, are favoured in most academic organizations. Neither did we realize how gender bias in the evaluating of scientific competence was, and still is, common practice (p. 87-88)."

The gendered nature of academic work does influence the construction of participants academic identities as well as their self-concept and awareness of their own abilities as demonstrated by their experiences (Heward, 2008; Katila & Merilainen, 2002; Brooks, Mackinnon, 2001).

The Intersection of Identities

Participants in the study experienced a sense of being other in relation to their gender and their race. While most women in the study identified themselves as women academics and asserted their gender identity, a few did not, clearly identifying themselves as academics. Hilda, for example stated: *'I think of myself as an academic and I'm competing with the others as an academic. I've only had one other bad experience during my first varsity career where a colleague said, "All the work you do is crap. So perhaps I'm quite driven in a way that I'm gonna prove to him that I'll get recognition, that my work isn't crap'*. Hilda and Fathima, both scientists, not only identified themselves as academics, they also claimed not to have experienced any form of discrimination based on gender. Leathwood & Read (2008) explain that women not only have different experiences, they also interpret their experiences in diverse ways and this is often compounded by multiple subject positions that influence how they make sense of their experiences. Fathima for example, while strongly identifying herself as an academic did acknowledge that she was aware of gender issues in the university but did not perceive gender as a critical issue in her experiences. For example, she did not attribute her failure in getting a promotion to gender. While she also acknowledged the shortage of women in the sciences, she

believed that her lack of success in getting a job in the science faculty was because there were better male candidates and not because she was a woman.

Leathwood and Read (2008) explain that those of us who do not fit with the dominant construction of the academic as white, male and middle class “have struggled, and continue to struggle with a sense of injustice at such marginalization”, which can lead to women experiencing self-doubt or ambivalence at taking on an academic identity as a result of being placed as ‘other’ (p. 124). Helen described the ease with which males dominate because the dominant discourse is masculine and this she believed informed one’s experiences within the academy. But for her, her power was in being a woman and she identified herself as *‘being a woman first and an academic second’* and that was the source of her strength in her relationship with her students. To Helen, being a woman meant having *‘the capacities and emotional resources and ...insights’* which came from her experiences, her lived history and her choice to ‘live differently as a woman and lesbian, which sensitised her to what it means to be constructed as ‘other’. McIntosh (1989) explains how as a white person she learnt that racism placed blacks at a disadvantage but she was not taught about her white privilege which was a consequence of that disadvantage, just as males are not taught to recognize male privilege. She says that it is imperative for white women to engage with their racial privilege and work towards gender equity as well. To Helen, being a white woman has significantly shaped her life experiences and it was critical to for her to engage with her whiteness and do what she refers to as *‘recognition work... to see the other in ways I may never have seen before’*. Rachel also shared the view that as a white it was important for her to engage with her whiteness and this had prompted a research paper she was planning to write.

For Helen, her growth in her academic identity clearly maps onto her sense of her difference. This view was shared by the black participants and Ray commented *‘we probably don’t focus on... the extent to which people’s lives and their personal lives impact on who they are as people and ...on their work’*. She shared *‘there are people here that you don’t even understand or know about their intense experiences unless you talk to them. And you sit and you listen and you say: Oh my Lord. And I’ve been talking to you for four or five months and you’ve been going through*

this for such a long time'. Having the opportunity to share their experiences in the interviews brought to the fore the lack of opportunities and safe spaces to share experiences of marginalization and exclusion. Ray questions: *'how do we change our context so that we have a context which embraces people's differences but also allows people the space to... share their experiences?*

All the black participants in this study experienced marginalization and exclusion by white and male staff and students. Hill Collins (2004) states that Black women academics have always occupied marginal positions and studies show that they continue to experience marginalization and domination in academia (Mabokela, 2002). All five Black (i.e. African, Coloured and Indian) participants reported some form of racism that they experienced. Ray explained to me that when one comes from a *'background where you've never really interacted with a white person'* but where you learnt that *'you are worthy'* and you encounter students who question your competence because you are not white, you *'start to question your own identity'* and worth. She described the *'intense identity crises'* she experienced as a student at university, questioning who she was as a person because she was confident and self-assured as *'a person in the home – in the family – a person in the community'*, but coming into an environment dominated by whites as a student and later as an academic, led to times when she questioned her worth. Other participants shared similar experiences.

For Adelaide, being a Black academic in a multiracial classroom meant she had to always be prepared, *'answer every question well, teach like to the best of my ability'* because *'white... and Indian students, are never going to take you seriously. Never! They will ask derogatory questions, not behave ...'* She described the immense stress she experienced as a result of always having to prove herself to students and staff. She developed what she referred to as strategies to ensure that students took her seriously and respected her, or she would have end up hating her work. This illustrates that what others think of us is as important as what we think of ourselves and our "marginal positioning's" further constrain our assumption of an academic identity (Leathwood & Read, 2009, p. 125). One does not only assert an identity that needs to be

validated by others, and in this case, students, staff and the university. This is reflected in Hilda's comment when she states, *'I often criticise myself for being woman in the sense that as women we like to be told that we are doing something well. And in the university institution you don't often get that... I think we put so much into things and we expect to get thanks. I don't know why... whereas perhaps men won't put as much into something so they don't expect much out. A consequence of this is that women, because of their marginalization and exclusion, leave the academy despite long years of service. At the time of these interviews, two women had resigned from the university because they were unhappy. Hilda shared, 'A couple of my colleagues here, they're thinking maybe they'll just go and leave academia... and get other jobs. I just think, why? You know, you're here, you've got just as much potential as anyone else; don't let the system get you down. But it does, it wears them down and they just don't feel they can cope'.*

Reflecting on their experiences as they shared them, participants recognized that they were exploited by and within the system and some commented that they colluded with their own exploitation, because they didn't challenge their domination in the academy, largely due to fear of retribution. Participants experiences confirm: the dominant construction of the academic was and continues to be "white, male and middle class" (Leathwood and Read, 2009); the university has been and still is constructed as masculine and this influences women's construction of their academic identity(p. 124).

Conclusion

The following are key findings that emerge from this chapter:

- Women academics experience tensions in assuming an academic identity. Factors such as their temporary status, the lack of respect afforded to them within the institution and within their disciplines, their lack of a basis in a discipline as well as their perceived lack of expertise and research significantly influence their construction of themselves as academics.

- Participants believe that they colluded in their own oppression by accepting their temporary status rather than challenging it.
- There was also a recognition that men have been and continue to be dominant in the academy. The prevalent dominant masculine discourse and ethos served to reinforce feelings of inadequacy and inferiority and consequently, an ambivalence in assuming an academic identity.
- For women, assuming an academic identity is an emotionally laden experience. Their identities are influenced by the values they attach to their work as reflected in the emotional investment they make to teaching and learning. For example, assuming an academic identity creates a divide between academics and their students and this creates some anxiety about assuming an academic identity. Knowing and identifying with their students is important to them.

A key question raised is if these are the experiences of women in the academy, and after years of service women academics with doctorates that are research productive and in senior positions in the university still express ambivalence about identifying themselves as academics, what are the implications of the current shifts in higher education for women academics? More importantly, how do issues of recognition intersect with representation and redistribution in the restructured university and what are the implications thereof for our understanding of social justice in the corporate university.

Roper-Huilman (2008) explains that the academy is a place of oppression and privilege, and studying women's lives and the development of their academic identities is necessary. Women's construction of themselves in their roles as academics and the intersection of their multiple identities is something we can learn from in the academy. Women can teach us "other ways of living and learning" (p. 36). Women negotiate multiple identities and in relation to their target identities, this can be a very painful and stressful experience which can impact negatively on their scholarly achievements and their contribution to the academy. In the current context of globalization with constant shifts in boundaries and differences, we can learn much from those

who must negotiate “their identity performances at the borders of established communities and cultures” (Roper-Huilman, 2008, p. 36).

In this chapter I have introduced the participants through a narrative letter constructed from their interviews. Their introductions capture their entry into academia and their early experiences of working in the university. I have also identified and discussed key issues in relation to participants historical construction of their academic identities as captured in their narratives (Appendix One). In the next chapter, I present and discuss my findings on their experiences of institutional restructuring and use this as a basis for theorizing issues of recognition, redistribution and representation in the restructured university. My approach serves to remind us of participants’ agency and captures their subjective experiences in all their diversity as they have related it and not as I have narrated it. This serves to privilege their perspective rather than my re-telling of their stories. Like contemporary narrative researchers, I have chosen to give more space in my written work to fewer individuals and my participants’ narratives in no way are representative of the larger population. For me the introduction of participants in this way captures the complexities of participants’ lived experiences in all its messiness, which not only demonstrates sensitivity to their agency and autonomy, but also invites the reader to engage in the interpretation of their narratives.

Chapter Six

Experiences of Institutional Restructuring

“Over the past 20 years, I have been re-formed and re-made as a neoliberal academic subject. I think of my previous subjectivity as something like a welfare academic. In the process of reform I have been made productive, responsible and enterprising.” (Ball, 2012, p. 29)

Introduction

Research has demonstrated that higher education restructuring and the shift to new managerialism has significantly impacted on academics and academic work (See Chapter Two). In this chapter, I present the findings on the effects of institutional restructuring on the lives and work of the women academics who participated in this study. I problematize their experiences of restructuring in the emergent corporate university and examine what this means for women in academia. My examination of the effects of institutional restructuring focuses on corporate governance within the university in terms of the following work domains: institutional organization, management and leadership, research and teaching (Blackmore, Brennan & Zipin, 2010). Blackmore, Brennan & Zipin (2010,) view “‘governance’ as comprising an increasingly distributed and networked array of complex mechanisms – affecting work practices, relations, values and identities” (p. 1) within the university. As discussed (See Chapter Two), universities have undergone significant changes in the current context of globalization. These changes have resulted in restructuring within universities as they “re-position and re-invent themselves in globalizing contexts” (Blackmore, Brennan & Zipin, 2010, p. 1).

I first focus on governance at the meso-level in relation to institutional organization, leadership and management and then on governance at the micro-level in relation to the restructuring and its

effects on research and teaching. In South Africa, as in other countries, devolution of responsibilities from government to institutions has taken place, with institutions being regulated from above through various accountability measures. This external pressure on universities has given rise to a new form of governance within universities, namely, corporate governance with an emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness. The corporatization of the university has seen the adoption of private sector principles of management and marketization, referred to as new managerialism (See Chapter Two). According to Blackmore et al (2010) the convergence of external government steering of universities through policies and regulations and “internal hyper-steering of university operations” has resulted in the erosion of the institutional autonomy. Concomitantly, this has resulted in a “top-down and heavy handed means of governance regulation within universities” (p. 2) given the pressures on them to comply with government targets and accountability criteria. Within universities, new managerial practices have been superimposed on old modes of university governance and academic management (Blackmore, 2010).

The changes in higher education and the parallel adoption of corporate elements in managerial restructuring, the emphasis on performative accountability through various mechanisms and the use of technology in management are reasons for studying academic’s lives, particularly “in terms of the governance of selves and working relations” (Blackmore, 2010, p. 4).

Findings

Corporatization: Profits before People

Participants expressed the critical need for transformation in higher education given our apartheid past. However, participants expressed a strong view that the restructuring was a response to both national policy shifts to redress apartheid inequities as well as to global pressures. There was a sense that the goal of higher education had shifted from equity and redress to economic development with market values, with an emphasis on efficiency and cost

effectiveness underpinning and informing institutional restructuring. While universities have experienced changes in line with policy shifts post-apartheid, there was a perception that the restructuring was suddenly speeded up in response to global pressures. Participants believed this because changes in South African higher education began to reflect changes that have characterized universities globally and they expressed strong negativity towards them.

To participants, changes in the university post the merger began to reflect a shift from the traditional liberal arts institution characterized by the pursuit of disinterested knowledge to the corporate university reflected in the imposition of market values. Whereas universities were seen to produce innovative and critical thinkers and critical citizens through education, they are now perceived by participants to be central to the production of *'button pushers'* (Lillian) with the shift in emphasis on skills development and training for the market. According to them, the sense of pride one experienced from being an academic associated with alternate critical thought was being eroded and replaced with negativity and despondence. Participants believed, that corporatization in the university was reflected in the emergence of a corporate discourse and new managerial practices.

Participatory Decision-making or Autocratic Managerialism

While the institutional change is presented as democratic, developmental and collective, participants felt strongly that it was very managerialist and autocratic with decisions being taken by the executive and imposed from the top. This is seen to impact on the institutional ethos and on how academics engage with and react to the changes as well as the ways in which they interact with each other. They become resistant to the changes they feel are being imposed without their participation and engagement in the processes. There was also a sense that this positions staff as oppositional and as not being supportive of transformation and of trying to protect the privileged spaces they enjoyed in the previous dispensation. The consequence is that staff become less engaged with the change processes and adopt the attitude that if they are not being consulted and are not a part of a democratic process then they might as well withdraw and protect their individual interests. This in turn serves to entrench top down decision making.

Participants commented that management's 'road shows' were not consultative forums as envisaged by staff; they were meetings set up to inform staff of executive decisions. A key point made was that management were out of touch with staff and were not interested in their views. Participants felt that rather than opening up spaces for staff engagement and participation, for creativity and innovation, such autocracy leads to acrimony and adversarial relationships with the institution.

Centralization, Bureaucratization and Administration

New managerial practices have resulted in an increase in administrative responsibilities assumed by academics, particularly women academics. Most of the women in this study indicated that they have served as academic coordinators or at some lower level of management with no recognition or compensation. To participants, the centralization of key functions within the university is evidence of the corporatization of the university. The additional layers of administration and management and greater bureaucratization were seen to be a consequence of centralization. Greater bureaucratization has led to a greater sense of distance and remoteness between academics and both managers and administrators, replacing collegial relations among colleagues. The introduction of managers within this bureaucracy has resulted in a shift from collegiality to managerialism, which is reflected in the imposition of more rules intended to bring about greater regulation in the day to day operation of the university with the view to creating transparency and accountability. At the time of the interviews, men dominated the university executive and senior management.

Participants' expressed the view that the corporate agenda with an emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness goes against what being a university and an academic is. Market practices have resulted in the establishment and implementation of internal revenue generating policies and practices like the setting up of cost centres.

They believed that greater centralization and bureaucratization has eroded their academic freedom and autonomy. They expressed great discontent and apprehension at the lack of representation of staff views and concerns. While there are processes for staff input, there was a strong sense that decisions are taken at the executive level despite the fact that staff views expressed differ from those of management. There was a sense that managers were not representing the interests of the staff they represent. Structures that previously gave voice to academics, such as senate were now moribund. Whereas the dean previously represented staff, the dean was now part of the management structure of the university, representing management. This view was shared by most of the participants who felt that as academic staff they no longer had a voice in the university.

Staff Morale

There was a strong perception among participants that there was low morale among staff at all levels from the cleaners to professors. The sense of distrust that staff experience and the consequential sense of powerlessness that sets in is attributed to the hardening of attitudes on the part of management and the tightening of regulations. According to participants, staff that have resisted changes or challenged executive decisions have experienced hostile backlash from senior management. Participants were of the view that management response to staff resistance, in the case of white staff was to accuse them of racism. They argued that the discontent among staff is not racially motivated. The erosion of academic freedom and the growing discontent among staff has led to a deep suspicion of management, who are perceived as adversarial. Participants perceived the climate and culture to be hostile, threatening and alienating which demonstrates a complete lack of respect for human dignity. This, they explain, has prevented staff from participating more widely in the university for fear of retribution. Participants described how changes are 'always couched in the right kind of rhetoric' and how they are made to believe that they are being consulted and have the power to influence decisions. However, their experiences reveal that this is not the case and this breeds distrust and circumspection about the intentions of senior management.

Discussion

At the launch of UKZN's Transformation Charter, Minister of Higher Education and Training Dr Blade Nzimande commended the University for its Achievements in terms of transformation. "I have been made aware that 64% of total student enrolments in 2012 are African; that 62% of graduates in 2011 were females; 33% of academic leadership was female in 2011". While recognizing the need for transformation to heal racial and gender divisions, he also commented on the need to broadly define transformation to contribute to radical change in society (UKZN, 2012). In its charter the university commits to establishing: research, teaching and learning as a vocation for all, equitable race and gender representation within institutional structures; a socially and inclusive institutional culture, good modes of governance and freedom of expression. These are certainly impressive achievements and warrant acknowledgement. In this study I have not undertaken to analyse institutional policies as this was not an aim of my study but I do make reference to these to illustrate the shift to corporatization. In working to its transformation goals UKZN has identified a strategic framework in which it presents its vision and mission. UKZN's vision is to be the "Premier University of African Scholarship" and its mission is to be "A truly South African university that is academically excellent, innovative in research, and critically engaged with society and demographically representative, redressing the disadvantages, inequities and imbalances of the past (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2007, p. 4).

But what does the experiences of women academics tell us about social justice in the corporatized university, about their full and equal participation as equals? Drawing on Fraser's normative framework of social justice which proposes that social justice, namely, parity of participation is requires social arrangements that enable people to interact socially as peers equally. She identifies three distinct but interrelated dimensions of participatory participation: recognition, redistribution and representation which I draw on to present a critical discussion of the findings. My aim is to establishing how participants have experienced institutional restructuring and whether the new structural and institutional arrangements as well as

institutional culture that prevails is one that is sensitive to and inclusive of women academics in terms of parity of participation.

Corporatization: Misrepresentation and Misframing

Higher Education Transformation

Participants in this study perceived the changes as reflecting corporate values which they felt are not congruent with transformation for social justice. They see the changes as having compromised the traditional purpose of universities, which is to develop a critical citizenry through the promotion of critical thought and the production of critical knowledge. Knowledge for the sake of knowledge, i.e. the pursuit of disinterested knowledge is now devalued in favour of knowledge for the market economy. According to participants, restructuring at UKZN reflects the adoption of economic values such as efficiency, effectiveness, productivity and quality control. Institutional reforms therefore are more about cost reduction than they are about improving pedagogical practices, which research also confirms (Stromquist, 2002). Stromquist (2002) explains that the proponents of these changes have been guided by their belief that market forces and not government action produce results and they have therefore tended to ignore research findings to the contrary. Like universities the world over, educational reforms in South Africa and certainly at UKZN are, as Carnoy (1999) puts it, “finance-driven”. What then are the consequences of this shift from equity driven reforms to finance-driven reforms for women academics? At the macro-level, the imposition of higher education reforms by the national government influenced by neoliberal globalization, calls into question representation of all. Clearly, our understanding of the experiences of participants has to be understood in the context of higher education reform, and in terms of parity of participation at the level of the nation-state, various state and academic fora have been established to facilitate representation and political participation. As has been established (See Chapter One) the shift in policy from RDP to GEAR and its subsequent influence on higher education policy, resulted in less representation and political participation than was originally imagined and this can be viewed as one level of misrepresentation. It was not the aim of this research to undertake an analysis of national higher education policy and further research is critical to inform the development of conception of

social justice in neoliberal times and its effects on policies at the national and institutional level in relation to gender equity.

Institutional Transformation

It is now common practice for the corporate university to develop vision, mission, goals, strategic and business plans, all in line with the practice of new managerialism. While the leadership firmly believe in the need for this in the restructuring of institutions, it is often met with cynicism from ordinary staff. Martin (1999) explains that while these are intended to be used as tools by university staff and its leadership to realize collectively “inspired outcomes”, these often become the “the butt of staff jokes and a source of frustration” (p. 79). This was reflected in the following comment: *‘Well I mean we all just fell about laughing when we saw the picture on the front – all these little people, all marching, all squashed together, all following their leader (Florence)’*. A vision and mission statement defines an organization’s purpose. The difference between the two is that a mission defines the direction an organization will take, its key objectives and key measures of success. A vision on the other hand defines the purpose and the values associated with that purpose. These are developed by the leadership of an organization usually at a weekend retreat says Martin (1999). As such they reflect the concerns of those involved and in the case of universities, the Vice Rector and his executive and/or senior management team. As explained previously, senior management in universities continues to be male dominated and this is certainly the case at UKZN. The shift to new managerialism is reflected in UKZN’s strategic plan in terms of its mission and vision. It clearly reflects the sentiments of the university executive in terms of positioning it as a premier university by privileging research in its mission to be ranked amongst the best in the world. The strategic plan clearly identifies the measures that need to be taken in order to realize its mission. This has resulted in the adoption of corporate values to ensure efficiency, effectiveness and accountability and the application of predictable and quantifiable measures of quality control and success.

Participants’ view changes in the university as being incongruent with the purpose of higher education and the stated vision of the institution. Martin (1999) in her study on academic’s perception of their changing work environment concluded that there was a disjuncture between

the views of staff in non-leadership positions and those in leadership and management. Ordinary staff (i.e. those not in leadership or management) believed that there was limited or misguided vision in the contemporary university while management believed that staff were stubbornly unwilling to embrace the changes and to change. She advises that while there may be some truth in both views there is no point in taking sides as this is counterproductive to transformation. What is necessary is to bring the “big picture as seen by the university leaders into line with the day-to-day reality as experienced by the academic staff” (Martin, 1999, p. 78). This viewpoint highlights the need for research on academics experiences of higher education restructuring.

Critical to the achievement of its mission and goals, the university needs to develop an enabling organizational structure and culture. The universities organizational structure is underpinned by its vision, mission and goals and designed to ensure efficiency and effective management. The management system in place at UKZN has resulted in the following: the devolution of administration and accountability to colleges and schools; a streamlining of administrative and decision-making processes; and the institution of a Total Quality Management (TQM) system. (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2007).

What then does this mean for women academics and their work? While critics of the neoliberal university bemoan the loss of the traditional liberal university, we need to remember that it excluded women for a long time and black women for an even longer time. When women did eventually storm the ivory towers, they experienced the university as exclusionary and hostile. hooks (1989) also reminds us that as the central site of knowledge production universities not only privileged certain kinds of knowledge, they also perpetuated all forms of domination within a highly competitive work environment (See Chapter Two). Women now certainly have a greater presence in universities and institutional feminism has made a significant contribution to advancing gender equity in the academy. However, gender inequities are still evident in universities: the sexual division of labour persists, women are still absent in senior positions and marginal in decision-making bodies; and they continue to assume, as per expectation, responsibilities in their private lives (Blackmore, 2000).

Participants believed that decision making was a collegial responsibility and previously leadership facilitated the process of consensual decision making (Bagilhole, 2012). To them, changes in the university demonstrate a managerial model which reflects a top down process of decision making. They state that the change process has been far from democratic and consultative, with decisions often been taken at the executive and senior managerial level with little or no consultation with staff. They acknowledge that previously, there were issues with men dominating senior positions thereby excluding women. However, they explain that in the previous structure the dean, elected by staff, represented the views and interests of staff. In addition senate, although dominated by male professors, played a significant role in decisions on academic affairs. Relations amongst staff while not free from conflict was far more collegial.

Research shows that the adoption of corporate values has resulted in individualism and competition replacing collegiality and cooperation as the dominant values and this leaves little space for critical emancipatory scholarship (Stromquist, 2002). According to Bagilhole (2012) in the collegial model, academic autonomy and authority was central with academics playing a key role in decision making. New managerialism has shifted control away from academics with experience and expertise to managers and the executive. This has led to the de-professionalization of academics as their autonomy and control over their work has been reduced (Bagilhole, 2012).

Collegiality, Kligyte and Barrie (2006), explain is a complex concept and cautions looking at it in simplistic and oppositional way. They explain that it is not uncommon for critiques of managerialism to conflate various meanings of collegiality and present a simplistic causal relationship in terms of the effects of neoliberalism. Collegiality, they explain, “seems to stand for everything that is different in academic work from any other work” and claim that our tendency to simplify conceptions of collegiality and resent them as oppositional to managerialism prevents valid critiques of managerialism and its consequences for academic

work in the restructured university. What happens as a result is that we develop a sense of loss of academic values that leads to a sense of alienation and a yearning for the past.

The past, in our case is an apartheid past characterized by gross inequities. Not only have our universities been characterized by racism, they were hierarchical and patriarchal. Lynch (2006) reminds us that while there have been critical voices in universities critical of their exclusivity; these have been a minority working against the tide. While the neoliberal colonization of the academy must be critiqued, we must remember that to those who have always been excluded, these critiques ring hollow and the past that is mourned is not one that they had access to. Black participants in the study viewed the changes in higher education generally and in the university as being positive in terms of equity policies. They felt that there was now more representation with an increase in the number of black academic staff. Here however, the focus was on racial equity but as Black African women, they perceive themselves to be severely disadvantaged, historically as well as currently, especially given that they remain a minority in universities. As explained in Chapter Two, this study did not identify race as a factor in the identifying participants as I was interested in how women were experiencing the changes in the university and what this meant for gender equity. However, I also acknowledged that participants' experiences are influenced by the intersection of their identities and for me this is a critical area of feminist scholarship in South Africa, and warrants further research.

At the level of institutional restructuring injustices of representation and reframing can be linked to the absence of structures and processes that facilitate parity of participation for all. At the executive and senior managerial level remains male dominated, and brings into question political representation of women as well as the misframing of justice claims. Participants clearly had not participated as peers on an equal footing in the establishment of the universities vision and mission, nor in the establishment of the institutional structures that would give effect to the universities mission to become a socially justice institute inclusive of all. If all who are affected by the decisions taken in the university are not equal participants in the decision making processes, then how can we trust the framing of justice claims in terms of who is entitled to

redistribution and recognition. When participants felt that they were invited to participate, the terms of reference of that participation was pre-determined by the powers that be managing these processes. Parity of participation relates to both political representation as well as to means of participation which facilitate full and equal participation. If men dominate at particular levels, then women's representation as well as the nature of their participation is unequal. As participants in this study have acknowledged, men have a greater voice in the institution at all levels.

The past is important to us and when we are confronted by change, it is not uncommon to feel threatened because our sense of who we are as academics is brought into question. Clearly participants in this study felt excluded and marginalized, even claiming that there was an in-group and an out-group referring to those in support of corporatization and new managerialism and those opposed to it. They expressed a great sense of loss and bemoaned the loss of collegiality. They explained that centralized decision-making located with the executive has replaced collegial decision-making and this has resulted in a loss of a shared identity and sense of being part of a community of scholars with a common purpose. Their view is that there is a perception that collegiality still exists, that academics are in control of their teaching and research and that there is widespread consultation over the restructuring. This however is contrary to what they have experienced as top-down decision making, which inevitably affects their work.

Conclusion

The following key findings emanate from my analysis.

- In its response to higher education policy, the university executive adopted new managerial policies and practices which have led to the corporatization of the university.
- Participants perceive this as privileging profits and not people and see this as negatively impacting the purpose and role of universities.

- Centralization has shifted power away from staff to the executive and management is perceived as autocratic not democratic. Participants experienced the development of institutional policies and accompanying practices as exclusionary.
- Decentralization has resulted in devolution of responsibilities to colleges and schools for managing the implementation of institutional policies and the management of budgets for teaching and research. This has resulted in an increase in administrative and bureaucratic work for academics.
- The emergent corporate culture has eroded academic autonomy and collegiality, and this has negatively impacted on staff morale, leaving staff feeling excluded, marginalized, and alienated.

In this chapter, I have presented the findings on the how women academics have experienced institutional restructuring and what they perceive to be the consequences of institutional restructuring. I problematized the participants' experiences of restructuring in the emergent corporate university and examined this in terms of parity of participation and the implications for gender equity. My examination of the effects of institutional restructuring focused on corporate governance within the university in terms of the following work domains: institutional organization, management and leadership. (Blackmore, Brennan & Zipin, 2010). Blackmore, Brennan & Zipin (2010, p. 1) view “‘governance’ as comprising an increasingly distributed and networked array of complex mechanisms – affecting work practices, relations, values and identities” within the university. Universities have undergone significant changes in the current context of globalization. These changes have resulted in restructuring within universities as they “re-position and re-invent themselves in globalizing contexts (Blackmore, Brennan & Zipin, 2010, p. 1). The University of KwaZulu-Natal is no exception in that it has followed the global pattern of higher education restructuring. The woman participants clearly indicate that the University of KwaZulu-Natal, in restructuring as a corporate entity, has followed the global trend of restructuring.

In the next chapter, I focus on the consequences of institutional restructuring for women's academic work, namely teaching and research and the gendered implications thereof in terms of redistribution and recognition.

Chapter Seven

Teaching and Research in the Corporatized University

Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented my findings on participants' experiences of institutional changes and concluded that participants were experiencing the university as exclusionary and alienating. In this chapter, I theorize participant's experiences of teaching and research in the restructured university and critically discuss the gendered implications of higher education reform and restructuring. I do this by identifying and discussing the consequences of restructuring by examining participants' experiences as teachers and researchers in relation to redistribution and recognition as indicators of gender injustice.

Universities are dynamic institutions and have been continually changing, but the current wave of changes has been attributed to globalization (See Chapter Five). The notion of change is certainly not a new phenomenon, but when contextualized, what shape does the restructured university take and how does this shape our core work – teaching and research? In relation to teaching and research, what spaces exist for us to carry out our mission? I borrow the metaphor of shapes and spaces from Barnett (2005, p. 2) who reminds us that universities are “supremely dynamic institutions”, constantly moving and being reshaped in response to shifts in their disciplinary base or their relation to wider society. He explains that new shapes and patterns have emerged over time and to this, new spaces have been added, such as community outreach work, administration and management. Its dynamic nature then makes the university seem “infinitely extendable” where new spaces are found for an array of new activities, new agendas and even new discourses (Barnett, 2005, p. 3) as established in the previous chapter. What is the reconstituted shape of teaching and research in the restructured university and what spaces do they occupy in the careers of academic women? What does this mean for the academic in her

execution of her responsibilities as teacher and researcher? Are the reconstituted shapes and spaces impeding or promoting gender equity in the university?

There is a consensus, as I have discussed previously, that universities produce and transmit knowledge. In this respect, academic work is predominantly the production and transmission of knowledge, namely teaching and research. Academic roles and responsibilities are defined in terms of the practices that support teaching and research and academics are expected to do both, generate & disseminate new knowledge and transmit knowledge through effective teaching. One would assume then that there would be a relationship between teaching and research; a view many participants subscribe to. However, there are divergent views on this. One view is that there is a positive interplay between teaching and research in terms of quality in higher education. An alternate view is that the two activities are not just distinct from each other, but that they are logically two very different kinds of activities (Barnett, 2005). Barnett (2005) also explains that there are nuanced voices that speak to the point ‘that it all depends’ (p. 1) (quotation in original) on the nature of the research. Whatever the nature of the relationship between teaching and research, it is what constitutes our core work and as such defines who we are as academics and how we fulfil our responsibilities.

A significant body of research has focused on changes in higher education and its influence on academic identity, particularly in relation to globalisation, corporatization and new managerialism (Henkel, 2010; Leathwood and Read, 2009; Ropers-Huilman, 2008; Henkel, 2000). Henkel (2005) has focused on the changes in the politics and structures of higher education and what it means to be an academic in the United Kingdom (UK); while Smith and Nyamaphene (2010) examine the structural changes in South African higher education and its implication for the roles and responsibilities of academics. These studies have focused on shifts in relation to corporatization and new managerial policies and practices, with its emphasis on economy, efficiency and effectiveness; as well as massification and diversification in terms of the responsiveness of universities to market needs. These changes have resulted in the growth of a diverse student body as well as growth in offerings particularly in applied science and technology, professional training as well as business and management studies (Henkel, 2010).

Academics have experienced significant shifts in their roles and responsibilities and these changes have had an impact on academic identities, often with very negative consequences, as a result of the “intensification and degradation of academic work” as well as the “deprofessionalization of academic life” (Becher and Trowler, 2001, p. 13). Henkel (2010, p. 7) explains that changes in higher education have significantly impacted the once stable academic identities. These were sustained by structures and an academic culture within institutions; and beyond by an autonomous relationship with the nation state, within which universities and academics in them were afforded “a bounded ‘space of action’ and self-regulation”. According to Henkel (2010), a key shift has been in the nature of the workforce now demanded by higher education institutions as they emerge as one of many players in the knowledge economy. Higher education she states now requires a workforce that embodies “values, forms of knowledge, structures and relationships” that are more congruent with corporatism and contemporary demands of the market than they are with academia (p. 7).

Before presenting my findings of participants’ experiences of teaching and research in the restructured university I think it is useful to first reflect on the institution’s goals in respect to staff and their key responsibilities for teaching and research. In examining the effects of restructuring on participants’ academic roles and responsibilities, it is useful to also establish the extent to which their experiences reflect these goals. In establishing itself as the premier university of African scholarship in Africa and the institution of choice for staff, the University identifies the following goals in respect of teaching and research:

Pre-eminence in Research: To build a research ethos that acknowledges the responsibility of academic staff to nurture its postgraduate students, and to be a pre-eminent producer of new knowledge that is both local and global in context, and defines UKZN as the premier university of African scholarship.

Excellence in Teaching and Learning: To promote excellence in teaching and learning through creative and innovative curriculum design and development, pedagogical strategies, and assessment practices in accordance with the highest quality management principles

Institution of Choice for Staff: To establish the University as an institution of choice that attracts and retains academic and support staff of the highest calibre by creating an intellectual environment that fosters and stimulates academic life, and a climate of organisational citizenship in which all staff recognise and understand their role in ensuring the success of the University.

Universities commonly proclaim, quite rhetorically, their missions and goals in relation to their core responsibilities of knowledge production and knowledge dissemination, as reflected above.

Findings

Teaching

All participants spoke of their passion and for commitment to teaching with one describing it as a 'calling'. Being an academic is about immersing themselves in their discipline as well as knowing about and critically engaging with teaching and learning. It is about being both reflective and reflexive; it is about acknowledging who they are as academics, knowing their students, and being aware of how their identities come to bear on teaching and learning. Being knowledgeable about teaching and learning facilitates on-going reflection and reflexivity on the context and the needs of students. Participants ability to do this with a view to reviewing and changing their teaching approaches and strategies was perceived as critical in light of their critique of traditional methods and in cognisance of changing student demographics and diversity in student's academic and affective needs.

Addressing Student Needs

Participants reported changes in student numbers and student demographics. More diverse students in greater numbers are now accessing higher education. They reflect significant diversity in their: backgrounds, academic achievements, academic as well as socio-emotional needs, their expectations and motivation.

The effects of apartheid education are still evident and the poor quality of education that the large majority of Black African students receive does not adequately prepare them for higher education. Students from disadvantaged backgrounds come in with a wide range of academic and socio-emotional needs, which are not necessarily accommodated and supported in the university. Participants described the emotional labour or care work that is necessary to address the wide range of student needs, including their socio-emotional needs. As one participant put it, *to me that's my social responsibility; caring for the people who are here. I think also being a female then you build up relationships with your students and when they do have problems that they'll come to you (Betty)*. While student services includes counselling, and addressing students' affective needs is not necessarily seen to be the responsibility of academics, almost all participants spoke of the support they provide to students who often seek them out because men don't do emotional labour. According to participants, women academics are the ones students seek out when they *'need a sympathetic ear'* (Betty).

Addressing student needs means rethinking and restructuring teaching to accommodate student diversity at the institutional and individual level. Staff spoke of the lack of support from the university in terms of the availability of resources and time to provide support to students. Most participants spoke of the ways in which they support student academic development and believed that it was part of their responsibility. However, providing this support to students meant taking it on over and above their workload as this is not factored into the workload. They also acknowledged that there was an alternate view that this was not the responsibility of lecturers.

Curriculum Restructuring

A significant aspect of restructuring related to restructuring of the curriculum which was also linked to national developments. A point participants stressed was the value of reviewing and transforming the curriculum. Not only did it provide an opportunity to review what they have been doing, it also facilitated their engagement with teaching and learning which went beyond just what was being taught and how it was being taught. They were now talking about education,

teaching and learning in terms of the new qualifications and new programmes, their purpose, aims and the articulation between and across qualifications. Many felt that this was empowering as it gave them a bigger picture of how things worked or ought to work ranging from issues of what and how much content to include to the purpose and forms of assessment. In addition, the shift to modularization opened up opportunities to introduce new modules, and finding a gap allowed Florence and her colleagues to develop modules that focused on gender and feminism.

However, there was a downside to curriculum restructuring given that the university had gone through four phases of restructuring which meant curriculum restructuring four times over a ten year period. Participants described the constant reviews and administrative tasks that accompanied the restructuring as time consuming, exhausting and demoralizing. Participants also reported the conflicts that arose among and between staff over disagreements on processes as well as implementation of changes. Some academics resisted the changes because they perceived the processes for development and implementation of a common curriculum eroded their academic freedom. The imposition of the curriculum restructuring process by management as well as the tight time frames for the development and implementation of a common curriculum left little room for collaboration.

Workloads

There was an acknowledgement that academic work, unlike other work goes beyond the normal eight hours with teaching, administration and student support taking up the entire workday. All the participants stated that their teaching workloads had increased with the increase in class sizes, staff shortages and the shift to semesterization and modularization. Coordination responsibilities, which included the management and administration of qualifications, programmes and modules across campuses also added to their workloads as a result of the increase in administrative responsibilities. New accountability regimes also increased participants' administrative work.

A consequence of the increase in workloads is that staff has become selective and selfish about what they do. Given that their choices are limited, often what is compromised is students support. Participants pointed out that given administrative responsibilities impede teaching and research, senior staff avoid taking on responsibilities like coordination. The experience of staff, particularly those in lecturer positions, is that they end up with what one participant called the *'dog's body work'* (Florence), like coordination of modules at the lower levels where student numbers are large. The increase in workloads, especially administrative responsibilities has left staff stressed and despairing. Some staff explained that they have now gotten to a point where they resist these changes as it detracts from what is important to them – their students.

On Being a Researcher

Privileging Research

Participants clearly distinguished themselves as teachers with some questioning their status as academics because they did not see themselves as researchers. As one participant put it, being an academic is associated with research – an academic is someone who *"goes to conferences, gives papers & gets published"* (Rachel). The idea of performing a role was constantly emphasized, particularly in relation to research. To participants, the idea of masking who you really are because you put forward a role that you practice goes against what being an academic is. *The cloak that you put on and the practiced role of the academic, I'm not that and I don't want to be that. I don't want to stand up and have conference papers down, dipped and up to my shoulder – I don't want to be out there telling everybody about what I've done when my energy right now is doing what I'm doing, working with my students*(Rachel).

They believed that in this competitive environment, one has to sell oneself as being better than the next. Most described the current environment as competitive and emphasised that they would rather invest in their teaching than compete to climb up the academic ladder. More than once participants expressed the view that one has to be ambitious to get ahead in the university and that women lacked ambition and were not interested as one participant put it, *"I'm not driven by*

the things academics should be driven by” (Betty). Having committed herself to teaching over the last twenty years Florence declared that she was not prepared to “jump in at this late stage in her career, and after years of excellent teaching, she didn’t see the need to prove her worth and Rachel confessed, I don’t have the energy to get into those little streams and fight for the big fish with the others. I don’t. I want to do what I’ve been given to do to the best of my ability and I want to impact on my students’ lives so that they never forget... To me, that’s what a real academic is. Whatever your field is, whatever your discipline is, you root yourself in it, – it’s like getting your bum in the sand.

Playing the Game or Not!

Participants described the immense pressure they have experienced to be research productive and to get their doctorates. More than half the participants received letters calling them to a meeting to discuss their lack of publications, which they perceived as punitive. There was a perception that the university privileged research and not teaching and that more women than men are affected because women do more teaching and women approach their teaching as a vocation. Participants, even those with long years of service felt their service to the university and to their students is not recognized or validated.

While they cite reasons for their lack of research some have consciously resisted being pressured to do their PhDs and to publish. They indicated that they were doing research, just not publishing it because they were not going to play the game and compromise their academic integrity. They were not against the idea of researching and publishing because they recognized this as one of their core responsibilities as academics. However, for them, there needs to be a balance and equal recognition for teaching. In addition, they were very critical of what one participant described as “*measurement-based output approach*” which is about quantification not quality and which is about productivity pay-outs and international rankings.

Many participants saw a close nexus between their teaching and their research. Again they pointed out that it was not that they were not producing research and disseminating their research to their colleagues, their students, their disciplinary communities, and the wider community to whom it was relevant. They were not interested in publications for productivity as this went against who they were as women academics and what they valued. What they valued was research that was relevant, useful and accessible; and research that informed their teaching and served the communities within and beyond the university. To participants, being a good researcher was about producing relevant, useful research that was accessible to relevant communities not just to a few academics. They acknowledged that research that was not published in accredited journals was not acknowledged by the university neither was it financially rewarded.

Spaces for Research

Another concern raised by participants was the lack of spaces for research because of their personal commitments and their professional commitment to their teaching and their students. In addition, the increase in student numbers and the added dimension that this brings to teaching in terms of care work, as well as the increase in workload leave little space for research. One way in which they can have the space is to do less teaching but this can only happen if they have the money to buy out their teaching time. In order to do that they need to be research productive to generate an income that can then be used to create research spaces; a catch 22 as one participant reported. Participants acknowledged the need to find ways to fit in their research and to create a balance between their domestic responsibilities, their teaching and their research. Having a supportive husband and an empathetic head are important and do help in establishing ways to balancing home and work commitments.

Participants have also used other strategies to be research productive, like using students to collect data, getting students to publish their work, and even co-publishing with students, and taking family holidays in places where you are conducting your research.

One participant was of the view that academics have a great deal of autonomy and we can use this to do any kind of research we want to. However, one needs to have the confidence to do different kinds of research to become research productive and to negotiate spaces to fit in one's research. Another participant commented that she was grateful to the university for the incentive system and saw this as their way of supporting her. She also felt it was necessary to be research productive as an institution to be internationally competitive to attract students.

On Not Being Promoted

Many participants described themselves as not being ambitious in terms of seeking climbing up the academic ladder. However, there was also an acknowledgement that the system worked against them, particularly in terms of not acknowledging and rewarding their past and current teaching experiences and achievements. Given their low levels of research productivity and the fact that some did not have a PhD, they were ineligible for promotions because of the new criteria in place for promotions which privileges research publications, not just open ended research such as that carried out by many participants: i.e. research which informs their teaching or which benefits the civil society.

Participants expressed a reluctance to take on leadership & management positions and stated that when they did, it was because they were asked to do so or because there was a need. A perception shared was that women tend to shy away from taking on leadership and managerial positions or avoid applying for promotion into senior positions, either because women lack the ambition to do so or because they are wary of the stresses that go with taking on this additional responsibility.

The disjuncture between participants' values and personal aspirations and the emergent corporate culture within the university has generated a great sense of loss and, among some of the participants, a desire to leave the university. They felt that the people factor was lost – that staff

and students, as people did not matter anymore. Staff and students need recognition and validation for their own worth and this cannot be quantified and measured.

Discussion

Drawing on the experiences of participants working in the restructured university, I argue that the current wave of reforms, namely the corporatization of universities and new managerialism, threatens our commitment to gender equity. I begin by discussing my findings in relation to participants' experiences of teaching and research in the restructured university. I also examine and discuss what this means for women academics in the reconstruction of their academic identities as the new kind of worker that Castells (2005) describes and the implications thereof for gender equity in South African universities. I use this as a basis for supporting my argument that gender equity goals are being threatened by the corporatization of the university.

We work and participate within many systems and structures in the academy – with particular roles and responsibilities, which imply a multiplicity in our roles within the institution. We are a part of disciplines, specializations, schools, faculties; we teach, we research, we develop qualifications, programmes and modules; we assess students work; we participate as members of school and university committees; we belong to academic societies, we review journal articles, supervise students research, we consult, and extend our services to communities within and beyond the university. We have different roles within these systems and structures with different purposes, and these roles impact differently on our academic identities. McAlpine, Jazvac-Martel & Gonsalves (2008) point out that our investment in these roles depends on the extent to which the purpose and role are consistent with our personal identity goals, and whether they are imposed by the institution or personally chosen. If we value teaching in the construction of our academic identities, as have all of the participants, then our work and what we give to our work will support that development. This may mean more of “an acceptance of habituated routines” (McAlpine, et.al., 2008.) when it comes to other roles that may conflict with our personal identity goals (p. 121). This may also be reflected in the extent of our engagement within

university systems if we agree or disagree with the changes taking place. If we disagree, we may actively work within various university systems to engage with and challenge the changes. However, if we do not succeed, we may then withdraw from participating in these university systems, either as a means of protest or non-compliance. (McAlpine et.al, 2008)

As previously discussed (See Chapter Five) research has established that in universities: labour is gendered and particular disciplines are feminized; women continue to experience marginalization and exclusion; women continue to experience structural and cultural impediments in their academic careers (Collins, 1991; Collins, 2000; Harding, 1991; Mama, 2003; Mohanty, 2003; Morley, 2003; Ropers-Huilman, 2008; Glazer-Raymo, 2008) which call redistribution, particularly in terms of the division of labour and recognition. I have demonstrated that the shift from redress and equity to economic development in South Africa (See Chapter One) has influenced higher education policy and reform. A consequence of this shift is the emphasis on the role of universities in contributing to economic development. As established previously, a significant consequence of higher education reforms has been a cut in government spending on higher education. This has resulted in universities in South Africa adopting an economic rationalist agenda for institutional restructuring or what can be referred to as maldistribution. I have also established that there is opposition to the adoption of an economic rationalist approach to higher education reform and the application of corporate sector policies and practices to the management of universities, especially given the consequences for historically black universities. The higher education reforms have differentially affected institutions, as well as staff and students and efforts to address parity of participation have been displaced by shifts in higher education policy. Bozalek and Boughey (2010) for example, see misframing as the a major form of injustice as it has led to a partitioning of political spaces which impede parity of participation for staff and students at HBUs while insulating HWUs from scrutiny and critique. The corporatization of our universities and the shift to new managerialism in the organization and management of our core work, namely teaching and research has significant implications for our roles and our work as academics. (See Chapter Five)

Changes in our work as academics, like teaching and research have to be seen in the context of wider changes beyond the university. While we experience changes to our work at the micro-level, we have to bear in mind that they originate beyond our departments, schools and faculties, our universities, and even the country. Teaching and research as stated elsewhere, constitute our core work as academics. Our academic identities are largely constructed as teachers and or researchers. To us and our students, this is what universities are about but when we consider the bigger picture a paradox begins to materialize. With restructuring, we have experienced the rationalization of our programmes and courses making us believe that what we do is not that important and can be discarded depending on the direction the university is going in. On the other hand, there has been significant increase in the number of students accessing higher education. Changes in student demographics mean greater diversity and varying student needs necessitating more support from academics. While our work as teachers and researchers seems less important, there is also a demand for it. This is the paradox that Martin (1999) draws our attention to and she also states that with the information age, our services in terms of contributing to change has become peripheral. Acquiring and applying knowledge is now the “new source of status and wealth” (Martin, 1999) and there is no longer reliance on academics to disseminate this knowledge (p. 2). The internet has become the new source of information. But is this the same as learning and does this translate to acquiring knowledge? Can the internet really replace the teacher? It is not the aim of this study to answer these questions. However, these need to be acknowledged because they have implications for the lives and work of academics and contribute to the paradox of simultaneously valuing and de-valuing academics and their contribution to education. Another paradox confronting us is the collapse of time and space. It doesn't matter where we are; we can access information from anywhere in the world as long as we have access to a computer and the internet. We no longer have to be standing in front of a class of students. We can teach and work from one place with students in another place and even another country. But more importantly, technology has reshaped our concept of time. We no longer rely on an 8 hour work day or a 40 hour work week. We now have the flexibility to work, shop or play at all hours of the day or week. As academics, we can email colleagues and students over weekends or at any time we choose. Students also have flexibility in terms of their study. As academics we are assured that we still have academic freedom, the basis of our work in

academia. At the same time there are accountability mechanisms put in place to plan, manage and control our work in the interest of efficiency and effectiveness. (Martin, 1999)

Teaching and Research in the Corporate University

A significant change reported by participants was the increase in student numbers and while they applauded this shift in terms of making higher education more accessible, they also acknowledged that a significant proportion of students now enrolling were ill prepared for study in higher education. They believed that schools were failing in preparing students for post-school education and were concerned that students' low levels of literacy and numeracy prevented students from accessing the curriculum. They also reported that students were very diverse, not just in terms of their social identities or abilities, but different in their expectations, attitudes, and motivations. Students, they explained, wanted a qualification that would make them employable not an education that would develop them to think and be critical and solve problems and contribute to the betterment of society. This was attributed to the shift in emphasis on skills development for the market, where participants believed they were now responsible for producing '*button pushers (Lillian)*' and "technicians" not "thoughtful people" (Henkel, 2000, p. 215). A consequence of this is the lack of motivation and disinterest displayed by students. Students had no desire to become involved in university life, attended lectures and then left and only did what they perceived was necessary to "achieve limited goals". This is similar to Henkel's (2000) findings, who describes this as "a new minimalist, satisficing approach" (p. 215).

Participants clearly distinguished their commitment to contribute to their students' intellectual development through their discipline and the demand to develop skills centred on competence and instrumentality that they were sceptical of. They had no doubt that skills would benefit students in the workplace but that that was not the purpose of higher education. They felt very passionately about developing students intellectually within their disciplines and felt that what they valued was under threat or already lost, but this did not deter them from pursuing their teaching with passion and dedication. The purpose of higher education, to prepare students for

their role in society as informed, critical, creative, thinking beings, is being compromised by the instrumental rationality that now underpins the organization and management of education.

While participants acknowledged their roles as teachers and researchers, most defined their academic identities in relation to their teaching. Given that they had not planned a career in academia they did not conform to the dominant male norm of what an academic is, that is, someone who after undergraduate studies pursues post-graduate studies with a view to future employment in academia. Many women in the study entered academia quite late as teachers and this meant that they were establishing an academic career in their middle-ages. For them teaching was what defined who they were as academics; they were passionate about their work and gained fulfilment from knowing that they were contributing to student development. There was an acknowledgement that they had more teaching than their male counterparts, and because they valued teaching and were passionate about their work there was a tendency for them to take on more teaching. Their approach to teaching was different from their male colleagues in that they valued their students and interacting and knowing them was critical to good teaching. They also acknowledge the importance of care work that is often linked to their teaching, which they cite as a reason why students often seek their help rather than their male colleagues. Given their commitment to good teaching, the women should be rewarded. Instead, they feel undervalued as teachers and were angry that the good work they have done is unappreciated, unacknowledged or unrewarded. Hensel (1991) states that given that women spend more time on teaching and student development means that they should fare well on student evaluations, which should hold them in good stead when it comes to tenure and promotions. However, the entrepreneurial university does not value teaching and student development because teaching and learning have no exchange value – hence women are not rewarded for their contribution in this regard (Aleman, 2008). The feminization of teaching, that is more women taking on greater teaching responsibilities and the current re-masculinization of management have the potential of creating a masculine “centre or core and a “flexible peripheral labour market of increasingly feminized, casualized and deprofessionalized teaching force” (Blackmore, 1996, p. 345).

To participants, being a researcher is all about ‘playing the game’, counting the number of conferences attended and papers published and ‘being in with the latest people (networks), which they are often left out of. This was not how they perceived research, which for many was integral to their teaching; and developing a research profile: undertaking doctoral studies and publishing came very late in most participants’ careers. Given that traditionally teaching was the main work of universities, there was no pressure on them to get their doctorates or to publish. This does not mean that they were not doing research. Research was integral to good quality teaching, which they shared with colleagues and with their disciplinary communities.

Brooks and Mackinnon (2001) point out that quality management in higher education increases productivity and fosters dependence. Drawing on Marginson (2000), they explain that it is not autonomy but independence that is important to researchers. According to Marginson (In Brooks and Mackinnon, 2001) by privileging competition, scarcity in research is legitimated. Managers then use this to set research as a priority and measure and reward staff performance in relation to short-term goals. A consequence of this is that research as open-ended inquiry is not supported for its own sake. It only has value when it can generate an income, both for the university and the individual. Many participants spoke of the paradox of ‘the one size fits all’ criteria, which they believe does not take into account differences across disciplines, and this was particularly so for women in the humanities who challenge traditional notions of research and ways of doing research. In addition, the economic management of research has resulted in some participants actively resisting the pressure to conform to the university norms. Of course, they are conscious of the inherent threat of resisting but they resist nonetheless. On the other hand, participants spoke of the effect of managerial coercion, where either consciously or subliminally participants begin to ‘play the game’. In the context of this economic management of research, participants were aware that their research identities were being restructured. In ‘playing the game’, they were aware of the consequences of being “colonized” (Brooks and Mackinnon, 2001) and this was another reason for their resistance (p. 7). While many attributed their resistance to not being ambitious, this also related to their desire to maintain their academic integrity by not becoming strategic in their research goals. They did not want to play the game by producing mediocre

research or churning out papers for publication by producing the same research presented in another form. The current climate is one that is highly competitive. Given participants' ambivalence of their sense of academic self and their discomfort with putting themselves out there or in corporate speak, self-marketing, establishing an academic identity in the market place becomes highly problematic for women academics.

Increased Workloads

An emphasis on efficiency and cost reduction has resulted in staff shortages and an increase in temporary appointments. This has resulted in increased workloads and participants also described an increase in their administrative responsibilities. Cloete & Kulati (2003) explain that responding to an extraordinarily large number of new legislation and policies requires quite substantial managerial and administrative capacity. Universities as a result have expanded their administrative and managerial bureaucracy. This has led to a separation of academic and managerial/administrative responsibilities and roles. Participants have had to take on greater administrative and managerial responsibilities with no remuneration. This has detracted them from teaching and research. With women still expected to fulfil their domestic responsibilities, this increase in workload further disadvantages them in terms of pursuing their scholarly work.

Faculties and schools have been given the responsibility of managing their budgets to determine their agendas and the direction they want to pursue, albeit within the confines of the institutional policy framework. However, with centralization, the institution is still ultimately responsible for budgetary allocations and through a system of incentives it is able to influence faculty and school agendas and choices. For example, the decision to be a research-led institution significantly shaped faculty and school choices in their choice of staff and academic programmes. As explained previously, the school I joined had a significant transformation agenda in terms of responding to the national need to upgrade and retrain teachers through the development of mixed mode continuing teacher development programmes. This not only opened up access to the large number of teachers who were previously denied access to higher education, it also significantly contributed to thousands of teacher, largely women teachers, achieving a minimum

teacher education qualification (See the Prologue and Chapter One). However, with the pressure to become research productive and with the incentives provided for increasing our post-graduate student numbers, support for our continuing education programmes from school, faculty and senior management has diminished.

Blackmore (2000) points out that a feminist analysis of “the market” has revealed it to be based on “inequality, envy, greed, desire, and choice” to which not all have equal access or the “material capacity to exercise their choices” (p. 475). Markets, she explains, are processes and relationships characterized by structural power relations that have “an asymmetrical gender dimension” (p. 475). They are not neutral, they value exchange relations, and reward individual behaviour depending on their “positional goods” (p. 475). SAHE, now operating as an education market is now reliant on private sources of income such as tuition fees and research grants, especially given the cuts in state funding. Women, Blackmore (2000) reminds us, are differentially located within academic markets in terms of race, class and sexuality. They continue to be “differentially rewarded in the academic market”; are still fighting for representation in the decision-making systems of university governance; and continue to be under-rewarded for the same credentials (p. 475).

Currie et. al. (2000) describe corporate universities as “greedy organizations” because of the sacrifices that academics are required to make. The current ethos has been experienced by participants as being economistic and managerialist characterized by what Sanderson (2001) refers to as the “three E’s – Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness – in tandem with accountability” (p. 380). Academics are now being called on to transfer their allegiance from “the *academic* to the *operational*” and this operational focus treats change as a “purely ‘technical problem’” encoding corporate values within university systems and processes uncritically (Lynch, 2006, p. 6). This study demonstrates the effects of this emerging corporate culture of efficiency, effectiveness and accountability. Participants described the constant surveillance of their work and the audit culture that has now come to consume their time with constant measuring, counting and accounting of workloads, performance and research. This has left participants feeling alienated, anxious, stressed and insecure. They explain that the commercial,

technicist, rational approach to academic work and academic management ignores the people factor and is malevolent. They described the current climate as one of hostility and incivility, of coercion and compliance, which leads to self-questioning and self-censure. Research shows that trust and academic integrity has been replaced with performance indicators, and the experience of “constantly living to perform” leads to alienation, feelings of inauthenticity and a culture of compliance (Lynch, 2006, p. 7).

Participants explained that when academics have resisted changes and the imposition of commercial practices on their work, they have been accused of being anti- transformation, of being racist and of wanting to preserve the status quo and their privileges. While there might be some truth in this it detracts from what the real issues are – the corporatization of the academy and its consequences. Staff that resist have experienced hostility, incivility and marginalization. In addition, when there is resistance, there is an absence of a critical mass, making it even easier to victimize resistant staff. Research also shows that the power and pace of changes and the lack of a critical mass make it almost futile. This hostile ethos has bred distrust and suspicion even amongst ‘colleagues’ because the environment is highly competitive with winners and losers. Lynch (2006) explains that a system of rewards based on measurable performance will inevitably lead to academics being governed by career interests.

Bagilhole (2012) explains that previously male dominance even in a collegial system, manifested in different forms. For example, informal male networks and homosociability excluded women from research as well as from leadership and management or what one participant described as ‘the old boys club’. In the managerial system, power is located at the executive level, which is male dominated. This means that gender equality is dependent on the views of central management and as explained earlier corporatization has led to the re-emergence of male hegemony in the academy. In the South African context, racial equality in higher education has been emphasized and often equity policies have been aimed mostly at addressing racial inequality in universities. Collegiality even though not perfect, was a distinguishing feature of academic life and women, while they were minority in leadership and management, still had a

some form of representation in the academy, through their work, as in feminist research and scholarship, as well as through governance structures like faculty boards and senate. These spaces which provided a voice for women academics are fast diminishing, and the hostile climate that prevails is experienced as threatening and debilitating. Women begin to comply for fear of retribution. Like the research by Thornton (2004), it seems corporatization in the academy has been accompanied by what she calls “corrosive leadership” or “bullying by another name” and what participants seem to be hearing is: ‘comply or be cast out’ (p. 161).

What then does this mean for us as women academics in terms of teaching and research? These paradoxes are indicative of the fact that the only ‘constant is change’ and with changes come paradoxes because changes occur “at such speed that stability and predictability are, at best fragile” (Martin, 1999, p. 3). The bigger picture is constantly changing and where once we were clear about our role as academics in, and contribution to society, we now face uncertainty, unpredictability and subsequently insecurity. Clarity about our roles and responsibilities as academics meant that we had a sense of how our students should benefit and what this meant for how we worked and what we worked on. Rapid changes call for rapid responses and what this means for us as academics is that we have to be constantly adapting and learning how to work in this “postmodern world” because as Martin (1999) states, “we are the ones preparing young people for life and work in the future” (p. 3). For many of us, learning how to survive and work in the current context of change means learning how to balance the paradoxes we are confronted by (Martin, 1999).

The Changing University Culture

Participants described the new corporatist and managerial culture as being ‘nasty, rough, thoughtless, alienating and dangerous’. They explained that any form of dissent and resistance is perceived as ‘anti-transformation’ and dealt with punitively. The autocratic managerial approach has left little or no space for critical engagement with the policies and processes of restructuring. Dissenting staff are positioned as oppositional to senior management leading to adversarial relations.

Like in other countries, universities in South Africa have been reformed into corporate entities characterized by changes in the management of teaching and research, changes in institutional culture, and changes in the funding of teaching and research. These changes have led to a sense of loss and have left staff feeling despondent, insecure and anxious. Women traditionally have experienced insecurity and anxiety because they have always been othered, and there was a sense that the more things change the more they remain the same. If the people factor has been forgotten as so many participants have expressed, participants have good reason to feel insecure and anxious.

Apart from experiencing the university as hostile and alienating, participants have also experienced it as highly competitive. Many participants described their preference for collegial and collaborative relations, and participants describing their approach to teaching and in research to be more communal. They are now required to be competitive and entrepreneurial with university executives favouring cost cutting and entrepreneurship not equity. Further research is necessary to investigate if women in senior positions can and do mitigate the damaging effects of corporate restructuring (Brooks and Mackinnon, 2001).

A New Kind of Worker

As in this study, many women tend to start their academic careers as contingent staff. The current shift to flexible work arrangements because of corporatization and new managerialism in higher education has resulted in an increase in temporary contract employment. The feminization of labour, Castells (2005) points out has resulted in the replacement of the 'organized man' with the 'flexible woman' as the new kind of worker (See Chapter Two). In South African universities more women than men occupy temporary academic positions. Given that part-time employment and low salaries have traditionally been linked to women's employment, this trend will continue to grow and widen the gender gap. With the feminization of particular disciplines like education, the concentration of women at the lower levels in universities and in teaching and the masculinization of the sciences as well as management will see the increasing casualization

of academic labour and women will continue to experience barriers to access and advancement as academic staff. This will further limit the pool of women academics from which to draw on to address gender equity issues in staff recruitment and development. One consequence of the corporatization in academia is the drive to minimize costs and increase productivity and one way is through the casualization of academic labour. This then becomes problematic for women academics who constitute the majority in contract academic positions. Women who begin their careers as contract staff start off at a disadvantage as is evident in the experiences of the participants in this study. They spend the rest of their career trying to catch up with their male counterparts, rather unsuccessfully. The factors, namely the 'triple burden' as put by one participant, which have traditionally mitigated their advancement in academia, such as their domestic and care responsibilities, continues to influence women's academic careers. In addition, they must now negotiate a hostile corporate culture if they are to succeed.

Restructuring and Academic Identities

For participants in this research, their academic autonomy, that is, their sense of being in control of their work and being trusted to pursue and manage it has been severely eroded. Increased workloads, modularization and semesterization, accountability regimes, the emphasis on throughput and diminishing resources have come to bear negatively on teaching and learning. Naidoo (2005) points out that when consumerist mechanisms are applied to the management of teaching and learning in the name of efficiency, it begins to distort teaching and learning. The nature of the relationship between teaching and learning, as well as between teacher and student is compromised. As participants pointed out, their students are not their clients – "or passive consumers of education" (Naidoo, 2005), they are active agents in their own learning (p. 31). The commodification of knowledge does not only lead to a distortion of this relationship, it also leads to a decline in what teachers and students bring to the endeavour. Participants described how the increase in workload, particularly administrative work, take away time that they have traditionally invested in their students well-being. Students now come with very little motivation and desire to learn. They see higher education as a means to getting a job and do only what is necessary to achieve their credentials. This is the result of students internalizing a consumer

identity and perceiving education as a commodity to be purchased not a “complex process that requires engagement and commitment” from them as students (Naidoo, 2005, p. 31). The pedagogical process is also compromised in that more work, more students and fewer resources mean that staff must find ways of strategically managing their work and time. It may mean no small group tutorials, no feedback to students on assessment tasks, no opportunities for students to resubmit assignments or re-take tests that they fail. Modularization and semesterization has significantly impacted on participants’ ability to teach the skills and dispositions necessary to acquire knowledge because there is no time. Instead, there is a reliance on learning resources that simply provide students with more information.

Women in Leadership and Management

It emerged that women tend to avoid taking on leadership and managerial positions, and according to one participant women are to blame for their exclusion from senior positions in the university. The question this raises is to what extent do the new managerial practices, currently characterizing the management of universities, serve as a deterrent to women academics. Could it be that the shift to efficiency and effectiveness and the concomitant obsession with economic rationality and new managerial practices is seen to be at odds with what women value and how they perceive their ways of working and leading? This is certainly an area for further research but my findings point to this as one reason why women elude managerial positions. The intensification of managerial and administrative responsibilities was seen to erode scholarly work, which further diminished participants’ potential to be research productive and to advance in their careers. In the current hostile climate, participants also viewed senior managerial positions as unattractive because of the role of managers in implementing managerial policies and practice. There was a view that women who can fit in, who are not deterred by the re-masculinization of managerial practices in the corporate university, can and have thrived in this environment and have advanced in their careers. There has been an increase in the number of women advancing into senior positions at this university and nationally. This however, does not necessarily advance our commitment to gender equity. An acceptance of managerialism and its concomitant re-masculinization of management and administration in the university detracts

attention from the organizational barriers and cultures significant to the development of women academics careers (Brooks and Mackinnon, 2001).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented and discussed my findings in relation to women academics experiences of teaching and research in the restructured university. This demonstrates the institutional constraints, in terms of economic rationalist approach adopted by the university, that deny participants the resources necessary to be the kind of academics they envisage. It further entrenches institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value which not only results in their exclusion but denies them parity of participation. It also demonstrates how mechanisms and punitive strategies silence staff, in terms of the prevalent corporate discourse which participants describe as alienating and exclusionary. This is also an example of misframing in terms of preventing staff from challenging the forces that oppress them, as those who do are positioned as oppositional and anti-transformation.

The following is a summary of the key findings:

- While budgetary management has been devolved to schools, budgetary allocation is remains centrally determined. Schools therefore have to strategically identify their goals and agendas in line with budgetary constraints. The privileging of research has meant that schools position themselves to be more research productive often at the expense of teaching. This may take the form of fewer programmes being offered and fewer students particularly at the undergraduate level and the continuing development programmes as in the case of Education. Women who value teaching and who often taken on more teaching are unrewarded for their work.
- The autocratic managerial approach has left little or no space for critical engagement with the policies and processes of restructuring. Dissenting staff are positioned as oppositional to senior management leading to adversarial relations, victimization and alienation.

- Budgetary cuts, staff rationalization, semesterization and modularization, increased workloads and the pressures to be research productive have negatively impacted on staff well-being, motivation and commitment. It has also impeded access to the curriculum for disadvantaged students which has led to poor student achievement and poor graduation rates, which staff are then held accountable for.
- Managerial coercion and punitive measures have resulted in the women, while resisting the pressures to publish, being coerced into compliance. Those who continue to place value on their teaching and students go unrewarded as unlike research, teaching has no exchange value.
- Participants have always been research active and many believed that researching their teaching was critical to good teaching. However, historically there was no pressure to publish and teaching was rewarded in that staff could apply for promotions on the basis of their teaching and their contribution to their disciplinary community.
- Research as an open-ended endeavour is not valued unless it generates income. Being research unproductive has meant no funds for research, non-membership in research networks within and beyond the institution, no conference attendance as these are no longer funded by the university but through staff research funds which are earned through publications.
- Staff self-advertising, i.e. marketing oneself through showcasing your performance still sits uncomfortably with participants, who believe that women in general are not ambitious and don't put themselves out there.
- An expanded administrative and managerial bureaucracy in the corporate university has resulted in greater accountability measures and greater administrative responsibilities for academic staff with no remuneration or rewards for additional managerial and administrative responsibilities, particularly at the level of middle management. Middle managers simply serve to implement decisions taken by the executive and senior management and monitor staff through various accountability measures. This also serves to impact on time for research, teaching and student support. With pressures to be research productive, teaching and students then are less privileged, and the consequence

of this is that access to higher education and access to participation within the institution, particularly for disadvantaged students, is significantly compromised.

In my concluding chapter, using Frasers conception of representation, I present my final argument in light of the findings I have reported in the last three chapters.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Gender Inequity in SAHE: A Case of Misframing

Fraser (2008), in terms of her three-dimensional theory of justice, calls for what she refers to as transformational approaches to addressing social injustice. Underpinning these approaches are what she refers to as “dialogical” and institutional” justice theorizing in relation to: the “circumstances of justice”, the “who” of justice and the “how of justice (pp. 61-67). To begin with, she explains that we cannot unproblematically accept the “circumstances of justice”, that is, the historical circumstances of injustice and this must be made explicit. To determine the “how” and the “who” in this current context of globalization “requires a new the conceptualization of the circumstances of justice, structural causation, and the all affected principle” (p. 41). The transformative approach recognizes that injustices exist within and beyond the state-territorial boundaries. We therefore need to understand how people’s lives are being shaped by the current socio-political context and the all affected principle means that everyone affected by the social context or a particular social structure or institution qualifies as a claimant of social justice. This means that justice claims are not dependent on a particular geographical location but on the collective claims against structures or institutions that “set the ground rules that govern their social interaction, thereby shaping their respective life possibilities in patterns of advantage and disadvantage” (p. 24). Feminists are one such group, who on the basis of shared claims that transcend territorial states are challenging gender injustices in the current context of neoliberal globalization.

To address women’s oppression in higher education requires a broader more inclusive analysis of social justice that focuses on both economic and cultural injustice without an emphasis on one or the other. In acknowledging the critique of her binary theory of justice, Fraser (2008) acknowledged that recognition remedies and its valorization of differences conflicts with redistribution remedies which call for the dismantling of gender differentiation. How then will an analysis of social justice address both recognition and redistributive injustices? She argues that

cultural globalization and the concomitant intensification of struggles for recognition not only displaces struggles against economic injustices, it is also a historical irony in terms of the acceleration of neoliberal globalization. This “problem of displacement” as she refers to it is a threat to our ability to envision social justice in the current context (Fraser, 2001, p. 4). To address the problem of displacement she proposes “a non-identitarian conception of recognition that is appropriate to the knowledge economy, one that promotes interaction across differences and synergies with redistribution” (p. 3). By superimposing one over the other, we then develop a broader conception of social justice as encompassing struggles for redistribution and recognition, which she recognizes works in principle. A non-identitarian conception of recognition also addresses the “problem of reification” which refers to the proliferation of recognition struggles, which have arisen despite increased transcultural interaction or because of it (p. 7). Fraser (2001) explains that a non-identitarian conception of recognition means not looking at recognition through the lens of identity which calls for an engagement with a politics of identity. Identity politics is associated with struggles against the devaluation of a group by the dominant culture and the subsequent damage to members sense of self. To address this the subordinate group must develop new self-representations which are then publically valorized to get them the respect and esteem of society. There are two problems with this: one it reifies group identity and obscures the experiences of subordinate groups in terms of the intersection of race, class and gender. If we examine the experiences of women academics in South Africa, we may identify how women as a group have experienced misrecognition in higher education. But it can also obscure their experiences in terms of the intersection of race, class and gender which would call for an analysis of misrecognition and maldistribution. In this study, it was identified that differences in terms of gender, race and class do matter in terms of how we conceive of social justice in SAHE. We cannot ignore that apartheid was not just about racial division. It was about class inequalities entrenched in a racially divided society institutionalized in the state. Fraser therefore distinguishes identity politics from what she proposes as the “status model”, that is recognition as status (p. 8). In this sense misrecognition refers to social subordination in terms of being prevented from fully participating as equals in society. Women traditionally have been excluded from participating as peers in higher education. In order to address this, we need to understand how institutionalized patterns of cultural value have positioned women as inferior and other and consequently excluded, marginalized and ignored them thereby denying them

parity of participation. Social justice in this sense would serve to address misrecognition and status subordination by examining and transforming institutionalized cultural norms that privilege one group and impedes the participation of the subordinate group. With the corporatization of higher education, this study showed how androcentrism is being re-entrenched as the dominant cultural norm and as a result impedes parity of participation for women.

If we look at gender injustice in SAHE we need to begin with understanding it beyond the frame of the national state in terms of the influence of globalization. Fraser explains that in the context of globalization we cannot view the nation state as the only frame and regulator of social justice because of transnational influences. If we do, our ability to envision social justice in this context is compromised because we may impose a national frame on issues that are caused by global processes. She refers to this as the “problem of misframing” (p. 10). An analysis of social injustices in SAHE must begin with an analysis of struggles against maldistribution and misrecognition that are historically located nationally as well as transnationally. A review of the literature on higher education policy in South Africa has demonstrated the effects of globalization (See Chapter Two). In terms of political representation, the political sphere must be restructured to ensure equal voice and parity of participation in decision making, and this is in question when we analyse the processes of policy development in South Africa, and certainly an area for further research in terms of our conceptions of social justice. The shift from RDP to GEAR and its influence on higher education policy can be seen as misframing in the sense that the nation state was taken as the frame to identify social injustices and not globalization. The reference to globalization in policy formulation was about positioning South Africa as a player in the global economic arena rather than to understand social injustices perpetrated by global forces and this in itself is a major form of injustice. It further prevents those oppressed from challenging the global forces that are responsible for their oppression, as the nation state is positioned as the regulator of social justice.

Bozalek and Boughey (2012) in their analysis of SAHE question whether higher education itself is an appropriate frame to consider social justice or if this is problematic because it prevents us

from focusing on the whole education system as being socially unjust. In applying Frasers conception of misframing, they identify it as a major form of injustice in that it divides political spaces in ways that prevent staff and students from challenging the forces that oppress them. In this study, participants were denied political representation in all structures in various ways which prevented their inclusion in decision making, as well as in the establishment of the processes of decision-making. Misframing must allow for all to participate in identifying who are included and who are excluded and who therefore are the claimants of redistribution and recognition. This relates to the equal representation of women at all levels within the institution and equal voice in terms of participatory decision making.

Struggles for gender justice in higher education have been focused on misrecognition in terms of the status subordination, that is, the cultural domination, non-recognition and disrespect that women students and staff have and continue to experience. The remedies for addressing misrecognition have been about dismantling the institutional hierarchies of cultural value which have traditionally subjected women to a subordinate status, disrespect and non-recognition. If we apply the principle of parity of participation in our analysis of gender injustice in SAHE, we then need to understand how the distribution of resources and institutional status hierarchies have excluded and continue to exclude women as equal participants in higher education.

What does it mean to be a women academic in the reformed university? For me and for the participants it means a growing sense of alienation; alienation from the institution because our personal values are in tension with the universities corporate values. We value teaching, we value our students and don't see them as clients, we value the people we work with, we value the dissemination of knowledge for the betterment of society and do not see it as a commodity, we value collegial ways of working and are not in competition for rewards. It also means a loss of independence and control over our work, be it teaching or research. Increasingly, our work is controlled by managers who are influenced by external forces. While it may seem that we have control over what we teach, this is influenced by a range of factors. What and how we teach is now influenced by how much we teach, by the resources available to us, by the size of our classes as well as the structuring of learning. Increased workloads, fewer resources, larger

classes, semesterization and modularization have resulted in greater constraints and less control for academics over their work. The quantification of academic work, the number of hours and students taught, the number of research outputs and productivity units earned, the number of graduates produced and funds generated is now the order of the day and the way in which our worth as academics is determined. Career advancement is now closely tied to these quantitative indices of value and worth that defines an academic in the corporate university, which further alienates women from their academic work and the institution. For participants and for women academics as studies have shown (See Chapter Seven), collegiality and collaboration not competition, individuality not individualism, the process not the product is what counts, not the counting of what one does.

The reinforcement of male dominated approaches, so prevalent in universities not only threatens equity gains, it leads to greater inequity. Like other research findings, my research has demonstrated that the corporatization of the university and the prevailing masculine culture of new managerialism is set to once again privilege men and disadvantage women (Metcalf and Slaughter, 2008). According to Metcalfe and Slaughter (2008), women are advancing in their careers in the context of academic capitalism, but a celebration of their success ignores the majority of women who have not achieved similar gains, because of they have not adapted to fit the individualistic, competitive, market-based criteria now used to reward academic staff.

Have policies and structures in the university changed to reflect the realities of the lives of people in them? Do the current policies and practices address misrecognition and maldistribution? Do they give equal to value all and create work environments that support all students and staff thereby promoting parity of participation? Given that universities influence social practices and priorities – they can lead the way to creating a new social order through recognition, redistribution and representation. However, the current “competitive, individualistic, out-put oriented” culture that dominates the corporate university is counter-productive to the effective implementation of gender equity policies. Gender equity is not about the number of women in academia, or the number of women accessing senior positions. It is about the full and equal participation of women in all aspects of academic life.

According to Mama (2003), policy intentions globally and locally reflect a greater obligation to gender equality but the picture emerging, as is evident in this study, is that the demands of academic careers in corporatized South African universities threaten the realization of our policy commitments towards gender-equity. She reminds us that within universities, women, in addition to their core responsibilities, continue to carry out “feminised work of institutional maintenance and interpersonal services on the campuses” (p. 120).

This confirms for me the need for research on gender and higher education reform. Critical policy theorists distinguish between treating gender as an environmental variable and engendering so-called neutral structures, policies, and practices (Bensimon & Marshall, 2003). Treating gender as an environmental variable problematizes women in that they are either seen to be the problem or they are seen to be in need of remedy. Engendering policy, structures and practices problematizes practices and decisions that are gender neutral or gender explicit to show the consequences for women. Therefore, from a critical feminist perspective, the question one would ask is not, "Why are women faculty less productive than male faculty?" Using men as the reference to assess women's productivity “leads to the obvious conclusion that women are less productive because, compared to male faculty, they publish less, they have less funded research, they teach more, and so on” (Bensimon & Marshall, 2003, p. 345). The outcome of such analysis is to ask how women can be made more like men. In other words, what can be done to help them to be more research productive like men; and so “cures” or what Bensimon and Marshall refer to as “compensatory strategies” such as mentoring or buying out their teaching time are identified to help them teach less and publish more. Reframing the question from a critical feminist perspective focuses the analysis on how gender impacts on productivity. Such an analysis would then focus on what constitutes productivity, how do academics accrue it and how the ways in which productivity accrues disadvantages and advantages females and males. Given the findings of my research, I believe that this is a critical area for further research.

Contribution to the Field

Few empirical studies in South Africa have sought to investigate the experiences of women academics in the restructured university from their standpoint by examining the intersection of globalization, higher education reform and gender its implications for conceptualizations of social justice in policy and practice. This study therefore contributes to the body of knowledge on the intersection of globalization, higher education reform and gender equity in South Africa and globally. It has demonstrated that experiences of participants are similar to the experiences of women academics in the restructured university in other countries as revealed in the literature. A key contribution this research makes relates to how we conceptualize social justice post-apartheid and in this context of neoliberal globalization. We cannot, as I have argued drawing on Fraser's theory of justice, approach an analysis of gender injustice in higher education without contextualizing it to gender injustice in terms of the globalization of higher education which extends beyond our borders. An analysis of gender injustice in higher education must be framed beyond the nation state so as to reveal the global influences on national developments.

In addition, we cannot undertake an analysis of gender injustice from the perspective of a politics of recognition without examining it from the perspective of economic injustice, that is a redistribution. Key to understanding who is eligible for claims of justice in terms of redistribution and recognition is Fraser's (2008) all affected principle. This means all who are affected are entitled to claims for social justice but this can only be determined through parity of participation across all levels beyond the university and within. What this study has demonstrated is that we have not and will not achieve gender justice or any form of justice if all who are affected are prevented from participating as peers in establishing the process of decision making as well as in decision making on what affects their lives. This study has made a contribution to the literature on gender equity in the corporate university by demonstrating how participants are being positioned in the restructured corporate university and the ways in which they are being denied parity of participation, despite the previous and current gains. It has established that corporatization and marketization are problematic for women, particularly in respect to the conflict between participants values and corporate values, as confirmed in the literature and as described by participants from their standpoint.

Limitations of the Study

While I have taken measures to ensure that this research is trustworthy, valid and rigorous there are inherent limitations in relation to generalizability and sampling. Given my position as a feminist researcher, I was acutely aware of the many ways in which I was challenging and attempting to break away from androcentric norms that have and continue to dominate research in academia. In many ways I perceived this as risky and as a reflexive practice, made explicit where I crossed the boundaries and where I complied with traditional norms that defined research in the social sciences.

Generalizability

One of the main limitations of this study, is its generalizability to various populations. Given that the research was one university, my findings are not generalizable to all universities or all women academics.

Sample

A second limitation relates to my sample. My intention was to identify a sample of participants that reflected their diversity in terms of their rank, their discipline as well as their years of experience. However, I ended up with the majority of participants from the School of Education (See Chapter Four). In this sense then, my findings cannot be generalized to all women in the university in the study. I addressed this by setting up the participants from education as my primary sample and hope to continue with this research and extend the sample to include women from all disciplines across ranks at the post-doctoral level. In addition, given my lack of access to university documentation in terms of women academic staff, I am aware that I did not extend the invitation to participate to all staff members. My desire to honour all the women who responded positively was also a factor which contributed to most being from education as this is where I started with my interviews. I ought to have selected equal numbers across the disciplines to ensure representivity within the institution.

Epilogue

On the 15 December 2013, South Africa and the world laid to rest one of Africa's greatest sons. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, fondly known as Tata Madiba. Like millions of South Africans and people the world over, I mourn the death of an icon who symbolized love and freedom. It was his love of his people and his country that made Nelson Mandela sacrifice his life for freedom and democracy. It saddens me when I think about how far we have come and how far back the neoliberal agenda has set us back, because it is not love but economics that determines the direction of our lives.

Joyce Banda, SADC chair and President of Malawi, first woman president of the African region in her tribute to Tata Madiba (Nelson Mandela) described him as epitomizing true leadership because: "Leadership is about falling in love with the people that you serve and the people falling in love with you." She also paid tribute to the Winnie Madikizela and Graca Macel, two iconic women, who through their love for our people and our country underwrote the legacy Mandela left behind. For me, this serves as a reminder to all of the strength, resilience and determination of the women of Africa.

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APPENDIX ONE

Narrative One: Being an Academic

Dear Reader

On Being Temporary

There was a difference between the permanent and temporary staff. There was that sense that the temporary contract staff were brought in as the workers and I guess I accepted it. It's kind of like a double-edged sword. I think in education because your colleagues are so pleasant and the leadership was so supportive, I didn't really get that angry. There were a number of us in this position and there was a sense of, 'well we're all kind of in the same boat'.

When I look back it is obvious that we were exploited and most of us in this position were women. In Applied Language Studies we were all women – we were a group of eight or nine tutors. So, yes, the system exploited women. I mean they were the cheapest labour. I'm just trying to paint the picture of where my collusion then comes from, this inherent collusion. What did the system do? The system used me. It was easy to use me and we were all exploited.

You begin to question yourself, "am I being appointed on a temporary basis because I'm not good enough to be permanent, or as good as so-and-so and so-and-so who became permanent?' Are they saying, 'we'll put you on contract and see how you do.' That was problematic for me because I made those assumptions about my status in the School of Education. I also assumed that it maybe because I'm Coloured or maybe because I didn't do well in the interview or I'm not intelligent enough. So all these things then coalesce into this big burden that you carry and you then you have to do above and beyond the call of duty to prove yourself. It was a huge struggle for me and in that time I lost twelve kilograms.

Had the system recognised me even as an individual worth anything from the start, I guess I would have been in a very different place long ago! I guess the system would answer back, 'but then why didn't you take advantage of the opportunities that were available to you – what was wrong with you?' I think that's the kind of dialectical relationship between things. Yes, my own disposition was ... lacking in confidence, overawed, intimidated by the environment, simply constructed as a school teacher.

Defining Academic Work

I don't know what I perceive myself as. I work and I suppose if I had to sort of deconstruct it... then 'Oh, I'm an academic!' When I was asked about my work I would play it down and say: 'Mmmmm... I work at the university!' Well, I got to a point where I thought, 'Well, what am I paid to do? What is the work of an academic? Thinking about it this way made it easier as I didn't have to then tussle with my emotions too much. I'm paid to think. Well, as academics we're paid to think in a certain way. I'm paid to go out there, study the social situation, do in fact what I love to do which is to engage with students, think deeply into their issues, think deeply into the social connections, try and understand what's happening. I think at one point it was like saying to myself, 'give over, just accept this thing. If that's how you define an academic, then that is what you are doing. So stop being so anxious about taking on that identity.

I think the real shift began when I started my PhD – which I also did almost by default. I think that was a turning point of saying, 'okay, now you really are an academic. I think that has made a big difference to how I feel about myself now. The rather ironic, paradoxical thing about getting the PhD is that the shift, I think, is largely externally determined. It's the way other people treat you and perceive people with PhDs that caused the shift. Why couldn't I have gotten to this level of confidence in my own intellect, the confidence to even speak as I did yesterday at faculty: to challenge someone at the level of deanship. Why couldn't I have done that just on my own, with other resources?

So I still feel quite angry that the pressure was on for people to get PhDs, which does terrible things to you. I have yet to meet anyone who didn't have the most exhausting, undermining, terrible, ragged PhD experience. It took its toll on me and I know that that's directly related to my own sense of inferiority and inadequacy – intellectual inadequacy. So I feel very different now, and I think it's that that brings me to a point where I'm finally going to say to you: yes, I am an academic...After 18 years I now say, with some sort of equanimity: Yes, okay, my identity is that of an academic.

It was great to be able to get into a permanent position because everything changed. Finally you become more acknowledged in the university system at that sort of level for what that's worth. My permanent status brought with it a new found sense of security – I had medical aid, pension, and a permanent job. But with that came a tension in terms of being one of them – now, you were part of the academy. It was almost like if I adopted an academic identity, I almost simultaneously adopted a degree of arrogance, a degree of superiority. It would mean I would be seen to have certain attributes and I didn't want to be constructed in the way in which academics are so often constructed.

Looking back I realize that the posts that were made permanent were largely because B had put so much effort into it for all women. So, on the one hand that can be seen as a really admirable effort on his part to boost some aspect of equity. At another, it shows that all who were being exploited were women. So, in the ensuing years, in terms of my experiences which to me seemed so personal, I have asked, 'had I been a man would I have had them? Would the institution have treated me differently?'

So what does being an academic mean? Being an academic is about teaching and research... you need to do both. It is about keeping up with the field and finding... not only new ideas but

also new ways of working both in terms of teaching and research. That is not what the university values. Now I think it's a matter of churning out paper. It is about understanding, firstly, what it is that drives you as the individual. And for me, it's about engaging with other people... networking. It's about understanding who you are as a person. I think teaching is a major part of what I do. The real academic is the one that really internalises these processes: teaching, learning ...I love my teaching, I love reading around my teaching and ... I am very critical about what I teach and how I teach. But for me it's not just standing up in front of a class and throwing the information at them but really working with students to develop their knowledge and abilities. To really communicate with students I become very involved with them. I learn their names quickly – I get to care about them. I think that that's an important aspect of being an academic – having a relationship with the students. It's forming some kind of a bond and trying to have an influence on their life. So, it's more than just teaching, it's growing students. And then there's the research – so doing original research, raising funds for it, publishing and post-graduate training.

Establishing a Disciplinary Base

To be an academic ... is to have a discipline home and to know that you're grounded in a discipline. I'd say I'm pretty mundane. I sort of get on and do what I've got to do and most of it is teaching. I think for most of my life I've been running to catch up with the discipline. I started off in history and literature as my majors and discovered linguistics and second language teaching much later which I became very excited about. Making that shift meant that while I was doing the literature I was also developing my work in this new field. When I moved into higher education studies I shifted my focus and specialization once more. My focus shifted to curriculum and staff development in higher education which is a very wide field of study. I had students who were so varied in their research focus and this meant that I had to read broadly across the field to keep up with them. This meant very little time to get engaged in my own areas of curiosity and research interest. That is challenging, balancing your teaching with supporting your postgraduate students as well as working on developing your own research interests.

I managed to just – as we say, fly beneath the radar and just keep doing what I did ... teaching language. During that time I went on sabbatical for a semester and my post had to be advertised ... for the duration of my sabbatical but... when I got back... I was out...just like that... but I wasn't informed. I called it the silent coup. I was very angry; I was very hurt. I felt it was very personal. I took it very personally. I'm a bit like that, you know. I took it as a personal attack: 'let's get rid of her because she won't play the game!' I really believed that this person was not happy with me and I'm not saying I was blameless. I was probably a bit too outspoken and put a few backs up, I don't know. But I really do think this woman, who was the coordinator, just didn't like me and didn't want to work with me. I was a bit arrogant and I didn't have that, 'you're so wonderful attitude'. I didn't stroke her ego and I didn't play her game and that was it...I was out.

That decision meant that I had to go back to teaching literature, which I loved anyway. I was facing the decision about which department I should belong too as I could not establish myself being in two... Within literature I was nobody although I loved teaching literature which was my first love, my first training. I didn't have to make that decision as it was made for me. Having taken on literature full time I was very aware of my limited experience and I had no research. I enjoyed my teaching and I did research for my classes, but I didn't have the confidence to write – to jump into the fray of debate because I was just out of the loop. I did mainly the language teaching and the first year work ...very much at the junior level. And then, suddenly, there was a gap in second year. I'd always been interested in renaissance literature and Shakespeare was one of my particular interests and passions but I'd never been allowed to teach it because the three senior male lecturers taught Shakespeare and no one else was allowed to teach that. So you always had to look for gaps, you had to look for something no one else wanted to teach, like women's stuff. I just thought, 'this is it! This is my moment!' And I said, "I'd like to do a course on Shakespeare." There was a bit of hemming and hawing about it but I think eventually they were quite desperate and it was a major coup for me that I was suddenly allowed to teach Shakespeare. Only at the second year level but nevertheless it was a major coup.

Then I had another breakthrough with teaching. One of the senior male lecturers had a course on contemporary South African fiction which again was his area that no one else was allowed to teach. He phoned me one night and said “Look, I’ve got to fly to Cape Town and I’m going to be away ...and I just can’t cancel the lectures! Do you think you could do it with them?” I said yes, straight away and I knew nothing, I knew absolutely nothing. Suddenly I had six classes on this book with third years and I worked my butt off and oh my goodness it was very exciting. The following year he asked me if I would like to do the Cronin again and I said, ‘Yes, definitely!’ So now I was a minor – but I was in his course! He, the big name, allowed me to do this, so it was a big coup. When he left the university to go on to greater things... his whole course was just sitting there and it was a very popular course. Oh my goodness now what do we do we’ve lost David, and I said “I’ll do it.” I just jumped in and said, ‘I’ll do it!’ And people sort of... you know people never immediately say “Oh fantanstic.” They sort of say, “Oh I wonder what we should do! Do you think we should still keep it.” And I’m saying, “I’ll do it!” A bit like Donkey in Shrek, “I’ll do it! I’ll do it!” you know. And they’re saying, “Hmm, I wonder what we can do. Have we got anyone who’s an expert in the field?” And then eventually I managed to prevail. I said “Look, I’ve been teaching in the course with David. I will do it. I am interested in this.” And that’s how I got the course which I run to this day and which I’m very proud of! But I just feel like a dwarf in a world of giants! I didn’t respect these men because they taught the same thing year in and year out and they didn’t publish much. But in those days things were different then. You could be a full professor with an honours degree like the head of our discipline. What got you a promotion was your length of service rather than your research record!

I think there must be many academics who sit in their offices and beaver away, doing what they do, teaching their undergraduate students. And they too are academics, in the fact that they are steeped in and are interested in their disciplines and they grow the discipline in that way. And I think quite often we overlook the contribution that those people make to developing the new cohort of academics, because you take your students through and then you’ve prepared them for postgraduate work and so on. I just think that sometimes we make that differentiation that there are some people who are real academics and then there’re just the rest of those who are the worker bees.

But I often feel like a sham, or a faker, that I'm not really an academic. I think it's all those things and I think it's to do with gender! I also think it's to do with being in a Cinderella subject where we're viewed as playing as not real academics. I think it's also because I haven't got a doctorate and people give you a lot of lip about that although I do publish. But then I always think, 'well maybe it's not good enough!' ... it's a funny thing that goes on in my head all the time that I vacillate between feeling good enough and just feeling like... "Ohhhh! Oh God, I'm crap at this, I'm not really any good as an academic". The only thing that really gets me though is if I fail at my teaching. But I think that I suffer from a woman's esteem problem in that I think other people take me more seriously as an academic than I take myself. Other people recognise what I do as worthwhile and somehow I don't know who it is that has to validate me, who it is out there that needs to say: wow – someone that I will actually hear because at the moment I hear nobody else. I don't hear the accolades. It's just stupid, and I mean I can rationalise it but it doesn't feed my sense of self! I think it's a woman thing too, and a legacy of never being good enough somehow. And then everything you hear gets fed into the script that you're clinging to for dear life. So you follow your script and everything bounces off that – "I am not worthy, I'm not that good, I'll never be good enough...aarrghhh! Then I have to complete the sentence, "I'll never be good enough until..." – and it's still the completion of that sentence that I have to struggle with. I think it's also partly a persona thing because I present myself as such a bullshit artist but at heart am quite a serious academic. Those two persona get confused and they don't see it. So what? Do I need to bring those two things close together or do I need to change my way of being in the university? Do I have to put on another persona in order to be taken seriously and to take myself seriously? No! It's not me! I can't do that. That amount of acting is beyond me!

I just recently called myself an artist. I just used to say: well I teach art. I mean I see these other academics and I think: 'Oh. Shoot. Look at them!' ... so I suppose I'm intimidated by the big ones. I mean my heart will pound and I'll get caught in a tight spot. I don't know if I see myself as an academic! So, finally, after 33 years, I suppose I academically know what I'm doing and I know about ceramics, I know about world ceramics, I know about ceramic techniques, I know

about the history of ceramics. I suppose I am an academic. I know the things that other people don't – if you lift up a piece and it says Royal Dalton underneath, anybody knows that. But when it's Chinese or Vietnamese or 18th century, bring it to me and I'll tell you what it is. One develops that by spending hours and hours and hours in museums.

Difference Matters

I think I'm aware of myself as a woman academic. I think that it's very important for me to feel that. I don't want to be seen as just an academic. I would like to be seen as a woman academic. I'm very tired of the ease with which maleness dominates anyway, generally speaking... I think, in an institution such as we have now, I have a special sense of that: it gets to me the ease with which male academics can dominate. I think one then has to think about what one means exactly by that. If we understand discourses as obviously much more than the language, for me, the dominant discourse is male and it informs the form of life one experiences in this institution. And therefore, to me it's what led to the increasing lack of focus on people. Men seem to find it so easy to disregard the emotional side, to stay with systems in preference to people. I don't deny that there are many women who have colluded with that. Maybe the higher one goes up into a bureaucracy one becomes a bureaucrat; and are bureaucrats non-gendered? I don't know. But I think for me my power is in being a woman. And I think that that's my greatest strength in my relationship with students. I believe my strength comes from being a woman first and an academic second. So yes, I identifying myself as a woman academic is very important to me. And in fact, if I come to claim anything speaking from an identity, it would be that that I would be proud of.

I think the journey, the 18 years here, probably undoubtedly reflects my own personal life changes as well. So those years in which I've indicated that there was a kind of ease with staying with one particular identity as a school-based educator and to fit that onto the kind of mainstream existence, like my on-going heterosexual sort of life, as it were. I was living within that – with all sorts of angst – but still conforming to a mainstream gendered identity. The last ten years maps onto greater awareness of my own difference – to be able to claim my identity as

a woman in a much stronger and clearer way for myself and this also probably maps onto my own slow growth as a woman academic. I've arrived at the point where I had to encounter my marginalisation of myself and finally my own integration as a woman with myself – even as a lesbian and it's not always been easy for me to integrate. I couldn't ever live any other way now but I never found it easy to just say: "I'm now this"! Even to use the language was difficult and that growth to be able to say: "I am a lesbian" has taken a long time.

I have to talk about race as well because I think that for me is a hugely textured aspect of who I am now. It's an important aspect of my identity – to have to see it, to talk about it! I think as a white woman at this point in our history and me at this point in my history, not only is it an extraordinary moment for me to witness myself in it, but I feel that we have such a profound work of recognition to do as white women. I won't speak for all white women, but I feel we should have engaged with our whiteness. As a white woman with my history, I think I have a huge amount of recognition work to do to see the other in ways I may never have seen before. And being a woman means that I have capacities and emotional resources and capacities, insights, and from my own experience, my own lived history and a choice to live differently as an "other" in the last ten years has sensitised me hugely to what it means to be constructed as "other". And so I feel like ... there's a lot of work to do.

In general, you feel like an academic, but in some instances you will feel as if nobody takes you seriously because you are a female or black... like in meetings. You would be in a meeting and you come up with a suggestion or an idea and nobody takes it serious. But the same idea, perhaps expressed differently by somebody else it is taken up and everybody thinks it is a great contribution. I think to myself, 'but isn't this what I said in our previous meeting?' You begin to question why you were not taken seriously. Was it because it came from a woman? This is especially poignant when it is taken seriously because a male or white colleague said it and I wonder: is it because I'm a woman? Is it because I'm black? There're times like those, when you know you are academic, but there are times when you do feel you're a female academic or a black academic.

You can see that to these people you always have to prove yourself'. So you have to work very hard. I don't know whether it happens to people from other races, but for us, as black academics you have to earn it. You work very hard for you to be respected by students. You work very hard to earn their respect. It's very, very hard, I'm telling you. You find yourself having to work on it all the time because it, in terms of confidence, it does harm to your confidence. And you always have to try to convince yourself to say no, they can't be right. You always have to... otherwise you can begin to hate your work. So you do feel that it lowers your self-esteem, it cripples your confidence... Maybe it's because of our past, because of the attitudes that they have but not because I am less of an academic. You have to try and drill that into your head...I am academic enough you try to understand it... maybe it's because of our history, it's because of upbringing... so you try to come up with a lot of explanations other than letting it affect you ...that you are maybe not enough of an academic... especially females, black academics, especially females, you really have to... fight for who you believe you are.

Being an Academic is Being Political

I don't fit into the system. When I was offered this position I called two people who were like academic mentors in my life and said to them: 'I've been offered the position and I've got a week to decide if I want it. What should I do? One of them asked me, 'do you see yourself as an academic?' I said, 'well, yes and no! I didn't quite understand what he meant. Now, I think I understand what he means and I'm not an academic. Having worked here for five years I have this little image that I've built up of what an academic is. An academic is a person who is very political. In other words, you look for a gap in the market and you fashion and push yourself into that gap in the market and make yourself and set yourself up as the expert in that field. That's what I mean by political. It's about having the right lingo, the right language, the gift of the gab in that area and pushing yourself in that specific field. Regardless of whether you really, in your life, put your money where your mouth is, whether you live by those principles of social justice or inclusion, or whatever. But you'll say all the right things to create a little niche in the market for yourself. I suppose its economics, basically. You're marketing yourself. So that's what I

mean, and I'm not that. If I'm going to have a niche and be seen as some expert in the field it's not because I'm going to push myself there. I'm just not that way inclined and I can't explain why – I've wrestled with that for a while and I've thought: why? I'm not prepared to compete because it's a lot of back biting... lots of standing on other people to get to the front line...to get into the limelight before the other person. There really are genuine people who are there because they know more than anybody else in the field. There really are. But there are a lot of people in our institution and that I've worked with, who are not experts... but they have cleverly and politically set themselves up in that role as expert. And you know, they say you can baffle people with bullshit.

Yours sincerely,

*Miriam, Florence, Rachel, Helen, Lillian, Adelaide, Helen, Ray, Albertina, Frances,
Victoria, Betty, Josie*

APPENDIX TWO

Narrative One: Experiences of Institutional Restructuring

Dear Reader

Corporatization: Profits before People

I guess my disclaimer would be that I'm feeling quite negative about the institution and the way in which I don't believe it's transformation but corporatization. I'm fiercely opposed to a lot of the changes that are taking place – and it's global: it's the corporatization of our lives in total. I'm even more fiercely opposed to the way in which our lives are being altered by business, marketplace values... instrumental rationality: everything being driven by market principles. Now we seem to have to fight for every single scrap that we get.

When I think back to the three phases of institutional restructuring, which includes the pre-merger period, it becomes evident that there were two reasons for institutional change. One related to transformation of the institution in line with emerging policies which were aimed at addressing the inequalities and inequities of apartheid education. The second related to our emergence into the international arena, given our isolation during apartheid. I'm quite conscious that that whole process of change which was quite slow, quite surreptitious in a sense, suddenly speeded up. And I don't know whether it is to do with where we are in South Africa – although I suspect not – but it happened around the same time as the whole restructuring of higher education generally: mergers, etc., a much greater hardening of attitudes.

I just think it just goes against absolutely everything that I've always associated with being at a university and with being an intellectual. It just seems to me completely alien and completely inappropriate. So it's anathema to me and to many of my colleagues... in the humanities who

just don't understand it; we don't like it. I think what made the substance of a liberal arts institution, or a liberal institution has vanished. And there's a nasty, rough and thoughtless side to corporatisation that is dangerous.

I think we have now become a business. You know we have now fallen into that mechanistic or instrumental way of thinking. Now at the university we're expected to produce people who can do jobs, not people who are educated, who can think about the world, who can think about what's right, what's wrong and have a sense of clarity about their... broader purpose. Because thinking, from what I can tell, is not what the university is about anymore. It's about profit. Profit before people! They – the corporatists – want throughput of button-pushers; a nation of button-pushers who are trained to press the button in the right order and sequence and timing.

And we want to develop thinking human beings... people who can think independently, who can be creative, innovative humans and contribute to a world of people seeking to do the best for that world...people who are capable of self-reflection and critical thought and who are responsive to their environment as a force for good, as a force for development.... to really contribute to transformation the way we need it... But I think that we've been pushed at this business of skills training. Peter Abbs makes the point that... training is not education. Training is so that you can push the button the right way, in the right sequence and at the right time. Education is knowing why you have to push the button in the first place and what impact pushing the button has. But to my horror I think more and more we just produce people who have the paper.

One only has to look at the language that is being used which we laugh about because all the official communiqué is so corporate - disaggregate, throughput, productivity units, managers and client-centred. Glossy pamphlets keep arriving that sort of do things in a very corporate way with pink little cake graphs about performance management and performance. Well I mean we all just fell about laughing when we saw the picture on the front – all these little people, all marching, all squashed together, all following their leader. It's very alienating. It just makes you

feel like you work for Anglo-American ...not for the university. Someone said to me a few years ago: 'who's your line manager?' And I said: 'what's that? What's a line manager?' ... I felt like quite stupid because it was explained to me and I said, 'oh, you mean my head, my head of department?' Oh no, she's not a head of department anymore! Damn. What is she called again? What a shock to find that you're suddenly working for a business. The very thing that has been a very absolute no-no for me all my life you know, to work for a business that's about money and not adding value... You know I wouldn't be surprised if they had punch-in cards soon – Ka-chank!

Participatory Decision-making or Autocratic Managerialism

Suddenly there are all these communiqués about road shows and it's all meant to keep us in touch but it seems to be more about management and their plans than about actually getting in touch with what we're doing and our views.

... we got told that we would be consulted, we were going to be asked what we wanted. And in the first meeting that we had we said we were quite excited about what was going on but we wanted to consider our options. And one of the things that we put forward was that we wanted to remain in the faculty as part of the School of We were quite happy to be seconded or give a portion of our time to working with the DVC.... Now that was an illusion that we could actually put that forward because in fact the decision had been made and there was no further discussion on it. I mean in every discussion we had, and we had several meetings, both with the DVC but also with the members of the school. And the school itself was saying: Well we don't want to be dismembered; we want to think about it. Those were a waste of time... Because it was quite clear that the decisions had been made. At the last ... meeting, the proposed structure ... was laid on the table in organic form. And there were some comments from the assembled group. And we then discovered that it's already been through Senate and Council, so there wasn't much point in commenting on it. So that's what you're constantly told – presenting you with this document to be discussed, but actually it's already been decided.

It's driven by the executive, by management. It's embodied in policies which very quickly become rules. And that it's not done in consultation with the practitioners on the ground. We do NOT value or prioritise or utilise the experiences of people that are already there who are practitioners in the area. ...I'm constantly amazed: we constantly hear: 'we want research'... but actually we base very few of our decisions on that research. We are not informed by research; we are informed by what is economical or what our latest trajectory of the day is.

I think the way I've experienced it... is that people stacked up above you are hiding behind the defensive that they're just doing their jobs. And where we once had representative structures all the way through to the highest committee structures, like Senate, now it's more at an advisory level... it has been restructured and isn't an effective unit anymore. So anywhere where people could have voiced and taken things forward... people are finding that many of those structures are moribund now. We don't actually have any say. I think it is the fact that you don't feel included; you don't feel your voice is either listened to, wanted, whereas before I think structures worked. So the deans who we used to elect to represent the faculty, the people through whom we would discuss all of issues of mutual concern and know that the dean would be obliged, in a sense, to take our point of view and to be our defence, to be our first port of call, are now appointed. They're earning fat salaries... and they're prepared to protect those salaries and just do their jobs as they are directed to by those above them on the food chain. There were certainly problems before, I mean who was in Senate was only the professors and ordinary academics didn't ever get heard... but I think there was a sense that you could voice things at faculty board and you could put forward proposals – and generally people listened to one another.

What I'm finding is that less and less are managers prepared to stand up against the flow from the top. So if you're working against the stream, you get beaten for it. There are no champions; nobody will open their mouths anywhere to stand up against that kind of thing. It's becoming more and more difficult. There's very much a bully boy kind of process which is disturbing. Now, I think there is a largely exclusionary process; it's not a democratic process at all. And because of the new rules and regulations, it means that there's very little space to maneuver. Now it's a

far more restrictive environment. So I think that people are finding themselves pressured from all the way around.

... I think that there's an in group and there's a very large out – sort of out there group. The in group tends to be management and a number of particular academics, all of whom sing the same song... They can repeat them parrot fashion. A favourite one of mine is, 'We don't want to hear about the past; the past is not important. What existed before the merger is not relevant'. And that comes out regularly and I think it comes straight from the top and its repeated parrot fashion all the way down. So when you keep being told that, and you can't build on the experiences and you can't bring in those experiences and they're being devalued, it tells you something about what you're doing and where you've come from. I think those people are perceived as bully boys. You see it quite clearly in meetings, where people are browbeaten, are told to be quiet, are simply ignored. It's made quite clear who's in favour and who's out of favour... It's so confrontational that it means that people will not ever broach that question again. Partly, I think, because decisions have already been... taken and there is no space for negotiation in those things. ...Those people who do stick their necks out occasionally in meetings... get hung out to dry. So they are the voices for which many people may be very grateful that it's being voiced, but they will not stand up and back that person.

I think it's very easy to position people as oppositional, isolate them and lambaste them. I think what it will do is drive people into their offices to do their own thing and to be less engaged institutionally unless it's within their own interests. We push people towards being kind of very selfish in that sense: protecting their spaces, not engaging things that are not on their job descriptions and all that kind of stuff. ... I want to divorce myself from the other roles. ... I hardly ever go to faculty board meetings because it just becomes ugly... and you walk away from there thinking, 'Gosh, do I want to work in this place?' People become almost targeted! ... I'm wrong! I should actually go to those board members. You know, I don't really get myself involved in the whole larger university business. And yet it's wrong because I think people should get involved at that level as well because it impacts on you in whatever job you're doing.

So I disengage from that because I really don't have the energyLet the big guns concentrate on that and fight those things out. And it's increasingly this sense of: 'well, let them up there work on those things.' Because you're wasting your energy, you're wasting your time, you're wasting your thoughts; you might as well get on with teaching or your PhD. And in the end, people will still come to a decision.

...So if you're asking about ... freedom of expression, it's just a waste of time to express because in the end things still happen, and if you don't take part in that discussion at that level it's really, it's less stress for me. I think it is the fact that you don't feel included; you don't feel your voice is either listened to, wanted, whereas before I think structures worked. Now, I think there is a largely exclusionary process, it's not a democratic process at all. And because of the new rules and regulations, it means that there's very little space to maneuver. So whereas before even though decisions were made generally the rest of the group was left to get on with whatever it was they were doing. Now it's a far more restrictive environment. So I think that people are finding themselves pressured from all the way around.

Centralization, Bureaucratization and Administration

They don't really seem to care what we're getting into... and it is very alienating and it has become very distant, very far away, very central and very out of touch with us on the ground. I don't know any of those people, I don't travel in those kinds of circles or sit on any of those committees – but my understanding of it is this huge centralisation where everything has to be this one size fits all. So you can't allow campuses to be different. Everybody's got to be the same and things have to be managed in the same way. I agree that to some extent you have to centralise certain processes in order to keep them functioning and so that someone has a bird's eye view. But then it's not like anyone you speak to... ever has a bird's eye view because you just get passed from pillar to post... I don't like centralisation... because I think it becomes incredibly inefficient and frustrating ...and what they do is distance you from people and things become more and more remote. On the whole there's a sense of things becoming more and more depersonalised because of this emphasis on centralisation. And the more centralised you get the

more layers of management you have to have. The impact it has on our lives is that we now we have all these line managers whereas before you were colleagues and... I think there was a sense of people working much more collegially. I think again it's an irony, that maybe it's an unintended consequence; maybe it's not – but when you centralise things and when you put rules in place people start to behave in different kinds of ways. You know like the whole workload formulae for example. Now this is the rule about how you quantify workloads and it must be the same for everybody. And this is about transparency and accountability and whatever. Everything comes down to figures, whether it's numbers of students you teach, number of hours that you teach, number of articles that you publish, number of rands that you bring into the school.

I think... the bureaucratisation is enormous. Quadrupled is probably underplaying it – what you've got to do in a day. What I do is shuffle paper, because I'm now the ...academic coordinator. We don't even get the dignity or the kudos of being the head of department; we're an academic coordinator, whatever that means. What it means is shovel shit all day. And it takes you away from what you really love doing... takes you away from what you're good at doing. So filling in pieces of paper and making sure you've got paper trails that relate to absolutely anything and everything. While I think there is a certain usefulness in that, I think eventually it just gets over the top. And people can't cope... if you've got to keep stopping and writing pieces of paper to say what it is that you've done or make sure that that record is in... it actually becomes overwhelming. So you become much more focused on the bureaucratic processes than actually doing your job. And I think that that's very alienating. So you find yourself in those spaces where you don't really want to be. I'm not the right personality to be an academic coordinator, because as you can hear I'd rather tell people to go and shove off than put up with nonsense. I don't have the temperament & I don't follow the rules and I don't give in to the bureaucracy. And I think that that's very alienating... you find yourself in those spaces where you don't really want to be. As a result the academic voice and academic freedom and all those principles that I think we ought to embrace more dearly and protect more feverishly – more fervently, I think... those have been eroded by managerialism.

Then when I look at things more globally, I wonder about the way in which the whole world is going see its backside because of issues around greed: everyone wanting more than they need. And that's how I see it operating here: the idea that now within the university we pay each other – like if I want a photocopy done... a poster made...hire a vehicle...use a venue... I have to pay some unit in the university. That's bizarre to me! If I were from the outside that's another story, but within the university we have to spend our lives filling in IDRs (inter-departmental revenue) and shifting money around and checking cost centres. It's a nightmare to be able to do something simple like buy teaching materials because you have to fill in all these forms & contracts. It's this administrative morass of rules and obstacles and just crap, crap, crap that you have to navigate!

Loss of Autonomy and Academic Freedom

And of course what's happened with the transformation and the whole restructuring of how the university operates ... is the way in which we have been downgraded, undermined, refused in our abilities to have any kind of power over what we do. We're no longer recognised as experts in academic life, we're now just managers.

So whereas generally academics were trusted; they were given responsibility and were assumed to be carrying out those responsibilities in a good and honest fashion; I think that's no longer – with the tightening of regulations – there's an etching away of that. So you're no longer assumed to be the competent person, prepared to make decisions.

So you can see that the knock on effect from policy levels down – national levels down, possibly even international levels down – it's that knock on effect as you tighten the rules and regulations so you tell the people further and further down that they are not worthy of being trusted. And I think that that has a very insidious and psychological effect on individuals. It's very much an eroding away of the freedom to act as they would; and the annoyance that I hear from academics when they discuss this, and how dismissively they're treated.

Staff Morale

We've got very adversarial relationships within the institution and I think that will grow. And that's what I mean by positioning people, because I think it's very quick and very easy to position people...and I think you close down creativity and you close down innovation. I'm aware that there are a lot of angry – and I think angry because they're hurt – academics. So I've had people say to me: 'Oh, I can now say whatever I like in meetings because it doesn't matter: I'm leaving'. And I think: 'Wow, that's a telling statement!' And I've had at least two people say that to me... And that's very sad. And I think it's very sad when people are really pleased to be leaving ...and that they've had a rough ride..not in the long term; I think it's a rough ride in quite a short space of time. Although I think there was a lot wrong previously and that there were certainly run-ins in the other institution, but not quite as confrontational, I don't think – not quite as aggressive... there were instances of aggression ... but not on a widespread basis...

We had a young black woman join us and ... she commented: 'the morale is so low, what's going on at this institution, and everyone from the cleaners to the professors are unhappy, especially if they're not part of management'. And then it's quite hard because you don't want to lie either, and it's complicated – it's inter-campus politics, it's merger politics, it's managerialism and corporatisation, it's about being rendered powerless in an academic institution ... it's not unique to us, of course, it's an international phenomenon. And ... that is not necessarily racially motivated. Like I really don't care that the college has a black DVC. I don't care that Makgoba's black, I don't care about any of that stuff. What I really care about is that the university is not a business and it shouldn't be run as a business. And education is not about making a profit. And the students are not our clients: they're students. We are supposed to be developing the future leaders.

I don't know why that is except that you have a management that sets itself up in an adversarial position. So the position they take from the beginning is confrontational and accusatory, basically. I mean they go straight for that; they don't go for negotiated processes, they go

straight for... you. And I think if you do that on a constant basis then people become defensive in response. And I think that's happening throughout the institution. I think people are deeply suspicious of management. I think they feel that they're not supported by their management at all. And I hear more and more of it discussed -- I mean partly because I'm also in the union -- of people watching their backs, keeping things in case something goes wrong. So no longer do people assume that this is kind of an innocent slip or, 'ok, you did something wrong; don't do it again'. No, it's much more, 'let's take you to task; let's tell you you're bad!' And I think that that is also quite demoralizing. You talk about the morale in the institution; I think that's part of it.

I think that's the thing I can never fathom, is why things have to disintegrate into ugliness and a lack of dignity, people speaking in really unpleasant terms to each other. I've never fully understood why that has to happen. Because I really do think it's possible to say anything to anybody in a constructive and a decent way, without being so thoroughly destructive. And one of the things that I have learnt -- and sorely learnt -- in the past three years is that you don't confront certain individuals because the rest of your life is bloody doomed.

I think it's very, very regretful that we can't just have intensely rigorous intellectual debates. I think it's a great step back for how this institution could progress. Because I think we could -- I think together, across racial, historical, gendered, religious lines -- you've got to be so bold to... to break with some of the past. It would be so amazing if we could! 'Cause I think it's really only in the doing -- taking that first step of risking it in a context that is recognised to be okay, safe, that things begin to change. And so long as everybody is either on the defensive, protected, we'll never -- we're just stuck. And all it is is reinforced stereotypes. And everybody then operates from a stereotype. So I think we're completely stuck... it's a great shame.

Now I choose very carefully what I can risk for myself personally. That doesn't make me a very bold activist in the common sense of the word but I do what I can. For example, I'm aware if I don't publish it may cost me my job. I have a fear that they could make my job so unpleasant that

it would be better to leave because I couldn't take the strain. So I don't trust the institution and I don't think there's any due regard for human dignity – I don't think people are treated with respect and dignity. I think they are trashed and once something is brought up against them it seems to me that everything possible is brought to bear to destroy them. I might be paranoid but I don't trust the system at all. I think more and more people feel or have experiences of inadequacy, alienation, marginalisation, inferiority, and it doesn't get picked up, or they are too afraid to say something. You see, unless you've built safe places people will not say what they feel. They will simply go along or hide or do a shoddy job and not care – something to protect them, in whatever way they need to protect themselves.

Yours sincerely,

Lillian, Florence, Frances, Helen, Miriam, Betty, Josie, Victoria, Ray

APPENDIX THREE

Narrative Three: Teaching and Research in the Corporate University

Dear Reader

Being the best teacher I can be!

I love my teaching, I love reading around my teaching and I am very critical about what I teach and how I do it. I see myself as a teacher... but not as an academic. I'm not interested in going to conferences and giving papers and trying to get articles published and being rejected because I'm not theoretical enough or I'm not in with the latest people.... Not at all because I do think it's a bit of... a game you learn to play. I don't have the energy to get into those little streams and fight for the big fish with the others. I want to teach to the best of my ability and I want to impact on my students' lives so that they never forget... To me, that is what a real academic is. Whatever your field is, whatever your discipline is, you root yourself in it – it's like getting your bum in the sand. I take my evaluations, which are about a six pages, very seriously. It asks: "Are we in equal participation, do we have a voice, are we ever marginalised, do we feel silenced, were we supported, were we given our full potential, etc.?" It's not just about what we're learning, but did you feel you had a voice? Did you feel supported in being empowered to find your voice? Did you feel that you went through a transformative process? What did it do for you? Did you grow? That is what I really want – I want to put my money where my mouth is and I do ...and that's my calling...

Accommodating Student Diversity

You can't teach the way you were taught. You can't assume that your students have come with a wealth of knowledge and a background in all kinds of things. So you're having to do more and more work because ...there's a gap and you're constantly trying to plug those gaps with very little assistance to do that... from the university. You don't get additional time; the curriculum's

not structured in a way that allows for that. The legacy that we've inherited of quite a poor schooling system, and particularly poor in relation to the black students where I think the problem lies in the school education system, in that higher education can't cope with the needs of the students when they come here. You have to recognise that students are coming from an absolutely dismal system and that some really can't write a coherent English sentence. It's ludicrous to then say that the language we're going to use is isZulu... or that there should be code switching or replication in two languages because it doesn't help students firstly become citizens of the world nor does it help students to access the materials that are in English. But even if we were to say we can take what those students bring with them, it means rejigging the way we think about education and how we teach. And that takes time. And we haven't got the time to engage in that and most people are not trained teachers. Academic literacy goes by the wayside because we can't teach academic literacy. But that's what you're there for – if you don't teach it, who else does – some unit over there? I suppose the same goes for math literacy, computer literacy, all of these things that you've got to give to the students ...things that you wouldn't normally expect. ...I know academics battle, for instance, to ensure that students get extra tutoring. If you want tutors to work with small groups you've either got to have enough tutors in the department or you're training senior students to do that job. Who gets to train them? You do! ...The fact that you might want to do educationally sound things like allow students to write and rewrite essays, do drafts and then resubmit: that's double your workload in terms of teaching. And if you've got a class of 300 can you actually do that?

There needs to be a proper academic development programme that provides a net for these students because they're falling. You bring them in because you want the money but then you spit them out before they're finished because they simply can't cut it. You have students taking 7 years over a bachelor of arts degree and when they leave they still can't do what they supposedly are qualified to do. It's dismal. The pressures for throughput rates: get them through in the shortest possible time...and students are not getting through now in the requisite time. Instead of asking the question, 'Is time the problem?' We automatically assume that the problem is the teacher, that they're inefficient. So we beat on the teachers and tell them they've got to get these students through in that time. The consequence is people say, 'Well I'll only take the really

brilliant students or I won't take students.' I don't know where it's all going but it's very contradictory in the ways in which I think things are playing out in the institution.

If you are constantly aware that the students in your class do not get it, and potentially will never get it, it starts to have an enormously corroding influence on your sense of wellbeing and your sense of your abilities. You feel like you have failed them and you feel as if you are also out of control and that there is no future. I am afraid I am rather depressive – optimism is something I have to work at and it is hugely awful to feel like ...there's no future for the students that you're teaching and the majority of them are going to leave the institution not having really benefited but have got the window dressing possibly. I feel that...to some degree, we have been asked to relinquish real education, real standards and concentrate on –throughput. Moreover, I think we have sacrificed far too much and we have been forced to sacrifice the real education – with too few staff and massification – allowing too many people into the institution, many of whom are simply not capable.

Curriculum Restructuring

In my discipline there've been massive changes and... every few years we seem to have a major reconfiguration and rethink about how we do things and what we do. And that's invigorating; it's been good. And at the time we weren't semesterised we had a hugely unwieldy syllabus with no kind of rationale. And of course it's easy now to blame it on the sort of old white men who'd been doing things their way for ever and they'd never had to think about whether they should do it that way or not and what was in the students' best interest. The attitude then was very much old school: 'This is university and if people aren't up to it it's their problem, not ours'. The three of us women who were temporary, and junior, and exploited managed to introduce some women's writing in various ways because the syllabus had gradually been rationalized and there was a move to semesterization, and that was a very positive thing. Suddenly there were options, we had lots of options. We were quite a big staff so the idea was that students could choose in second and third year between a range of options. And so we got together and put together a course on women's writing which was new and exciting and I was involved in that, obviously.

And that's when I really got involved for the first time... all this feminist stuff was quite new to me, because I hadn't done any of that in as an undergrad at all. So the whole new, very exciting world of gender studies and women's issues opened up to me.

However, the other thing that's frustrating about transformation is this endless change and how it has impacted on us – you know endless change is demoralising and exhausting. If I think of how many times I've reviewed what we do and how we do it and how many times we've written reports and templates and module templates and programme templates and satisfied the NQF (National Qualification Framework), SAQA (South African Qualifications Authority), CHE (Council for Higher Education). I think UKZN has it bad – you know it just is forever wanting to change itself. Right now we're doing a school review. It is the fourth major change, major change, in ten years that requires huge report writing, huge soul searching: do we belong, are we cognate disciplines, is our structure coherent. And you know yes, it is a healthy thing to do. But four times in ten years? The whole restructuring of the qualifications and the semesterisation and modularisation –and then the merger and having to revise our whole curriculum again...it's been constantly changing.. I think I've written new curriculum every single year since I've been here.

On the flipside, I think that there has been a lot more talk about education and teaching because we've been forced into meetings to discuss the changes and the structure and what it all means, how it fits together, what a programme is, what are the rules of the programme. I think that in the last year there've been more discussions about assessment and what does assessment mean and really thinking about your assessment and whether you're assessing knowledge or some kind of skill. I realized to be a good teacher I needed to understand something about education and about teaching and learning and I did the Master in Higher Education ...The way I'd been taught was completely wrong and it made me question the way I was teaching. So I realised that the traditional way I was following was not actually achieving much and that's why I wanted to learn more about how to teach. I learned... what quality is and what excellence is... and it

changed my perception about students and that was just fantastic. I implemented a lot of what I learnt from those modules and it meant changing a lot of what I did... radically.

But it brought me into a lot of conflict with people who just could not see what I was seeing. I'd realised I wasn't happy with it – I mean to stand up and to teach at students and to see their blank faces. I've changed all my modules quite radically away from it being content-laden to being skills-based... I am really trying to develop thinking and problem-solving skills... I feel like I'm constantly fighting a battle... But I've found it very hard to get other people to see what I'm thinking about and to accept it and to adopt it. It's worked, but it's a constant battle to get people to not hand out Powerpoint notes or to not just stand up and teach from a Powerpoint. Not to try and teach tons of information. And there's been a lot of controversy about the approach and me trying to implement it. And of course because it's a common module across two campuses I've said – and I've had the support of the academic coordinator – I've said that everything has to be identical – they have to write the same exam, the material that's delivered has to be the same, everything has to be the same. And that's been very controversial and caused a lot of conflict. So they've said I've lowered the standard and taken away the academic freedom. Because people don't have the knowledge about education. I mean you must understand that most academics have never ever read or heard anything about education theory. So I think that for education to work you have to prescribe to some extent. And you can always develop that curriculum collaboratively.

Increased Workloads

...our jobs aren't defined like the normal work place and to actually get further up the ladder you've got to do more than your 8 hours...because we are expected to teach, we are expected to do admin, we do have to interact with students and that takes up the day basically. Yeah, we've got a heavier work load... Our class sizes have increased and I find that with this... modular system we're actually teaching much more than the old system...Workloads are just simply growing to an extent that we can't really do the things that we enjoy doing, and part of that is research. ...we've got to sacrifice certain aspects. Compared to how many courses we offered

before the modular system – and the programme system made it even worse I think... because to do a particular programme students couldn't have too much overlap between programmes. We generated these new modules to meet the programme requirements and that increased teaching across the board. I actually have duties associated with teaching every single month of the year. So January is first year supplementary exams – where we have 50 or 60 students writing – it's not a small number to mark and to coordinate across both campuses...And it goes right through to exam meetings in December. I actually don't have a single month that I can devote to doing research. I have teaching responsibilities – from the first day of semester until the last in both semesters and I find that that's quite draining and I'm not getting any time to do research.

And recently we've lost some academic staff and those posts haven't been unfrozen yet. So that all puts pressure on us ...sabbatical's being cut back and if somebody goes off or somebody leaves it's more difficult to replace them and you've got to take on that work load. There are all those kinds of things and this constant pressure to research and write on a regular basis. It's almost as if these things can be produced mechanically, and that is really troubling...

My current position is academic coordinator... which means that for about four hours of my work day I shuffle paper, I do admin! Since restructuring there's also this huge burden on academic coordinators and ... things have just escalated hugely in terms of administration and I end up doing far too much of that instead of my core business, which is teaching, research and community work. If you asked me to define my job right now, I would say I was a paper shuffler. ... deep down I still perceive my core identity to be that of a teacher. Yet, interestingly, that too has been shaken, because as I've done less and less teaching, through more and more coordination and through more and more other kinds of activities... I also began to lose my confidence that that in fact was the thing I did best. So there was a time in the last five years where I thought: 'Gosh, I've always said the thing I do best is teaching. Now I'm not sure I do that anymore.' Its sign this, write this, sign that, write that. I begrudge all that rubbish and it dilutes your teaching. It has made me very depressed and very cynical about this institution and about anybody's ability to change what the top-heavy executive want. ...With this school review,

the first thing I said to my colleagues on the working group: 'Why are we doing this when we know nothing we say is going to have an impact? This is just window dressing – asking us to write a fat report'. Asking us to do this and to make recommendations about how the school could be reconfigured or – new word: disaggregated. It's crap because what it actually is is deflecting from the real issue which is: divide and cut off us of from the knees.

And I think that what's beginning to happen is that people are becoming selfish. In other words, ... if they can get away with not doing everything they will do so, and they are now being given an out, so they will introduce a system which says you work from 9 to 5 and people will work from 9 to 5 and no more than that. And I think there is an element of that. So now people feel quite okay with saying, 'No, actually, I'm not here for the students 24 hours a day! No, you can't come to my office and talk to me because – my research time is from x to x'. I... think there's something that says you owe an allegiance to your students – and you also owe allegiance to your colleagues. Whereas before there would have been that kind of maneuverability because I think the pressure was less; there was nobody knocking on your door saying: 'Where's your one and a half articles for this year'? So I think all of those things have a knock on effect for all kinds of things that people would have done, would have been happy to do. I think there are fewer people who want to be engaged in certain aspects, so you get people who remove themselves from the processes, like the senior academics. They would rather do their research and for good reason, I suppose. But it means that the more junior staff end up doing a large amount of the teaching. And that's even in departments where there are policies which says everybody will contribute. I've heard people say: 'Well... actually, I've done my stint now! And that's it! I've got to the point now where I say no. I actually don't care anymore. I don't care about them. I mean that's awful. I care enormously about the students I teach. I care about doing a good job. The students must be inspired, they must understand. Then I'm happy. So I do it entirely for myself and for the students. I don't do it for the university because I don't care about Magoba, I don't care about the deans and the politics of who's going to be running what. I don't care. And if they say, 'Be academic coordinator because no one else's prepared to do the job'. I would say no!

On Being a Researcher

Privileging Research

If you ask the university, or Makgoba it's about publishing and PhDs! So, yes, there's that tension about being an academic. First in terms of what the university expects, which we all know. Then there's that antagonism where teaching isn't so highly regarded and yet I feel that as far as teaching's concerned, that's really my desire and my passion, but it's not validated in the university as much as publishing and the PhD and doing research projects. Throughput – my favourite word – throughput! And then my other favourite word: productivity units! How many research articles have you in accredited journals? So it has become hard as an academic in this institution to be recognised, to feel validated or affirmed in any way for what you do. Oh, that being said, though, I have been lucky in that I have managed to get quite a lot of NRF funding for the work that I have done and for my doctorate.

...I went to a research meeting a few years ago called by the deputy vice chancellor for research Salim Karim. It was a meeting for productive researchers...and towards the end of he commented that there was virtually nobody there from the faculty of humanities... And of course it was full of – pardon me – old white men in the sciences and a couple of white men from soft options, and the whole thing had been about self-aggrandising, pat on the back, you bloody wonderful researchers who've managed to earn us so much subsidy... I put up my hand – I was so fed up with the punitive talk... and I stood up and I said: 'Well, it's funny, I'm looking around me and I see maybe two other women and one other person from the arts. And do you think it possibly has anything to do with the fact that the system at this institution is such that it discriminates against us, it loads us with all the bloody work because we're women...' I challenged him publicly. Oh dear! Oh dear! I said that the institution was not kind to people who prioritised their teaching – and women do. Women prioritise their teaching because students are not clients to them; they are the fabric of the institution...I don't know but women seem to buy in more to the notion of the developmental process that is necessary. And perhaps they're not able to be ... like, 'this is it, take it or leave it. If you don't get it fuck off. I'm not going to teach you that again'. Whereas women will try...I don't know, it's irritating though, isn't it? ...Perhaps it is to do with being in a 'feminine' subject; and that so many of us are women and that women do

seem to take the job of education in the more old-fashioned way. That is a terrible generalisation to make, but I think you get my point. I said to him (Salim Karim): 'you know there're no women here because we actually care about the students enough. We don't have research profiles perhaps because we're doing the whole cliché "triple burden" stuff and you'll notice that your arts and humanities people are not here because they don't have time to do bloody research and become A grade researchers'... I can't remember what I said but this is along those lines probably with a few profanities thrown in... All I remember though is that my bum was wiggling because I was in such a rage with him. ...And I said: 'You know we're too busy; our teaching hours are huge... We don't have time for this research that you're talking about. Do something about it! Don't tell us that we're invalid, that we don't meet your criteria'.

Punitive Measures

Then the letters came around ...to people who hadn't published. You are named and shamed if you do not have your SAPSI article. That was never an issue before 2004, before the merger. Staff members who got those letters... well, the morale just dipped. That was demoralising for people who got those.... Never mind anything else that you do. A couple members of our staff got that. They felt like shit on the shoe. I got the threatening letter and I was called to a meeting in Westville to account for myself. I sent a letter saying I'm not coming and this is why. All of us did. A lot of people got letters. I mean J who is head of discipline got a letter.

It is these bloody key performance management stuff you know. I don't think it's the work of academics to be counting what they do... then you must go work at Standard Bank, you know. Really, that's what I strongly believe. I don't think our work is the same. If you work at Standard Bank you can ask: 'So how many customers did you serve today? I think they're still working very much from a scientific paradigm. In different faculties people produce different kinds of papers and I don't think they're recognising that; that different disciplines produce different kinds of research. That research has different meanings and purposes in different faculties and there are different kinds of knowledge. I don't think they're recognising that and it's this one size fits all approach. Everyone must now conform to the same thing. And I think that's problematic,

particularly in the social sciences and the humanities where you actually need time to think. Now it's all about money. It's about productivity pay-outs from the Department of Education. It's about being on the ranking of the best 5 universities...I just think it's unfortunate that universities now find themselves in that situation or have embraced it – I don't know if they fell into it or if they actively embraced that kind of measurement-based output approach... with this strong focus on accountability.

Playing the Game or Not!

The cloak that you put on and the practiced role of the academic, I'm not that and I don't want to be that. I don't want to stand up and have conference papers down, dipped and up to my shoulder – I don't want to be out there telling everybody about what I've done when my energy right now is doing what I'm doing, working with my students. I sometimes also feel, you know when people come back from a conference and they say, 'we shared what we did! ... it's like showcasing, window dressing, boasting and I don't want to do that. Because then it's not real to me. I also don't want to set myself up as better than somebody else....I don't want it to be a competitive thing.

My response was: 'Fine, when they decide to punish me then I'll register for my PhD and until then I'm not going to, not at this stage of my life. If they get to the point where they say you'll lose your job if you don't I can't risk that; I'll do it. But I won't make the slightest effort to register for one. There are reasons why I didn't do my PhD earlier...Despite my sense of expertise and experience, I didn't feel that I could really jump to a PhD because I did not have a strong base in the discipline because of being located in two disciplines and my earlier work in academic development. And then I think in my personal life lots of personal dramas got in the way which you might say is an excuse. But I really did go through some really harrowing personal things over an extended period of time so... It was difficult, and then certainly with my marriage and my whole...undermining of myself and my self-esteem by my ex-husband... I just felt incapable of doing anything actually. Whereas now I'm not! I'm back on track and I'm feisty and I'm ready for a fight again. So I could be saying: 'Right, I think maybe now I will do a PhD.' But I'm not going to even think of it. I'm not prepared to be bullied into doing it you see and it's

backfired with me. But because I'm in my 50s I know that I'm not going to be around forever. As I say, if they come to me and they say: 'You won't have a job next year unless you register'; then I'll register very quickly. I really feel very resentful about that. ... I still have one of the highest workloads in the department. The higher up the less teaching you do. And so often it's also a time thing, because you're teaching new stuff and because you're teaching so much and there's so much marking. And your classes are bigger... And I actually don't know where to begin there.

I sometimes feel the pressure to go with that flow and to jump into that river and start jockeying and swimming and trying to get there first and owning this rock, owning that pool, owning that swirl. My latest question is: 'and if I don't do that, what will happen? Will I get fired? If I don't finish my PhD, if I don't publish, if I don't become an expert in the field or whatever, if I don't go to conferences or network with people – if I don't do all that, what's going to happen? Am I going to lose my job? If I can't be fired I think, 'oh, well why bother?' I might as well do what I do best and enjoy...work with my students. Perhaps I'm a background person although it's not something I thought that I was. Perhaps that's what I am –more in the background, sort of behind the scenes. Other people like to be out there in the limelight on the stage and I feel a bit like I'm setting up everything behind the scenes. I'm getting down to the nitty-gritty and actually doing it which nobody sees except your students. It's you and your students and the support that you give them and what goes on behind your closed office doors and in your lecture halls. I'm doing that. But I don't have the energy to go out there and showcase it...write about it, share it with everybody else. I'm not about telling everybody else how wonderful I am.

I think that many academics fall in line out of fear of retribution – that something tangible will happen to you – where life might become so stressful with having to defend a position. I mean, speaking out for me at the faculty review in opposition to our dean nearly made me collapse with anxiety and I don't often do it because it costs me so much. So I only do it when something really, really strikes me as so inherently wrong that I can't face myself for not having spoken out. But it scares me witless to do it and I think have – my generation – we grew up with such a fear of authority and I think I'm a perfect product of that. So it's not easy for someone like me to flout

authority. I've got a bit better, a bit braver, as I've got older and I do now, when something bothers me I can speak out. But I have a deep ingrained fear of, for example, long running legal battles. I personally don't think I have the emotional stamina to survive in something like that. That seems to be where outspokenness and what gets perceived as a challenge to the authority can lead very easily to. There are enough examples in this institution and there seem to be a number of legal battles on the go. And when I project myself into those, I don't think I could survive. In fact I know I couldn't survive. I would walk away. When things for me, in my life, have devolved to the level... where the emotional level has become so full of sort of hate and bitterness or a desire for revenge, I have simply walked away. It's too destructive. I have so many other responsibilities in my life, such a great need to stay intact to serve so many other areas of my life; I can't afford to be undone by something like that.

I went to some workshops... on how to get into publishing as a way of life. And they get some major woman researcher who publishes constantly in America who basically says, 'Look it's a game. You've got to give them what they want. You've got to find out if it's this main journal, this is the theory they want, if it's that journal'... And I think oh no! ... I'm out of it. It's just my personality. Then I'm out of it. I can't go to all that trouble to find out which publication wants which angle and give them that angle. So it's beyond me, it baffles me. I'm afraid that's how I feel. I feel I'm not going to play it their way. If they want to sack me, they can sack me. I'm not playing it their way; I'm now going to play it my way...I'm going to do it my way.

And so you begin to start to fit in with what the rules are and play the game. And I think we also start to publish rubbish. I'm thinking now, 'with a PhD, you could, publish a whole lot of stuff.' But actually a lot of it can be very similar. So you put a bit of a different spin on it – and I don't want to get into that part of the game. You know you read some people's articles you think: 'I've read this all before.' It's a new title and maybe a bit of a different angle but actually it's the same old stuff. I don't know; maybe it's just the academic game. I don't want to play that game because I think that's cheating...you've got to have integrity for yourself. So I don't want to end up publishing the same old stuff. Where people say: 'Oh gees, you know, there's C. again saying

exactly the same thing that she said in the last five articles.’ I think that’s where it is counterproductive. There are years where you’re not going to publish, where you’re actually setting up a new project and it can take two or three years to do that before you actually generate new data or you’ve got something different to say. I don’t think it’s a bad thing that people have become more productive, I think that’s good because we have stuff to say and we do need to get it out there. I think – like all policies – it has unintended consequences. You decide you don’t want to collaborate because you have to share the money and you start producing quite mediocre stuff because you’re under this pressure to produce one article a year. It is just about numbers and how many publications you have and I cannot stand that. Research outputs like chapters in books, research reports, e-publishing, conferences proceedings...are not recognized and rewarded. And of course the creative outputs, like performances, exhibitions... we don’t get any credit for those unless we jump through a set of hoops that are indescribably difficult to prove...

Spaces for Research

...I do produce scientific research but one of my research interests has been education and I think I’ve made a bit of a contribution to changing the way that we teach here and bringing in new methods which I tried to document. I think that’s what a lot of people don’t realise, especially as women, is that everything that you’re doing, you can actually publish. You can publish the ways that you teach and still get kudos for it but I suppose one just gets bogged down with teaching... and I find as women we’re often given first years to teach.

All my research was around stuff I needed for my teaching ... and I went to conferences, I gave papers, some of them were published, mainly in conference proceedings and a couple were in journals. It never occurred to me to try and pursue publication. It never occurred to me that it was important and I didn’t know about financial benefits. I don’t think they were huge, before. I think since the merger it’s become hugely financially worthwhile to publish, but before then it wasn’t. Nobody was saying, “Ooh, you need to publish because it’ll give you so much money in your research account and you’ll be able to do this and that’. If you wanted to go to a conference

you were supported by the university. As long as you were giving a paper you were given funding and there was no compulsion to publish.

My teaching and my research are closely linked. ...When I was an undergraduate and a master's student, the aesthetic norm was very colonial. It was very much: 'this is what we did in Europe.' ...Now you learn that if somebody produces something that you don't like, you've got to look at how it's made – whether it's technically good. You have different customs and ways of looking at things and you look at something not from that colonial point of view – which I was taught – but from a completely different perspective. You've got Muslim, you've got Hindu, you've got Zulu, and all these students have different cultures and you cannot remain culturally immune. And that's a big change. In my 30 years I think the fine art department has embraced students' cultural diversity. It's very difficult because you don't know the visual culture and we try very hard to push students to express themselves culturally as well as academically. Now we get different types of work whereas before, in the '70s, it all came under one umbrella, it all was quite colonial. So how do I embrace this diversity? It's more difficult in the fine art department to translate into publications where it's less explicitly written down. Teaching and learning in fine art is through trial and error and I think that's fascinating.

Anyway I realise more and more that you've just got to take it, you've got to take the space because actually you do get a lot of space. You've got an enormous amount of autonomy, you've just got to take it. And you can actually run with any project you want to do. You could do any research project or any intervention project and evaluate that project. The possibilities are really very, very broad and open; you've just got to take them. And part of that is about confidence, I guess. About having that confidence to make something happen: that now you have to make things happen, you can't wait for other people to tell you what to do. Not that I've ever really done that, but kind of that sense of being, taking hold of the autonomy that one has.

...I like doing research ... but where's the space for doing that? I suppose once one gets a PhD then you can write proposals and get funding to do those kinds of projects. So I guess it's part of becoming... rather than being – the becoming part where you've just got to go through the steps and get that PhD done and then after that, when you've paid your dues in terms of the PhD, you know doing the projects that will generate the articles and so on. And perhaps the stress won't be as great then. And that's pretty much what Makgoba said to us when we asked him. I said: 'how do you expect us to do research and get PhDs if we are teaching more than the allotted hours of teaching time. So he says: 'well, if the school's not producing then I'm afraid it's a catch-22 situation: the more the school produces then the more money you'll have to get more people in to do your teaching so that you can do the research. But if you're not producing then of course you're caught'. And we laughed at that, because how do we get out of it?

What's quite important is I like to be seen to get stuff done, so each of my students, when they write up their theses, I make them do each chapter as a paper because it looks good on their CV at the end of the day. The other thing is... if it sits in a thesis in the library no one has access to it. And then the kudos I get out of it is I get incentive money from the university which then is seed money for other projects and other students so it has a domino effect. So I think that management has helped me a lot, doing it that way. I really am grateful to the university for this incentive system where for each publication you get some monies back. My concern is if people aren't doing research and if we just become teaching universities we'll fall into a trap where we won't attract students and they will go off elsewhere and will probably go overseas. So to try and keep ourselves international we've got to keep the research going and I think that's going to be quite a challenge for our university.

It really depends on what type of work you're doing. So I find with my research I need to go out monthly to collect the data and that becomes quite difficult to fit in with your commitment to teaching. My response has been to try and develop my research so that there's stuff I can do during semester and then get students to do more of the field-based stuff. As much as I don't like it I compromise, I'm allowing students to do it. So you've got to make a plan around that and I

think for some people it's quite difficult. I look around the department at some of the females in our department and I think they don't have the confidence to try and expand their research more. They often get bogged down by just their teaching and admin stuff and then they have hang ups that they're not producing enough in terms of research. They don't just build it in to part of the day – that this hour they're going to be doing some of the stats on the data they collected. I think it would have a domino effect: if they did actually produce more it would build their confidence and it would also raise their recognition within the school. They wouldn't just be treated like teachers. Whereas most of the males are on board with doing research and teaching. I think if you did some analysis of the women in terms of their profiles as research and teaching you would find a lot of them are lacking in research. But it's because they take their teaching seriously and their days are full so they don't build it in. And then often in the holidays they have other commitments and families.

I think I need to say thanks to my family for, you know, they don't mind coming on a weekend to go and count birds. So they've compromised in that way to support me and I'm grateful for that. Some of our holidays have been more to places so that I can do my research. I think part of my success is my family's support and especially at home with my husband. We've got two little children and... I'm really grateful that he's allowed me to carry on working. He doesn't feel threatened that I'm in a mainly male environment, that when I go to conferences there are mainly males. He allows me to be me and I really appreciate that. I love doing research and he's allowed me to do that. It means that – and again I need to thank my head of school, or the heads – because they've allowed me to work flexible time, where I normally come in at 7 and I leave at 4. So I still have time with my kids. And it's to get that balance... I think is quite difficult. But I'm glad I've got a reason to leave at 4. Sometimes it means that after I've got them to bed I have to do marking and review articles or something.

Research as Community Engagement

I'm not a brilliant researcher, but I've published every single year since 1992, so every single year I've had something published and I've got a C2 rating from the NRF. I wouldn't say that

I'm brilliant and I also have a very different motivation for publishing. Sometimes I think I'm not a true academic because I don't publish for the sort of academic reward. I publish if it's meaningful or I publish something that may be useful. And I don't care where I publish it; I don't care if it's in a local journal or if it's in an international journal that's not SAPSE accredited – I don't care. So I'm not driven by the things that academics should be driven by. I always try and do things that will be useful. One of the things I do in my research is I find and describe new species. And when I discover a new species and I think I should describe it but I wait until I've got a whole lot together because that's more useful to people than having one publication with one species. If you're trying to identify something having one species in front of you doesn't help, you need the whole lot together. So even though I'll be penalised in terms of funding and number of publications, I'd rather take that approach. People have said: 'Well that's just stupid!' And if I've got something that's locally relevant I don't see the point of putting it in an international journal because it won't be accessible to the conservation agencies or land managers that will use it if it's in an expensive international journal. But again you get really hammered hard for publishing in local journals.

What the community does not want and need is a fancy research report or a dissertation; that's not helpful to them – I'm thinking particularly of the women's handbook that was produced. Now it doesn't carry any credibility in terms of academia, so you've lost out having done that. But that is your community service ...and a very useful one, giving people access to processes and procedures that they can use in hard times in rural communities.

Take my research on Zulu ceramics which has taken me into deep poverty stricken rural areas. So slowly I've gathered the information and kept going there and kept saying: 'What are you doing and why are you doing this? And so now I know and very few other people know about it. But I also promote their work by organising exhibitions, talking on Zulu ceramics, promoting it, trying to get it into official places, getting it into museums – and I'm not talking about just ordinary cups. I'm talking about really fine pieces. I'm not interested in the theoretical part of it. No, I'm more hands-on. It's just not a matter of doing research on Zulu ceramics and then

publishing your work so that people know about Zulu ceramics. It goes far beyond that...I've recorded what I have physically seen and this is an integral part of my work. So I want to know why people are not buying beautiful Zulu pots. It's definitely undervalued and a lot of people think: 'Oh, you know they're simple'. They can't read and write, but the sophisticated methods that are used in making these pots is way beyond ordinary – beyond 'oh-read-it-in-book-let's-make-it-together'. ...This is years and years and years of indigenous knowledge. It's absolutely beautiful but the people are dying out... And I'm trying desperately to make sure that the skills are passed down. This is my research.

On Not Being Promoted!

Well I asked for a promotion on the basis of my work: my teaching, my research and my community outreach as being one. And they said no, I had to choose. I had to choose either being a researcher or a maker. So I just thought: Oh, fuck you! I don't care. If you can't recognise the work I've done now ...I'm not interested. Ah, I was a bit miffed. But if I don't fit into the mould I'm not going to push myself into it. I've never fitted into the jelly mould; I've always spilled over. I think 3 years ago I was a bit miffed but I'm not angry. I just thought: 'Ag, I put all that work into trying to say: 'this is who I am! And you haven't recognised it. I'll just carry on'. I'd love to have been a full professor. I'm an associate professor. I'd love to have been a full professor but I couldn't be bothered. ...to fight it you use up so much energy and I'm quite happy. No! I can't get bothered about it.

I'm not ambitious in the university sense at all... I have no desire to try and find a way of moving up and becoming a senior lecturer. It's too much effort... And I'm not going to put myself through that. Perhaps it's fear of rejection or something on a psychological level... Now I've got to kind of prove that I'm good enough...Maybe that's what it is. Why should I have to prove I'm good enough now after all these years of excellent teaching as many student evaluations attest...? I definitely am a good teacher, I know that and I've been a very committed teacher and I've probably taught more than anybody else here... I'm passionate about the things I teach. I will teach as well as I can teach and I will put all my energy into that. That's what I'm doing and

I'm having an absolute ball and I love it. However, I wish we could have the teaching more validated than it presently is. The university doesn't value that, but I will do it anyway and to hell with the university. The university is more like a business now than I ever...I'm becoming increasingly aware of that. I don't think it's a place I want to stay in, though...

I think that we've been reluctant to take on positions of responsibility particularly in the education faculty. For example, take the position of head of school that women have been very reluctant to apply for. I think there've been reasons for that and I felt very strongly that it's a failure of the woman in the school and I carry a sort of guilt about that because I had been approached at some point to apply for that position. I've never gone through it because I've never felt that I wanted that leadership position in the school. I don't think it's a nice job to do anyway but I think we as woman have failed actually to take on that leadership role. So although we sort of clamour for equality and opportunities... when those opportunities arise we have been reluctant to take responsibility.

I don't know, in a way we don't have the pressing ambition to do it. So we just don't. Whether we lack leadership ambition or whether we sort of want to sit back and let the men take on those somewhat unpopular roles because that is not a nice job to do and there isn't a financial reason to do it. And let's face it – it's not a nice job to do, to be head of school. There aren't sufficient rewards that attract people into those jobs so we just haven't gone for it. It's been really hard to watch it happening and know that you yourself could do it and ...you know you are one of the few people who actually is a senior lecturer and who could apply for it and you know that you are absolutely not going to do it. And why not because I absolutely do not want to do that job, it's a horrible job!

It's not a popular view and maybe we don't want to hear it but I think we're happy to let the men take those jobs because we don't want to do that so there's a reluctance in certain places where woman are actually happy to sit back and let men take those leadership roles because its quite

comfortable. Which it is actually! The fact that the financial rewards are not that great and to take on a whole bundle of added stress and added responsibility! What for?

Clash of Values

The people factor's been forgotten – we're being forgotten as people and students. Here on this campus we still think of our students as people, you know. You get to know them in a very close personal way when you're teaching them. But I just get the sense from the way the others speak that students as people don't really matter. And it's a bit worrying for me because I'm not that business-minded kind of person and issues like people and their lives and their emotions are always very paramount to me because if that part is satisfied, then everything else falls into place. And that's the main reason that I'd want to leave. There're things you cannot measure by numbers ...you know, you lose hope. Everyone needs validation. Everyone needs to be recognised for their worth. But, they need to be recognised for their worth on their own terms, not on the terms of ... instrumental rationality or some corporate crap that has been dreamt up there at the executive level. As teachers and researchers and creative people we want more of what we do. And it's also about ...the emotions. We want to feel as if what we're doing is valuable and that value can't be measured by counting numbers which are driven by commercial values and corporate principles.

One of the questions that they asked us yesterday was: 'When was the highest peak in your performance? What was it and why do you think it was the highest peak or whatever?' And in terms of looking at that, there again we're looking at the outward things that people are doing. I said to the woman, 'Why don't you change it to emotion? When was the happiest time in your life, in your career?' Because that's what it is about. And I think in terms of my own track in my own career, I think there have been happy days and there have been sad days.

Yours Sincerely,

Helen, Josie, Lillian, Miriam, Florence, Hilda, Ray, Betty, Ruth, Victoria