CREATING 'SPACE' FOR PUBLICATION: CHALLENGES FACED BY WOMEN ACADEMIC STAFF MEMBERS AT HISTORICALLY BLACK SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work contained in this dissertation is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been acknowledged by means of references.

Anita Maürtin-Cairncross

ABSTRACT

A considerable body of knowledge concerning the position of women in academia has been accumulated by means of research. The findings all have a common feature, which is that, although women academics are more fully represented in universities than in the past, most women occupy the lowest levels of academic position with very few women occupying positions in the upper structures of the hierarchies of the academy. It appears that women find it particularly difficult to fulfill the required promotion criteria and because many women lack the required promotion criteria, they are detained in lower academic positions.

It is often argued that many of discriminatory, subtle and covert barriers deter women from escalation in the academic hierarchy. Because publication records are an important promotion criterion, it becomes imperative that academic women engage in this academic activity for their successful progression in academia. The paucity of available literature on women in South African academies extends to the processes, strategies and practices that women use to enhance and improve their positions. There is also a dearth in research regarding women's publishing records and women's relationship with publishing.

In this study an attempt was made to explore the challenges with regard to publications experienced by academic women at three selected Historically Black Universities (HBUs).* Although based predominantly within a feminist qualitative methodological framework, both qualitative and quantitative research methods were used in the study. A survey-questionnaire was distributed to all the women academic staff at three selected HBUs. This was followed up by focus group discussions and interviews with academic women at each of these institutions.

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* HBUs rather than Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDIs) are used in this study as the participants were drawn only from selected universities and not from any other type of tertiary institution.

The quantitative data was used to provide a descriptive picture of academic women's publishing profiles at the selected institutions. This descriptive profile was used as a backdrop for the in-depth subjective experiences of the participants that were generated by the qualitative data.

The central findings point to a need for change in three main areas. These areas relate to awareness of social identities; skills and development, and institutional change. There was clearly a need for the development of interventions that would develop and support academic women in their publishing endeavours. The participants reported that the introduction of such strategies would enhance their relationship with publishing and would contribute to their publishing more regularly.

Based on the findings of the study, the recommendations for practical interventions emerge out of the participants' responses. Some of the recommendations illustrate participants' expressed need of staff development with a specific focus on training in publication skills; mentoring and support networks; assistance and support for their publishing ventures at both institutional and departmental level and the development of strategies that would assist academic women in 'juggling'** their personal and academic roles.

The study elucidates that the participants in this study experienced aggregated barriers to publishing which often relate to the historical-political origins of HBUs. The challenge is, therefore to develop strategies that would create supportive environments to foster academic women's relationship with publishing.

This concept is comprehensively discussed in Chapter Three.

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CHAPTER ONE: CONTEXTUALIZING THE STUDY

> Many African countries are now engaging with the issue
> of women's participation in state structures as an
> integral question to the meaning of democracy (Bennett,
> 2000,p. 8).

The urgency to publish

Globally, universities are facing significant new challenges and opportunities in increasingly competitive contexts. The continuing under-representation of women in senior and management positions of academies is receiving renewed attention (Bagilhole, 2000; Henry, 1990; Park, 1996; Williams, 1990). Given that women form a significant proportion of staff complements, there is the recognition that neither the institutions, nor the countries in which they are located, can afford to ignore the representation of women in their institutions (Ramsay, 2001).

The National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) for South Africa, was one of the documents which, at the turn of the century, made a recommendation that the number of academic publications will be a primary criterion for institutional accreditation (Council for Higher Education (CHE), report, 2000/2001). This plan was followed up by the development of a document relating to a new funding framework of Public Higher Education that was revised in 2002. The new funding framework articulates the benchmarks that will be used by the Ministry of Education when allocating state subsidies to institutions (Ministry of Education, 2002). From this report it becomes apparent that all academic staff at academic institutions should be actively involved in publishing on a regular basis. It should, therefore, become an imperative for academic institutions to begin developing strategies for providing support for staff in order to enhance their publishing capabilities. This is of particular importance to Historically Black Universities

(HBUs) absence of staff development programmes and a tendency for more emphasis on teaching activities (Subotzky, 2001).

Furthermore, women in academic institutions appear to be at a particular disadvantage in relation to the publishing endeavour. The history of patriarchy, globally, is still evident within academia. Men continue to predominate in senior positions, while women still struggle to establish themselves within the 'center' of the academic enterprise. Androcentric ideologies and male values of promotion continue to inhibit women's advancement within these institutions (Evans, 1996; Kaufman, 1978; Morley, Unterhalter & Gold, 2001; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001). Internationally, and nationally, publishing is used as a key criterion for academic promotion, yet the history of knowledge production continues to be dominated by male voices. Given women's relatively recent entry into academia, they have been marginalized from the research enterprise of academies. Women have had to struggle to play an active role in research, theory development and academic debates. Although women fulfill many responsibilities and play meaningful roles in the academic life of universities, their contributions have seldom been acknowledged (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Dines, 1993; Evans, 1996; Henry, 1990; Kaufman, 1978; Park, 1996; Williams, 2000).

Clearly, gender relations have shifted over the last few decades, and women are now employed in greater numbers and their voices more represented than in the history of patriarchal academia (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bagilhole, 2000; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Harper, Baldwin, Gansneder & Chronister, 2001; Morley et al, 2001; Park, 1996). Yet, there is a clear argument that women's voices, particularly the voices of women outside of the dominant western, northern context of knowledge production, such as women in South African historically black universities, remain largely marginalized (Cooper & Subotzky 2001; Peacock, 1993; Potts, 2000; Wolpe, 1988).

Within the South African context, HBUs have, from their very origins, inherent inadequacies that further obstruct women's publication endeavours. The socio-political origins of HBUs, such as the lack of facilities, understaffing, and the historical, educational and socio-economic disadvantagement of the majority of students and staff, present particular barriers to publishing (Gilmour & Soudien, 1991; Singh, 2001; Subotzky, 2001). It is arguable that these inadequacies have translated into institutional cultures that are characterized by a very strong emphasis on teaching and community-based research, while publications are relegated to a more peripheral component of the academic project. While such cultures may have been politically appropriate in the environment of the national democratic struggle, they now place HBUs in a disadvantaged position, given the current emphasis on the academic project and scholarship in Higher Education, globally and nationally.

The particularities of the history of HBUs, together with the history of women in academia, intersect to create a particularly challenging context for women academics at South African HBUs (Bethlehem, 1992; Singh, 2001; Subotzky, 2001). It is argued that publishing can play an important role for women in their realization of academic credibility. For academic women, publishing may be regarded as a tool for their full membership into the academy and into their discipline. In order to challenge the continued marginalization of academic women, women's potential as agents of knowledge production needs to be recognized and developed (de la Rey, 2000; Fester, 2000; Mama, 2000; Prinsloo, 2000; Smith, 2000). As agents of knowledge production, women may be able to challenge both their positions of marginality as well as the traditional androcentricism of academic knowledge and methodologies (Mama, 2000; Subotzky, 2001). Similar to a project by Miller (2002), this project is couched within an understanding of the historically gendered organizational culture of academia and is aimed at making women's experiences with regard to publishing visible. In line with developments in Higher Education globally, the South African Higher Education sector is being scrutinized by the state in terms of cost-

effectiveness and relevance of programmes. Although recently introduced legislation, (discussed in Chapter Eight) has attempted to ensure progressive human resource policies and practices for equity, as with many other professions, academia has a poor record of women in management levels.

The value of the current study lies in the lack of information and research on South African women's relationship to publishing. This study aims to address the paucity of quantitative as well as qualitative research studies which explore the relationship between publishing and academic women's positions and careers in HBUs. While the aim of the quantitative data is to provide a descriptive profile of the respondents, the primary use of qualitative methods in this research, aims to provide an in-depth discussion pertaining to the barriers which participants report as impeding their publishing endeavours. Studies which focus only on the quantitative monitoring of the over-representation of women in the lower rungs of academia, may be misleading and may serve to obscure patriarchal institutional cultures (Evans, 1996; Halsey, 1992; Kaufman, 1978; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Williams, 2000). The current study uses quantitative data as well as qualitative data to represent women's voices with regard to personal and institutional barriers to their publishing activities. The focus on academic women in HBUs aims to elucidate the particular barriers that are created by the socio-political origins of these institutions.

As academic women in HBUs, we need to examine our realities and within these realities, we must attempt to create 'space', both institutionally and personally, to publish. The development of strategies to support and sustain publications may be necessary to shift the current status quo of academic women's relationship to publishing. In response to the National Plan for Higher Education, and the new framework for funding Higher Education, South African academic institutions, especially HBUs, need to be cognizant of their responsibility to ensure that all staff have sufficient development and training in publication skills. Women, who

are often 'new'[1] to the realm of publishing, would benefit from adequate institutional infrastructures that support their publishing endeavours. The availability of such structures would firstly, ensure that women understand the value and significance of publications. In the second place such an institutional infrastructure would provide the basis for an enabling environment that would assist and support academic women in their publishing activities.

Although publishing as a tool for women's full inclusion into the academy needs to be regarded with skepticism, given the feminist argument that 'the master's tool cannot dismantle the master's house', there is a strong argument for its value in and outside of traditional male academic values. It has been argued earlier that publishing may serve the broader goal of gender equality. On one level, women's publishing may facilitate a decentering and destabilisation of authoritative, dominant male voice. On another level, it is argued that shifting the dominance of men in positions of power will also facilitate a challenge to androcentric policies and practices in academia. In this way, according to Mama (2000,p. 20):

> the proverbial maid needs to know her master well enough
> to anticipate his every whim, writers from the periphery are
> required to be versed in all the master texts ever produced in
> the belly of the beast that devours us.

By publishing and achieving promotion, academic women could use the position of the 'outsider from within'[2] in male-dominated academies. This, while there is still a need to reflect critically on the centrality of publications in promotion structures, it may be argued that more women in leadership may facilitate shifts in modes and standards for hierarchy and leadership in academic institutions. Furthermore, the analysis of the relationship between power and institutionalized discourse provides an important tool for disaggregating women's positions in

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[1] New with reference to women's involvement in academia which includes the academic activities of research and publishing.

[2] This concept is discussed in detail in Chapter Two. It relates to women using their marginalized positions to gain an understanding of the dominant social order. From these positions the flaws of the dominant ideology are more visible, than for people who form part of the reigning ideology.

academia (Preece, 2002). Institutional atmospheres have to be created to sustain and support women in 'entering the center' of academies. The study is therefore directed by an analysis of gendered power and its location within academia.

Contextualizing women's publishing in HBUs

South African Universities

The study is focused on women's relationship to publishing at three selected South African HBUs, namely the University of Durban-Westville (UDW), the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and the University of Venda (Univen). South African academic women's relationship to publishing needs to be contextualized within the historical backdrop of apartheid education.

Much has been said about the racial stratification of universities prior to 1994 which facilitated a dual system that combined advanced education for whites with under-developed and inadequate education for other racial groupings (Bunting, 1994; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Fernando, Hartley, Nowak & Swinehart, 1990; Wolpe, 1988). Black education was granted lower state funding than white education and subsequently the 'non-white education' systems were inadequately resourced by the dominant political dispensation. The inadequacies and inequalities in this system of separatist education reflected and reproduced the socio-economic disadvantagement that was experienced by the disenfranchized racial groupings. Even in the disadvantaged sector of the education system there was a distinct hierarchy in the allocation of resources among the HBUs: universities that were established for coloureds and Indians were better resourced than those for blacks (Bunting, 1994; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001).

A total of ten HBUs were established after the Extension of University Act in 1959[3]. These institutions have been understood within three broad categories (Subotzky, 1997). The first category included the six black universities which were located in the rural areas (Universities of: Venda, Zululand, Transkei, the North, Fort Hare and the North-West); the second comprised of two HBUs located in the urban areas, one for coloureds (University of the Western Cape), the other for the Indians (University of Durban-Westville); and the third category of HBUs was established for specific purposes, one to train medical personnel for the treatment of black people (Medical University of South Africa) and the other, a distance – based university to cope with the increasing numbers of black people who required access to university education (University of Vista). Although significant strides have been made to attain an equitable system, remnants of these historical differences are still apparent in HBUs (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; de la Rey, 1999; Singh, 2001; Subotzky, 2001).

In March 2002, the National Commission on Higher Education made proposals for the restructuring of the South African Higher Education sector (CHE report, 200/2001). The recommendations were tabled with the Minister of Education who presented these proposals to parliament for debate in order to implement them as law. These recommendations were legislated in October 2002.

Some of the major areas of contention, which were heatedly debated, centered around the 'landscape of Higher Education' which has been recommended by the Minister of Education. Many of these recommendations included the mergers of Historically Disadvantaged Institutions, (HDIs), while many Historically Advantaged Institutions (HAIs) retained their established status. The implementation of these recommendations is currently underway at various levels in South African Higher Education. These developments further highlight the need for HBUs to strengthen their own resources and the value of increasing publication rates could be regarded as a strategy of self-sustainability.

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[3] The act no.45 of 1959 Established Universities based on racial and ethnic classifications. Thus separate universities were created for black-Africans, Indians and coloureds.

Women in South African Universities

Before the South African democratic elections, black women were subjected to the cumulative effects of race and gender discrimination. After the 1994 elections, the democratically-elected government committed itself, through its constitution, to non-sexism and non-racism (Mbeki,1998). The South African constitution prohibits discrimination and has embedded in it methods to promote the accomplishment of equality as exemplified by the current South African president's comments (Mbeki, 1998,p. 261):

> the progress we make towards the attainment of a
> democratic society can only have fuller and deeper meaning
> if it is accompanied by significant progress and struggle for
> the emancipation of women

In spite of this commitment to non-sexism the dominant culture of institutions of higher education continues to be organized on masculine policies and principles (Bethlehem, 1992; de la Rey, 1999; Subotzky, 2001). Following global trends, women are represented in larger numbers in the lower ranks, with few in the professoriate or the governing bodies (de la Rey, 1999; Henry, 1990; Park, 1996; Walker,1998; Williams, 2000). Universities have been very slow to adapt staffing patterns and policies to enable women academics to advance in the hierarchy of the academy.

Furthermore, although overt gender discrimination apparently does not occur in South African universities, patterns of behaviour which may not be not overtly sexist, but which continue to privilege men, are reportedly common in most departments and institutions (Bethlehem, 1992; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Meintjies, 1997; Subotzky, 2001; Walker,1998). Men still predominate in positions of power and the culture at institutions remains gendered, reflecting its historical roots as institutions designed 'by men for men' (Bagilhole, 2000; Blackstone & Fulton, 1975; de la Rey, 1999; Evans, 1996; Kaufman, 1978). Although the term 'power' often has negative connotation in Western society, it must be realized

that 'power' cannot exist on its own as it is a relational reality (Boesak, 1977; Potgieter, 1997; Shefer, 1999). The grappling with and dismantling of androcentric power at different levels within the social order has been a constant goal for feminist theorists (McDowell, 2002; Sagaria, 2002).

Due to the slow changes in staffing patterns, the dearth of women in senior positions in universities is still evident in HBUs (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Subotzky, 2001). A comparative study between the positions of women in HBUs in 1988 and 1998 shows that while there are definitely more women in all academic positions, there is still evidence of women's over-representation in the lower academic levels while the more senior positions continue to be dominated by men. The table below, drawn from Cooper and Subotzky's study (2001,p. 228) illustrates the shifts in the number of women in academic positions between 1998 and 1999:

Table 1: A comparison of numbers of women across various academic positions in 1988 and 1998

Rank	% women in academic positions in 1988	% women in academic positions in 1998
Professor	5%	10%
Associate professor	14%	23%
Senior Lecturer	21%	34%
Lecturer	45%	52%

This shows how, although staffing patterns are changing (albeit gradually), women remain disproportionately over-represented at the level of lecturer. The statistics identify the serious disparity relating to the under-representation of women in higher ranking positions in HBUs (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001). This clearly illustrates male domination in the most senior positions in HBUs with men forming 90% of professors and 78% of associate professors. The scarcity of women professors is not a manifestation of an overall lack of women in

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academia, but indicates that women are concentrated at the lower levels of the academic hierarchy (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bethlehem, 1992; de la Rey, 1999; Henry, 1990; Park, 1996; Thomas, 1990; Williams, 2000). When comparing the data of women in executive management in HBUs in 1999, women comprised 15% of these positions in 1999, compared with 14% in 1994. This indicates that there was only a 1% increase in the number of women in executive management over a five-year period (Subotzky, 2001).

Furthermore, a 1998 Woman-in-Research audit that was carried out across all South African universities, revealed that black women remained particularly underrepresented with regard to senior degrees in the humanities with approximately 25% of white respondents were found to have doctoral degrees compared to 7% and fewer in the other racial groupings. Moreover, approximately 25% of those who had doctorates and more than 50% of those who had Master's degrees were employed by HWUs (Primo, 1999). This indicated that white women in the humanities were better qualified than their black counterparts. It also showed that women who had attained Masters and doctoral degrees were more often employed at HWUs. The academics at HBUs, on the other hand, had fewer women staff with such qualifications.

It is further suggested that the absence of 'women-friendly' support at South African universities, (such as counselling and child-care), continues to inhibit women's ability to pursue activities enhance their careers (Subotzky, 2001; Morley et al, 2001; Wolpe, Quinlan & Martinez, 1997). Within the gender and development framework, it is argued that the absence of these supportive facilities in organizations often serves to expose the organization's lack of responsiveness to the needs of women (Evans, 1996; Halsey, 1992; Smulders, 1998; Sutherland, 1985). It is also noted that when organizations fail to recognize gender differences, the working environment is often experienced as being more enabling to men than it is to women (Evans, 1996; Kaufman, 1978; Smulders, 1998; Thomas, 1990). Bethlehem (1992) collaborates this notion with her local

study, and together with others asserts that even though women may progress in the hierarchies of South African universities, full equality will only be reached through direct and facilitative interventions (Lessing, 1994; Subotzky, 2001).

Historically there has been resistance to women gaining access to education, credentials and employment. In many countries, including South Africa, recent legislation has assisted in weakening this resistance. The formal and informal barriers have been eliminated by the introduction of laws upholding the employment of women and other marginalized groups. Examples of these laws in South Africa relate to the Employment Equity Act (EEA) and Affirmative-Action (AA) and the Workplace Skills Plan, but there are still many informal 'invisible' barriers that women have to overcome (Brown, 1997; Morley et al, 2001; Subotzky, 2001). The persistence of these barriers, because of their invisibility and subtlety, raise questions as to whether women ought to become or to assume the androcentric attributes of the men with whom they are competing in order to gain access to the centers of power in the workplace. Some of the negative aspects associated with such choices relating to career paths are highlighted in the literature reviewed in Chapter Three.

Statement of the Aims

The major aim of the study was to explore the challenges experienced by a group of women academics at the selected HBUs with regard to the publishing of academic articles. This aim was articulated through two central objectives:

1. To establish a descriptive profile of current publication records of women academics at the selected HBUs. This includes a profile of their positions, publication outputs and a picture of how much and where they publish.

2   To explore how women academics in the study construct their relationship to publishing. This included key questions as follows:

    What do participants perceive to be central inhibiting factors and challenges to their success as regards publishing?

- What do participants regard as the major factors in the academy which impact on their ability to publish?

- What do participants recommend, at a personal and institutional level, for the advancement of their publishing?

The aim of the first objective was articulated by the quantitative method (survey-questionnaire), while the aims of the second objective were articulated by means of the qualitative methods.

It should be noted that the study did not intend to represent all women at HBUs in South Africa and thus the findings reflect *only* data generated by the participants at the three targeted HBUs in this study. Furthermore, the study did not intend to be only about black women. Although HBUs were established for black students, the teaching staff have always included all 'racial categories' and because the research was primarily a study of women, all the academic women at the selected institutions constituted the sample (the questionnaire was disseminated to all women academic staff members[4]). Thus, each data set, namely the quantitative and qualitative data, was guided by different research questions but it was expected that the two foci would contribute in complimentary ways to our understanding academic women's relationship to publishing at the targeted universities. Although the findings represent the specific participants at the selected HBUs only, there is strong support for viewing them as representative of these institutions and generally of the other HBUs, given the response rate of 30 – 40% as well as the fact that 30% of all South African HBUs were included in the study.

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[4] The questionnaire was the 'fore-runner' to the focus group discussions and interviews. The data collection process is discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

The current study, although primarily interested in qualitative explorations of women's publication experiences, intended to use the quantitative findings (provided by the findings of the survey-questionnaire), to provide a descriptive 'picture' of the participants' reported publishing status. The findings of the qualitative data, generated by focus group discussions and interviews, were used to explore 'behind the descriptive picture' provided by the survey-questionnaire.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter Two introduces the theoretical framework of the study. This section outlines the feminist standpoint theory as the theoretical framework within which the study is located. The value, the critical evaluation as well as the relevance of the feminist standpoint theory to the current study, is presented. Chapter Three introduces the literature relating to theories and conceptual frameworks that describe the difficulties women often experience in workplaces generally. These barriers are discussed in specific relation to academia. These conceptual frameworks present the barriers to women's advancement which also impact on their ability to do research and publish in academia.

Chapter Four describes the methodological parameters of the current study as well as the procedures that were used to generate the data. Ethical considerations, as well as the researcher's self-reflexivity with regard to the study and the methodological aspects of the study are included in this chapter. The results of the study are discussed in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Chapter Five presents a profile of the publication records of the respondents as well as factors that they report to influence their publishing endeavours. The findings of the quantitative analyses were used purely for descriptive purposes and are presented diagrammatically by means of graphs and tables.

The qualitative data was obtained from the interviews and focus group discussions, with a small proportion of these findings based on open-ended questions on the questionnaire. The analyses of these findings are discussed in Chapters Six and Seven. Chapter Six focuses on the perceived barriers to publishing as reported by the participants, while Chapter Seven presents the analyses of participants' perspectives on strategies to support their publishing and proposals that may assist them in challenging the barriers they perceive with regard to publishing.

Chapter Eight is an attempt to articulate the central findings of the study, make recommendations for further studies and to re-iterate the importance of publishing to South African academic women, as a tool towards the democratization of academic institutions.

CHAPTER TWO: ENGAGING FEMINIST STANDPOINT THEORY

This chapter outlines the theoretical underpinnings of the study, which although located within a feminist theoretical framework, draws primarily on the principles of the feminist standpoint theory. This study focuses exclusively on experiences of academic women with regard to the challenges they encounter in their publishing endeavours. Given this focus, the chapter outlines the key tenets of feminist standpoint theory and its value to this particular study. The chapter also attempts to contextualize this body of work within larger developments in feminist theory.

Introduction

Since the inception of the second wave feminist movement, feminist scholars have developed a wide range of theoretical epistemologies in their attempts to understand the origins and the perpetuation of gender inequality in contemporary societies (Handrahan,1999; Harding, 1991; Hennessey,1995). From the outset, it should be noted that feminism is understood and acknowledged in terms of its multiplicity rather than as a single theory or a single method (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Flax, 1990; Fonow & Cook, 1991; Mies, 1993; Olesen, 1994). Maynard (1994) for example, makes reference to feminism as a multitude of feminist theoretical variations.

One of the key areas of feminist work, since the early period of the second wave of feminism, is that which is referred to as feminist standpoint theory, which has at its core a 'woman-centered perspective' (Collins, 1986,1992; Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1998; Hendricks & Lewis, 1994). In the last few decades, feminist standpoint theory, together with broader feminism, has gone through many changes. Even though these changes and interpretations within the feminist

movement have been a site of multiple debates, the focus and centrality of women and women's voices remains a primary feature of all feminist studies. Although the various strands of feminism each have their own particularities, Maynard 1994) asserts that the following commitments are common to the goals of *all* feminist studies:

- A major focus on the situation and experiences of women in relation to power in society;

  A centralizing of women as subjects in the investigation process

  An emphasis on developing interventions to improve women's positions in society.

Feminist standpoint as a counter-hegemonic theory: ideology and constructions of knowledge

Feminist standpoint theory, as part of broader feminist theories, occupies a significant place among the critiques of Western epistemology and ideology. Benhabib (1986) describes critique as a process that enables future social change. Within this understanding, critique is used to provoke and use ideological crises for social transformation. Furthermore, critique is also used to refer to processes and concepts that attempt to emphasize contradictions within the social order. These attempts do not necessarily heal or resolve the identified crises, but rather may be used as the means to the solution of the crises Benhabib (1986).

Like counter-hegemonic theories, feminist inquiry is often associated with paradigmatic shifts in attempting to challenge the reigning ideology[5]. For these reasons, feminism has been positively embraced by many critical other 'counter-hegemonic' theorists, who are concerned with questioning, exposing and

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[5] a material force because it (re)produces what gets to count as 'reality', but at the same time other material forces, both economic and political, are shaped by, and not only reflected in, ideology (Hennessy,1995,p. 21).

rectifying flaws in traditional research frameworks. According to these critical theorists, the major objective of any research endeavour should be to create knowledge to facilitate the transformation of the social order as desired by the participants of the research (Benhabib, 1986; Hennessy, 1991).

Feminism, like other critical theories, rejects the notion of objective knowledge. From these perspectives, all people and all groups are regarded as socially situated and knowledge is regarded as a social construction (Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1998; Hennessy, 1995).

Feminist standpoint theory: a woman-centered perspective

Woman-centered studies are a contemporary form of feminism in which the experiences of women, who are often in marginal positions in patriarchal societies, are brought into the research and knowledge production arena (Collins, 1986, 1992; Hartsock, 1998; Hendricks & Lewis, 1994). This perspective recognizes the social positioning of women, and it acknowledges the various forms of subjection which women experience in their 'peripheral' positions in society. The focus of the debates and studies, located within this conceptual framework, are therefore not solely on gender, but includes the recognition of other forms of subjection. Among these forms of subjection are race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and physical competence which women experience (Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1998). hooks (2000) has also emphasized the need to go beyond gender and to include other forms of subjection which include race and class into feminist perspectives.

Woman-centered studies have highlighted the private/public divide, which may be understood as an extension of the traditional philosophical distinction between mind and body. It is argued that the mind-body dualism is based on the

assumption that the mind and its activities are regarded as superior to the and its activities and that the mind is equated with masculinity and the body with femininity. Within this framework, men are constructed as the creators of knowledge, while women's experiences are disregarded (Handrahan, 1999; Ribbens & Edwards, 1998; Standing, 1998). On the other hand, 'women's experiences' are silenced and devalued in androcentric social orders (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Campbell & Bunting, 1991; Crosby, 1991; Harding, 1991; Lorber, 1994; Welch, 1990). Societies have historically been stratified along gender lines where women and men are assigned different activities, and thus lead lives that are shaped and moulded in significantly different ways (Harding, 1991; Standing, 1998; Tong, 1989). Given the 'gender-biased' conceptualization of 'truth' and existing theories, feminist standpoint theory attempts to eradicate the rigid gender-divide by emphasizing the importance of women's experience in the development of theory and the production of knowledge (Handrahan, 1998; Harding, 1991; Reinharz, 1992; Scheper-Hughes, 1983). Furthermore, feminist analysis may be interpreted as a form of deconstruction of existing 'truths' and theories. By these means feminist standpoint theory attempts to reconstruct the way in which knowledge is presented and understood, when women's perspectives are included in the development of theories and in the generation of knowledge (Harding, 1991; Standing, 1998; Wuest, 1995). Feminist standpoint theory, like feminism more broadly, should be regarded as a critical theory as it often presents challenges to the hegemonic social order (Hanrahan, 1999,1998; Hennessy, 1995)

For feminist standpoint theorists, knowledge is perceived to be shaped by the social context of the knower. From this stance, the perspective of groups that are marginalized, (by race, gender or class), are regarded as being more accurate than people from groups that are more advantaged in the dominant culture (Allen & Baber, 1992; Code, 1991; Wuest, 1995). As mentioned earlier, feminist standpoint theorists focus on women's lives, and assert that women's lives have been erroneously devalued and made invisible. Consequently, women's

contributions as the generators of evidence for or against knowledge claims have also been devalued and underdeveloped.

Key concepts in standpoint theory

As stated previously, the central focus of feminist standpoint theorists is their attempt to include the experiences, perceptions and voices of women in order to challenge universal understandings of reality (Abbot & Wallace,1990; Benhabib, 1986; Handrahan, 1999,1998; Hennessy, 1995). From this perspective, traditional theories and conventional research methodologies have been challenged to include and focus on women. By including women as subjects and objects of research, women are provided with opportunities to escalate in their careers and have access to resources which will assist them to move from marginalized positions in academia to the 'center stage' of research (hooks, 1984).

Feminist standpoint theory, however, does not claim that women's experiences in themselves provide a reliable basis for knowledge claims about nature and social relations (Harding, 1991). It is, therefore, arguable that it is neither the experience nor the discourse that provides the basis for feminist claims, but the articulated observations of and theory about the rest of nature and social relations. A feminist standpoint does not therefore exist in pure form in the consciousness of women. Rather, a standpoint is often regarded as the outcome of a struggle (Henwood, Griffin & Phoenix, 1998). In this way the development of a standpoint represents the process by which an oppressed group becomes not merely a group *in* themselves, but a group *for* themselves (Harding, 1991).

Feminist standpoint theorists argue that particular forms of subjection that women experience as an oppressed, exploited and dominated gender have a distinctive content. This theory, while highlighting 'difference', cautions against

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reproducing patriarchal constructions of this difference as inferiorities (Harding, 1991).

Because 'standpoint' refers to position in society, it may be conceptualized as a way of making sense of the factors that shape social structures and identities (Hennessy, 1995). By focusing on factors that structure the relations between social positions and ways of knowing, feminist standpoint theorists, challenge the assumption that simply being a woman, guarantees a feminist view of the world. Instead, feminist standpoint theory is a socially produced position and thus not necessarily available to all women. In this way, the notion of difference is introduced when standpoint is interpreted in this way. Harding (1991) asserts that not only is there no 'typical woman's life', but women's experiences of their lives are not necessarily the feminist knowledges of women's lives.

Harding (1991) regards women's positions as 'strangers' to the social order as a potentially valuable position given the advantages in being a 'stranger' rather than a 'native'. A basis for this claim is that, while women are often excluded from the design and direction of the social order and the production of knowledge, a 'stranger' brings a combination of new factors to the research process (Collins, 1986; Reay, 1996a,1996b). These include a combination of nearness and remoteness as well as the concern and the indifference that are integral to maximizing objectivity. In this process, the 'natives' may confide more in the researcher, (who may in this situation be regarded as the 'outsider'), than they would with each other. Also, the 'stranger' researcher may be able to perceive behavioural patterns and belief systems which those immersed in the culture are frequently unable, or less able, to detect (Harding, 1991; Reay, 1996a,1996b).

Harding's work (1991) goes on to argue that the oppressed may have the capacity to 'see more clearly'. Thus, though some people may be socially more disadvantaged, they are epistemologically more privileged, because they may better positioned to produce *maximally objective* knowledge. From this

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perspective, it is argued that at times the distinctive feature of women's situation in a gender-stratified society, may be used as resource in feminist research (Harding, 1991). It is further postulated that these unique resources enable feminism to produce empirically more accurate descriptions and theoretically richer explanations of the social order, than does conventional research.

Collins (1986) provides a helpful manner to address some of the questions which Harding's perspective eludes to answer, especially with regard to questions about conflicting standpoints and norms or criteria to evaluate different knowledges. Collins (1986) calls for vigilance against dividing the world straightforwardly into the oppressed and the oppressors. She argues that in reality, individuals are often both members of dominant groups as well as members of subordinate groups. Collins (1986, p. 236 – 37) therefore advocates the use of *dialogue* to deal with the assessment of these claims:

> Everyone has a voice, but everyone must listen and respond
> to other voices in order to be allowed to remain in the
> community

Dialogue is a concept which hinges around the notion that each social group speaks from its own standpoint and shares its own partial, situated knowledge. Although the notion of *dialogue* does not offer a universal answer to the ways in which the issues of knowledge claims can be guaranteed, it does shift the discussion to a terrain where standpoints are debated rather than accepted at face-value.

For feminist standpoint theorists, people's knowledge, perspectives and behaviour must be understood in terms of their social positions. This is because standpoint theory has as its central focus, social groupings rather than roles (Baldwin, 2000; Crenshaw, 1992; Harding, 1991). Standpoints are therefore used to refer to one's view of the world. Feminist standpoint theory assumes that there are different types of knowledge and that all types of knowledge are regarded as

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partial, because people do not know all the aspects of the various possible perspectives (Baldwin, 2000; Eichler, 1986). It is argued that some people do, however, by virtue of their particular social location, have a more complete knowledge and understanding of reality than other people. Arguably, oppressed groups of people are said to have a more complete view of reality than oppressors (Harding, 1991). Knowledge of oppressed social groups often form the basis for the critique of the power structure of the group that constitutes the status quo (Baldwin, 2000). From this perspective, it is argued that women's experiences of the world are different from those of men's experiences with respect to gender, and are regarded as more complete, given their vantage point of oppression in patriarchal societies (Baldwin, 2000; Code, 1991; Harding, 1987).

From the woman-centered perspective, feminist standpoint theorists claim that the existing social order is dysfunctional for women. This claim is based on the assumption that there is a closer fit for men, in the dominant groups and the arrangement of the social order, than there is for any woman.[6] From this stance, the inequalities of the 'power system' are apparent and *this* is often regarded as the ultimate value of the feminist standpoint theory. Because it is from this vantage point that women's experiences may be validated and published in order to challenge the reigning androcentric social order (Code, 1991; Davis, 1981).

When research starts with the 'dailiness' of women's lives, (Harding, 1991), research processes may improve the recognition that some understandings of both women's and men's lives are very different to accounts preferred by conventional society. The 'dailiness' of women's lives is explained by Harding (1991,p. 129) as:

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[6] B
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I mean the patterns women create and the meanings women invent each day and over time as a result of their labours and in the context of their subordinated status to men. The point is not to describe every aspect of daily life or to represent a schedule of priorities in which some activities are more important or are accorded more status than others. The search for dailiness is a method of work that allows us to take the patterns women create and the meanings women invent, and learn from them. If we map out what we learn, connecting one meaning or invention to another, we begin to lay out a different way of seeing reality. This way of seeing is what I refer to as woman's standpoint

The aspects of women's work, though they are not recognized and are 'invisible' to men, are the services that support the public sphere; thus relieving men of their responsibility to care for their own bodies and physical existence. This type of support facilitates the shaping of men's lives so that they are freed up and allowed to engage with the abstract rather than the concrete. Men are therefore able, and expected to, dominate the public sphere of the mind and abstract thinking. Because of women's positions and their traditional roles, their work is regarded as incomprehensible to men and thus rendered invisible from the 'male-stream' point of view (Collins, 1992; Crosby, 1991; Harding, 1991; Lorber, 1994). Since society exercises many forms of oppression, science reflects these axes of oppressions. Knowledge thus cannot be said to be 'value-free'. Many feminists, like Harding, insist that we acknowledge that values that are imported into science are androcentric, and not democratic values.

one takes the stance that feminism is a mode of analysis rather than a set of given conclusions, then questions of process and change become important (Hartsock, 1998). Many disciplines have excluded women in the development of their epistemologies. The value of feminist standpoint theory is that it posits feminism as a way of conceptualizing the foundations of these human-related sciences. It is argued that many conventional academic disciplines were developed by men, for men, protecting men and promoting the male identity Handrahan, 1999; Harding, 1991; Hennessy, 1995; Lorber, 1994).

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Feminist research has destabilized the notion of research and knowledge production as being 'value-free' (Handrahan, 1999; Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1998; Hennessy, 1995) For feminist standpoint theorists, knowledge is constructed as dependent on contextualized experience. It is argued that because experience is seldom neutrally transmitted, knowledge cannot be and is not neutral or value-free (Hennessy, 1995). The inclusion of women into research projects is an attempt to challenge traditional research enterprises because of the knowledge, experience and understandings that women bring into the projects. 'Adding' women fundamentally alters the state of the research process because the theoretical and methodological rules, (that traditionally excluded women), are challenged (Handrahan, 1999). The perspectives of theorists like Hartsock (1998) and Harding (1991) provided initial ground for feminist epistemology that emphasized that women did not necessarily know better but that women know *differently*.

One of the key areas where women's ways of 'doing things' is evident is the attempt by feminism to challenge the nature of power relations in the research process as will be elaborated in Chapters Three and Six. Often conventional research strives to maintain a power hierarchy with the researcher being 'outside and neutral' to the research process. Feminist research, on the other hand, posits self-reflexivity as a central feature[7]. Feminist epistemology acknowledges that the research process is as important as the outcome of the research process. The inclusion of self-reflexivity in the research process is an attempt to minimize the power hierarchy that is endemic between the researcher and the researched in conventional research studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Harding, 1991; Malterud, 1994).

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[7] This concept and the researcher's position in this study will be elaborated in Chapter Four.

The value and critique of feminist standpoint theory

The key value of feminist standpoint theory is that it provides a forum for women's voices and experiences as subjects and objects of research enterprises. In this way feminist standpoint theory attempts to challenge the various axes of oppression that women experience. This perspective also gives credence to women by using their unique resources and particular location within power relations for knowledge production (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Harding, 1991; Hundleby, 1997).

Furthermore, feminist standpoint theory argues for researchers to foster more egalitarian, (or at least less oppressive), social relationships and meanings during research processes. This conceptual framework, because it is concerned with women's concrete, materially-grounded experiences, has its origins in a politically informed and theorized position regarding the perspectives and standpoints of women (Henwood, Griffin & Phoenix, 1998). While there are strong areas of discontent with traditional interpretations of feminist standpoint theory, a silence on these debates would retain women in their marginalized positions in peripheries of research.

The traditional conceptualization and interpretation of feminist standpoint theory, often created perceptions that this variation of feminism was too totalizing and unifying of women and their experiences. This interpretation often led to problematic situations when attempts to distinguish between competing claims from the various 'voices' of women were made (Collins, 1986,1992; McPeak, 1998; O'Leary, 1997; Reay, 1996a, 1996b). When gender was regarded as the sole source of marginalization, interpretations with regard to the experiences of 'women' as a single category, becomes problematic. Such versions of feminism were criticized for ignoring the differences between women in their assumption of a singular category of 'woman' For example, the experiences of white, middle-

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class women versus the 'voices' and experiences of black, working class women were very different (McPeak, 1998; O'Leary, 1997; Reay, 1996a, 1996b).

More recently, researchers are cautioned to be wary of approaches that attempt to develop a totalizing, unifying framework that 'speaks' for all women. Over the last decade or so the 'difference debate' has been central to feminist theorizing. The 'difference debate' in South Africa is primarily used to refer to race and racism, and the power relations between black and white women, in particular, are challenged within these debates (de la Rey, 1997). Feminist theories now go beyond binaries (male-female; dominant and marginal social positions) to include multiplicities. In this way, contemporary interpretations and practices of feminist standpoint theorists do not totalize women as a single category but rather recognition is given to the differences between women; and acknowledgement is also given to variations of differences and the multiple axes of oppression and marginalization that women experience (Harding, 1991; Shefer, 1998; Tiefer, 1992; Vance, 1984; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1993).

A further criticism of the traditional interpretation of feminist standpoint theory is that misinterpretation and oversimplification may occur with regard to women's marginal positions in society. Critics may argue that the theory inadvertently advocates that women's marginal positions are advantageous (Collins, 1992; Harding, 1991). This criticism was based on Collins'(1986) concept of the outsider from within[8], a concept that may be misunderstood as women's peripheral positions providing them with increased resources in research enterprises. Contemporary feminist standpoint theorists point out that notions of advantage or an idealization of women in the marginalized positions in society, is an oversimplified interpretation of standpoint theory. Such an oversimplification may mislead women into believing that they do not have to challenge the status quo. This critique of traditional interpretation of feminist standpoint theory is

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[8] This concept deals with people in 'outsider' status that are more able to interpret and identify the problems in the social order from their vantages point as outsiders.

continued by McPeak (1997), who argues that an epistemic advantage can only be based on knowledge and that people in marginalized positions are frequently denied access to knowledge and to exercise their intellect. The marginalized position of women provides them only with a positional advantage, in that knowledge is not acquired by education or experience, but merely by suffering the oppression by others.

Although the various points of critique of feminist standpoint theory are acknowledged, the theory remains valuable, because unlike traditional research, it draws women from the peripheries to the centers of research (Collins, 1986,1992; Handrahan, 1998; Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1998). The central contribution of these discussions is not that women 'know' better, but rather that women know 'differently'. The contribution of their experiences and cognitive styles would be to enhance and to introduce more 'balanced' research enterprises, than traditional research. Because it may be argued that traditional research is based on androcentric research styles, and that many theories were developed through male interpretations, it could be argued that men have dominated the 'sites' of knowledge production. For these reasons, feminist standpoint theory should not be disregarded for its flaws, but rather be recognized for its contribution (Handrahan, 1999, 1998; Harding, 1991; Hendricks & Lewis, 1994; Reay, 1996a,1996b).

The positive aspect of feminist standpoint theory lies in the acknowledgement that it provides a space for women's voices to be heard. It also provides an opportunity for women's experiences and opinions to be raised and documented. Thus it challenges the neglect of women's perspectives and the marginalization of women as knowledge producers, in conventional social research.

Current trends in the interpretation and reconceptualization of standpoint theory

The reconceptualized feminist standpoint theory has many features of feminist post – modern theories such as social constructionsim. Post-modern theorists have their genesis in the works of scholars of the middle and late 20th century who contested the principles of modernity. Hence, it is argued that the origin of knowledge is socially constructed and there is a preference for local narratives. This perspective therefore offers opportunities for the representation of voices and stories of people and social groups that were traditionally silent and silenced (Gergen, 2000).

Current understandings of feminist standpoint theory reflect the key tenets of post-modern theories that suggest that a critical position be adopted for the 'taken for granted' ways in which reality is understood. It challenges the idea that that conventional knowledge and understanding is based on an objective, unbiased observation of the world has been widely developed.

The major shift in the interpretation of feminist standpoint theory is that contemporary feminist standpoint theory draws on post-modernism and post-structuralism in particular, to acknowledge diversity. Current interpretations of feminist standpoint theory is therefore underpinned by the recognition of differences between women and the acknowledgement of women's various axes of subjection that have been highlighted by postmodern feminists (Harding, 1991; Tiefer, 1992; Vance, 1984; Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1993). In this interpretation, feminist standpoint theorists do not attempt to totalize and unify women and the 'woman's experience'

Harding (1991) argues that feminists need to replace the desire for unity with regard to women's common experiences, with goals shared by other groups struggling against Western hegemony. The 'new version' of feminist standpoint

theory acknowledges differences in experiences of women, and encourages them to establish their own standpoints. When feminist standpoint theory is interpreted in this way, this theory becomes an epistemological position and not a methodological movement (Kenney & Kinsella, 1997).

Feminism has been positively accepted by many post modernists and other 'counter-hegemonic' theorists, because these theorists too, are concerned with questioning, exposing and rectifying flaws in traditional research frameworks. According to these theorists, the major objective of any research endeavour should be to create knowledge that facilitates transformation of the social order as desired by the participants of the research. Feminist inquiry is a paradigmatic shift countering the reigning ideology. Harding (1991) argues that science is socially constructed in that those who are involved in decision making and are thus socially embedded and not by those who are socially peripheral.

Feminism's history as a critique of patriarchy can be understood in terms of the ways in which it addresses gaps in the dominant culture's ways of making sense of women's lives. (Hennessy,1995). Critique aims not to heal or resolve cultural crises, but to reveal that the internal contradictions in a cultural text are the products of crises in the social order at large. These internal contradictions cannot be resolved by the system as configured at present.

Harding asserts that not only is there no 'typical woman's life', but women's experiences of their lives are not necessarily the feminist knowledges of women's lives (Harding,1991). Although the reliability of this theory may be challenged, the theory provides a space for women's voices to be heard. It also provides an opportunity for women's experiences and opinions to be raised and documented; unlike traditional social research where women were outside the research arena (whether as subjects or as objects).

For feminist standpoint theorists, the term 'woman' does not imply that there is sameness among all women. Rather, that other areas of invisibility and inequality interweave the theoretical invisibility and inequality of women: such as class and race, amongst others. Feminist standpoint theory, with this understanding, is not seen as a means by which to give identity to women only, but as a campaign that challenges the dominant ideology (Collins, 1986; Harding, 1991; Hennessy, 1995). This disidentifying subject of critique does not claim any one group identity as its sole terrain, but instead 'speaks from' the position of a counter-hegemonic collective which its theoretical framework produces. The place for feminist standpoint theory, from this perspective, is not 'experience' as we are used to thinking of it, but an articulated system of positions in the historical process. The contemporary interpretation of feminist standpoint theory does not aim to eliminate differences, but rather to ensure that differences are not used to support unequal power relations. Feminist standpoint theory calls for a definite restructuring of the political and economic structures which are supported by the existing social order (Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1998; Hennessy, 1995). For these reasons, feminist standpoint theorists are now regarded as being concerned with the multiple axes of oppression that women experience rather than with the single axis of gender as the only form of subjection and oppression that women experience. Arguably, there are various feminist standpoints because there is no single standpoint which would adequately address the concerns of all women (Flax, 1990; Harding, 1991; Hennessy, 1995; Maynard, 1994; Olesen, 1994).

By using the 'new interpretation' of feminist standpoint theory, researchers need not be apprehensive that feminism may lose its specificity. The central tenet of feminist standpoint theory remains to be launched from an inquiry into and the opposition of the devaluation of 'woman' under patriarchy. In this way, feminist standpoint maintains the specificity of its starting point and special interest (Harding, 1991; Reay, 1996a, 1996b, Reinharz, 1992; Ribbens & Edwards, 1998; Scheper-Hughes, 1983). Contemporary feminist standpoint theory may therefore be regarded as a conceptual framework which allows subjects of feminist

research to be transformed from an empirical **group** of 'women', to a collective epistemology of critique aimed at dismantling the patriarchal social order[9] (Butler, 1990; Harding, 1991; Hennessy, 1995; Tong, 1989).

Concluding thoughts

The selection of the feminist standpoint theory as a conceptual framework for this study achieves two goals. Firstly, to provide a platform for women's voices and experiences. Secondly, this framework allows for the interpretation of women's experiences not only from their marginalized positions due to gender but also from other axes of subjection. Using this perspective, women's relationship to power and their access to 'centers of power' are also brought into sharp focus.

By using the principles of contemporary feminist standpoint theory, 'voices from the margins' may be articulated. In this study, women academics, who often occupy the lowest academic rankings in the academy, were able to articulate their 'experiences'. In the interviews and/or focus groups, the participants were provided with an opportunity to articulate their experiences and make proposals for restructuring the institutional 'ethos' and the 'dailiness' of their lives to enable them to publish more frequently.

Contemporary feminist standpoint theorists acknowledge difference and diversity and make provision for various 'standpoints'. From this stance, feminist standpoint theory does not totalize and unify all women to a single category of 'woman' as was discussed earlier in the chapter. It is hoped that this theoretical framework will facilitate an enriched and deeper understanding of academic women's reports with regard to the challenges they experience in their publishing endeavours, at the targeted HBUs.

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[9] Some of issues are addressed in Chapters Seven and Eight.

In this study, women, who have historically been excluded from the research arena, were the sites of production of knowledge of the 'reality' of women's experiences in academies. The knowledge and understandings were created by their experiences of the institutional culture. Institutional cultures at HBUs in South Africa are influenced by the historical-political origins of these institutions.

The following chapter, Chapter Three, presents a broad review of literature in order to conceptualize academic women's relationship to publishing in South African HBUs.

CHAPTER THREE: 'ATHENA' IN THE ACADEMY

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review key literature that relates to an understanding of women in academia, and in particular, their relationship to publishing. The literature review is categorized into three broad sections. The first section attempts to conceptualize the position of academic women, by drawing on feminist theories that have been developed to explain women's lack of advancement in the work place more broadly. Although many of these theories and concepts relate to general work places, it is arguable that they provide a starting point for theorizing academic women's experiences of marginalization, and barriers to advancement in academic institutions. The second section of the literature review relates to publication and authorship and reviews international literature on the challenges that women face in publishing. The final section conceptualizes the position of women academics in South Africa, in particular women at HBUs, and reviews the small body of work on their relationship to publishing

Contextualizing women academics as workers

> Despite myths concerning the efficacy of affirmative action programs, there are still relatively few women in academia... educational cutbacks with fewer permanent positions and more restrictive criteria for promotion have given rise to the 'revolving door' phenomenon, wherein junior staff are rotated through entry level positions without serious consideration for permanency. This has created a new class of 'gypsy scholars[10] an intellectual 'proletariat'[11] , who, in order to earn a living – move from one low-paying, dead-end teaching post to another. This proletariat is disproportionately female. .....
> There is undoubtedly truth in explanations that women are

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[10] Boyer, 1986
[11] Winkler, 1981

still primarily responsible for child-rearing and homekeeping. But, by focusing solely on these external factors, may lead one to overlook the ways in which sexism, is embedded in the structures, norms and policies of the university itself. (Park, 1996,p. 46).

It is commonly acknowledged that women in academia, like women in the broader work context, often encounter more barriers to their career advancement than do their male counterparts (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Crosby, 1991; Dines, 1993; Eggins, 1996; Lorber, 1994; Morley et al., 2001; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001). Many of the challenges experienced by women have their origins in the patriarchal notion of the private/public divide and stereotypic notions of 'male' and 'female' work and roles. These traditional notions of 'man's work' being in the public sphere (characterized by dealings with matters of the mind), and 'woman's work' in the private sphere (characterized by dealings with emotional matters), continue to have salience in contemporary societies (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Barker, 1982; Bem, 1993; Henry, 1990; Lorber, 1994; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Toren, 1999; Welch, 1990). The notion of gendered governance refers to the way in which men and women learn what is valued as well as participation in decision making. Such learning frequently determines their roles and identities in the social order and their perceived entitlements as members of a given society (Preece, 2002).

While there is a global trend of more women academics in universities, there is a sharp awareness that women are still underrepresented at higher levels and in positions of power in the academy, and that most women are employed in the lowest positions in the academy (Bagilhole, 2000; Bell & Gordon, 1999; Boyer, 1986; Callen, 1998; Collins, Chrisler & Quina, 1998; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Eggins, 1997; Figueira-McDonough & Sarri, undated; Lerner, 1992; Licuanan, 1998; Morley et al., 2001; Park, 1996; Walker, 1998). As a consequence, women in academia often have a sense of being 'short-changed' in terms of promotion and escalation on the 'academic ladder' (Bacchi, 1999; Caplan, 1995). Women's

late entry into the academy has apparently had a continued influence on the position of women academics and on the governance of universities (Acker, 1998; Johnsrud & Heck, 1994; Kanter, 1977; Park, 1996).

The components of academies that contribute to the culture of the academy include aspects of curriculum development, appointment and promotion processes, style of academic surroundings and the hierarchical structure (Bradley, 1998; Park, 1996). Because it may be argued that academies were designed by men for men, a gendered and androcentric culture remains prevalent at these institutions (Sutherland, 1984; Subotzky, 2001; Thomas, 1990). The emphasis on efficiency and effectiveness in higher education has resulted in minimal attendance to matters concerning gender equity: for example, HBUs in South Africa have, since their inception, had to contend with inequalities on multiple levels, especially during the apartheid regime. These inequalities, related to resources, funding and programmes, were deemed as more crucial than matters pertaining to gender justice (Subotzky, 1994; Wolpe, 1993). Managerial bodies of HBUs, who were predominately male, continued to create the 'othering' of women in these academies (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Subotzky, 2001). Although some men deny a gender equity problem, the experiences of South African academic women reflect subtle forms of gender discrimination which are consistent with international trends (de la Rey, 1999; EPU,1997; Howell, Naidoo, Potts & Subotzky, 2000; Petersen & Gravett, 2000). Even successful senior women academics often perceive their roles in the academy as invisible and express disillusionment with their institutions when their hard work is not recognized (de la Rey, 1999; Morley *et al.*, 2001; Subotzky, 2001)

Globally there has been a marked clustering of women undergraduates, postgraduates and academic staff in particular disciplines. However, it is apparent that there is a dramatic elimination process when women attempt to escalate through the academic hierarchy (Acker, 1984; Bagilhole, 2000; Harper

et al., 2001; Heward, 1996; Morley *et al.*, 2001; Park, 1996; Rose, 1994 Subotzky, 2001). In addition to horizontal gender segregation between the disciplines, vertical segregation marks the difference between male and female staff members in the academic hierarchies, especially in terms of remuneration in institutions where women are paid on lower salary scales than men. Increasingly, and more often, it is women who are appointed on 'soft funding' as lecturers, or as research staff who are part-time, or on short-term contracts (Park, 1996; Rose, 1994; Wilson, 1999). A review of literature on working women highlights a number of key areas believed to impact on their work and hinder their ability to progress. These include the 'double load'; androcentric culture and gendered careers. Because many challenges that academic women encounter in academia have their origins in traditional patriarchal practices, it becomes important to problematize these challenges more broadly.

The Double Load

Although the majority of women, across the globe, are employed outside the home, they are still primarily responsible for child-rearing and home-making activities. This has traditionally been referred to as the 'double load' or the 'juggling act', which women evidently experience on a far greater scale than their male counterparts (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Crosby, 1991; Dines, 1993; Lorber, 1994). Historically, an academic career was perceived to be a career option which lent itself to combining motherhood and work. This is because the hours are flexible, the work has a degree of autonomy and for many academic women staff members the holiday periods coincide with the school holidays (Dines, 1993; Park, 1996; Rehman & Biswal, 1993; Welch, 1990). In recent times, this career option has become less favourable to women because of diminishing resources, lower salary scales than for many other occupations and the strong competition for permanent positions (Acker, 1990; Bagilhole, 2000; Brown, 1997; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Thomas, 1990; West & Lyon, 1995; Wilson, 1999).

Managing a career, a home and being an effective parent has been identified as a major challenge for women in academia (Henry, 1990; Park, 1996; Welch, 1990). Women's 'juggling' may involve decisions that affect families and not only the 'juggler', but there is often the perception that the challenges that confront families are regarded as challenges for *women* (Crosby, 1991; Welch, 1990). The way in which women regularly juggle roles is exemplified by the following description of the various roles of a part-time woman student, has to juggle throughout her day: while she is enacting one set of roles (employee, colleague, friend), another set of roles must disappear from the center stage of her life (student, tutor); yet another set of roles may constantly remain, receiving attention at different levels, with differing degrees of involvement at different times of the day (these are the roles of mother, wife, nurturer and comforter). From this example it becomes evident that many women find it difficult to acquire the resources to meet all demands of any one role. Consequently, it has become even more difficult to find the resources to meet the demands of multiple roles (Crosby, 1991; Thomas, 1990).

Researchers report that difficulties often relate less to personal inadequacies, than to the untenable situations in which women find themselves (Crosby, 1991; Daily News, 2000). Although women have always 'juggled' with their various roles, in contemporary times employed women have been found to experience more difficulty in the 'juggling act' (Crosby, 1991). This appears to relate not only to an increase in roles that women are expected to fulfill, but also to the diverse and multiple challenges of engaging in occupations which are *traditionally male* (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Blackstone & Fulton, 1975; Crosby, 1991; Thomas, 1990).

'Juggling' is a special form of role combination because it entails the enactment of a multiplicity of roles on a daily basis. This often results in high levels of stress as well as physiological and psychological exhaustion ('burnout') (Acker, 1992; Acker & Feuerverger, 1996; Bagilhole, 2000; Crosby, 1991; de la Rey, 1999;

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Hendricks, 1993; Subotzky, 2001). Psychologists explain that in contemporary times, people live particularly ordered lives without much 'leisure' or 'optional time' periods (Crosby, 1991; Welch, 1990). Given the fact that women still bear the primary responsibility for both the care of children and the management of the household, the intensity and the number of roles for which women are responsible often contribute to more strain on mothers than on fathers (Acker, 1990; Lerner, 1992; Park, 1996; Thomas, 1990; Williams, 2000).

Juggling may result in feelings of insecurity and a slower progression on the career ladder because when women join the work force, they do not always relinquish their home responsibilities. For some women, work outside the home is often not experienced as a liberating experience, but rather as an added burden (Welch, 1990). When one adds the dimension of gender to time, Rose (1994,p. 36) argues that

> In a patriarchal society, spare time is acquired for one
> gender (for men) by converting the whole lifetime of the
> women into labour.

It is conceivable that for as long as society identifies difficulty in juggling as solely the problem of women, the challenges that women experience in every role they enact, are ignored. Furthermore, it is argued that the emphasis on inter-role conflict serves to maintain the status quo, where men are expected to remain on the peripheries of homemaking activities (Crosby, 1991; Lorber, 1994; Park, 1996; Welch, 1990; Williams, 2000). Feminists also argue that change will only occur when the problems that beleaguer women as workers, (irrespective of family status), and the problems that beleaguer women as family members, (irrespective of their employment status), are addressed (Crosby, 1991;Toren, 1999; Welch, 1990).

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Androcentric culture

As previously mentioned, in spite of dramatic numerical progress of women into the arena of higher education, they are still underrepresented at the higher levels and in positions of power. In other words, the higher the rank, the lower the percentage of women; the lower the academic position, the higher the percentage of women (Acker, 1990; Brown, 1997; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Eggins, 1997; Harper et al., 2001; Lerner, 1992; Park, 1996; Simeone, 1987; Subotzky, 2001; Thomas, 1990; West & Lyon, 1995). Even though many women are outstanding in their achievements, and are willing and able to take top positions in the academy, they are seldom offered senior positions in academic institutions (Bagilhole, 2000; Dines, 1993; Eggins, 1997; Subotzky, 2001; Thomas, 1990; West & Lyon, 1995).

One of the primary barriers that women are reported to experience in the academic setting is the historical dominance of male, androcentric culture. This refers to both the reproduction of gender power relations between men and women as well as a culture which assumes the centrality of men and 'masculine' values (Chant & Gutmann, 2002; Hopkins, 2002; Jones, 1997; Mac an Ghaill, 1994; Whitehead, 2000). These cultures are the consequence of historical patriarchal norms which determined the social order. The concept of homosociality has been used to analyze the way in which men and traditional male values continue to dominate institutions, even when women are present. Homosociality usually refers to 'male bonding' which tends to be the bonding of men of the same race, religion and social class (Lorber, 1994). It has been widely argued that in male-dominated settings, there is a tendency for men to 'close ranks' and only recruit and select men, rather than women, for successors to (often) senior positions (Bagilhole, 2000; Evans, 1996; Lorber, 1994; Sutherland, 1985). This has been popularized as the 'People-Like-Us Syndrome' (PLU) (Bagilhole, 1993, 2000; Evans, 1996; Heward, 1996; Thomas, 1990; Wilson, 1999). Researchers report that the reason that men's successes are often more

easily accepted, while women's career successes are questioned, is that men are similar to the people on the selection committees and decision-making bodies of academies (Bagilhole, 1993, 2000; Evans, 1996; Heward, 1996; Thomas, 1990; Wilson, 1999). In this way organizational androcentricity is left unchallenged and reproduced (Acker, 1984; Bagilhole, 1993; Hansard, 1990; Sutherland, 1985; Toren, 1993). PLU theorists maintain that similarity creates empathy and trust. It is argued that women are regarded as untrustworthy in the field of academia, as they are in other androcentric workplaces (Acker, 1990; Halsey, 1992; Hansard, 1990; Kaufman, 1978).

Similar to the PLU concept, is another conceptual framework that has gained popularity, that of the *'inner circle'*. This concept is described as a perception that colleagues in a work-setting are informally organized into three concentric circles: inner circles, friendly colleagues and isolated loners (Lorber, 1994). In this notion, power is seen as concentrated in the *inner circle* where policy decisions are made. A central feature of this circle is homogeneity in gender, religion, race, ethnicity, social class and education (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Lorber, 1994). The circle of the *friendly colleagues* may have some, but not all, of the social characteristics of the inner circle. This band, although not totally excluded from the informal network, is constituted of people that are seldom groomed to be part of the inner circle. Women with excellent work performance credentials in male-dominated occupations are believed to end up being 'friendly colleagues' only if they are of the same race and social class as the men, and only if they do the same type of work. In this conceptualization, women who do not have the social characteristics to qualify to be friendly colleagues, become *isolated loners* (Lorber, 1994).

Although inner circles tend to be homogeneous in terms of the previously-mentioned characteristics, it is argued that a few people with different social characteristics may be accepted into this circle when they have a respected *sponsor (mentor)* who belongs or belonged to the inner circle. Successful women

in the academy often attribute their academic success to a mentor, who is usually a male administrator in a senior position (Evetts, 1994; Toren, 1999). These mentors play an informal yet crucial role in the academic progression of women. Mentors perform roles which include advice and instruction on how to negotiate the 'unwritten rules' of power, in order to progress in academic careers (Lerner, 1992). Academic men, however, have the 'historic advantage' of having had male mentors in their tertiary and academic careers who know the 'androcentric labyrinth' of academies (Bagilhole, 2000; Halsey, 1992; Kaufman, 1978; Sutherland, 1985; Thomas, 1990).

Part of this conceptual framework is the notion of tokenism. 'Tokens' are able to demonstrate that, in certain aspects, they are 'just like' the people in the inner circle. This conceptualization may be regarded as a variant of the PLU-syndrome discussed by Toren (1999). Using the notion of tokenism, it is argued that tokens are keen to fit in and not to embarrass their sponsors. It is also argued that, in order to protect their positions in the inner circle, tokens do not readily challenge the opinions, values and practices of the inner circle. Furthermore, it is postulated that tokens sometimes become excessive in upholding the status quo of the inner circle especially with regard to matters concerning exclusive perspectives and practices (Lorber, 1994; Welch, 1990).

Furthermore, the perception of obligation by tokens to their sponsors is manifested in ways that result in tokens regarding their sponsors as being solely responsible for their personal growth, career tracking and encouragement of task performance (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Lerner, 1992; Lorber, 1994). It is seldom that tokens take any credit for their academic successes and achievements. Consequently, power is produced and reproduced by the interactions of sponsors and tokens. Academic women often have male sponsors and in this way power remains within the ambit of the 'inner circle', which is often male-dominated.

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The construction of women as dependent and insecure staff members is included in a conceptual framework referred to as 'the Cinderella complex' by Aisenberg and Harrington (1988). These authors postulate that women are often so insecure in the 'outer circle' of the academy, that they often experience their positions with fear. Furthermore, women who are thought to have the 'Cinderella complex', need support, protection from the covert risks and possible criticisms which they feel they may encounter in their academic careers (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988). These insecurities may result in a woman becoming a protégé to a (usually male) mentor[12]. It may be argued that in this situation there is the danger that some women transfer their personal and psychological dependency into a mentoring/protégé relationship, which may encroach on the effectiveness of both the protégé and the mentor (Welch, 1990). In this conceptual framework, the mentor/protégé relationships are characterized by fears that prevent women, who are often the protégés, from making decisions independently (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Welch, 1990). Protégés, because they are so dependent on their mentors, may deny their own capacity for learning and doubt their ability to cope (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Toren, 1999; Welch, 1990). This relationship fails to act as a support for women, but rather hinders their achievements.

Another concept termed 'queen beeism' is often used to refer to token women, who, unlike the tokens in the Cinderella complex that become excessively dependent, instead become 'one of the boys' (Hansard, 1990; Lorber, 1994; Sutherland, 1985). 'Queen bees' are believed to accept androcentric values and in the quest for acceptance in the inner circle, overcompensate by overachieving. 'Queen bees' have often been described as being reluctant to challenge the status quo of organizational structures, in particular, they have been found to resist addressing the discriminatory androcentric policies and practices in academia (Harris, 1995; Park, 1996). This point is argued by West and Lyon

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[12] Mentoring relationships often play very positive roles to the mentor and the mentee, but in the case of the 'Cinderella', the dependency of the mentee on the mentor is disproportionate.

(1995) who postulate that there are too few women in senior positions to act as role models and mentors for women in lower positions Many women have resolved this situation by withdrawing or letting themselves be excluded from the center of power in the organization; others become essentially honorary men, denying that being a woman creates any problems at all (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Henry, 1990; Lorber, 1994).

It is conceivable that in processes such as these, women experience covert, androcentric unwritten rules and networks (Acker, 1984; Bagilhole, 1993; Evans, 1996, Hartsock, 1998; Heward, 1996; Lorber, 1994; Sutherland, 1985; Thomas, 1990; Toren, 1999; Welch, 1990). Furthermore, androcentricism refers not only to the perception that men are superior to women, but that men and the 'male experience' is regarded as the norm, while women are regarded as 'subordinate other' (Bem, 1993; Evetts, 1994; Hansard, 1990; Thomas, 1990).

An example of the effect of androcentricism in workplace settings from the nursing profession graphically illustrates the influence of homosociality (Lorber, 1994): Male nurses have been shown to interact informally with male doctors In doing so they affiliate with a higher status group, affirm their masculinity and gain benefits through more positive evaluations of their work. In these types of relationships, the male physician's status is too high to be compromised by informal communications with male nurses On the other hand, women physicians tend to interact and socialize with medical students, interns and residents but not with women nurses (Lorber, 1994). It is argued that female physicians fear that they may lose their status by socializing with women nurses, who are often regarded as women of lower status in the nursing profession. Female physicians prefer to build collegial relationships with male physicians who are their peers, even though these men may not regard them as equals. Women physicians also need to establish sponsors or mentors, who are able to help them advance in their careers.

Another conceptual framework used to describe androcentricism in organizations is that of 'strangers and outsiders' (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Toren, 1999). A common and central thread of the aforementioned conceptual frameworks, is that of women being perceived and women perceiving themselves to be 'outsiders' to the centers of powers in an organization. Consequently, in metaphoric terms, women are regarded as strangers in a foreign land. The concept of women as 'strangers and outsiders' in a work environment, has particular salience in the academic setting (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Toren, 1999; Walker, 1998). Many authors and researchers metaphorically likened the academy to a foreign country, where men are the natives in the country, in which women who enter into these 'regions' are likened to immigrants, foreigners or strangers. As 'strangers', their intentions, experiences and involvement are not always completely trusted (Bagilhole, 1993, 2000; Halsey, 1992; Kaufman, 1978; Sutherland, 1985; Toren, 1999; Walker, 1998).

It is also argued that academic women have to work harder and receive more achievements than men would have to, in order to have their academic credibility acknowledged (Morley et al., 2001; Subotzky, 2001). As strangers and newcomers to the academy, women are often excluded from social relationships (Evans, 1996; Kaufman, 1984, Sutherland, 1985). Such social lives then evolve into 'old boys' network' versus women in the 'outer circle' in academia. It is conceivable to conclude that the marking and maintaining of these boundaries serves to strengthen the sense of belonging of men as 'insiders' (Evans, 1996; Kaufman, 1978). It is therefore conceivable that women experience professional marginalization and exclusion from the centers of professional authority (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bacchi, 1999; Hansard, 1990).

When one continues with the notion of the academy being regarded metaphorically as a landscape, the tribes of the academy are said to define their own identities and defend their own patches of intellectual ground by employing a range of strategies geared to exclude 'immigrants' (Becher, 1989). It is therefore

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not surprising that Acker 1994) classified women as 'other' academics, who often experience not so much overt discrimination, but the everyday practices of exclusion that are more subtle, more deeply ingrained and more difficult to contest and resist (Bagilhole, 2000; Evans, 1996; Kaufman, 1978; Halsey, 1992; Wilson, 1999). As a 'muted' group women learn to express their ideas in terms of the dominant group so that they suppress and repress alternatives. Delamont (1989,p. 252) draws on Bourdieu's concept of the 'habitus' to explain these difficulties experienced by women:

> Mastery of the habitus is treated by initiates as a matter of natural talent, of personality, of the 'virtuality' of the practitioners. That is, part of the essential performance skills of the occupation is never explicitly taught but is believed to be innate, natural, inborn and personal.

In this way the habitus obscures the subtle barriers, the 'clubbiness', while leaving the technical aspects of the profession visible. This often causes women to be mystified when they meet the technical demands of academic tasks, yet still fail to advance to the upper echelons because they have fallen short on the 'mastery' of the academic occupational culture (Kaufman, 1978; Halsey, 1992; Walker, 1998). Women academics find their academic identities validated, or not, by those with both institutional and social power in universities (Acker, 1984; Hansard, 1990; Thomas, 1990).

Such marginalization is not surprising when one considers that even as recently as 1989, books published by the Society for Research into Higher Education, make use of 'gender insensitive' referencing. In his book Becher (1989,p. 58) refers to:

> Even among the few who reach elite status during their professional careers, there are few who achieve the recognition as great men. .....because judgments of the highest quality can only be made by men who are already eminent, those at the top of various informal scientific hierarchies exercise great influence over the standards operative in their fields

This author included the role of gender as contrite concluding notes to a chapter in his book (Becher, 1989,p. 126). The concept of women as 'strangers' in the academy manifests itself in several other assumptions. One of these assumptions is that women generally are less productive, in terms of publishing, academic management and problem solving (Bagilhole, 1993; Becher, 1989; Toren, 1999). But these assumptions have been disputed by research findings that reveal that women allocate more effort to academic work than men with similar family status do:

> Women add work roles to their family roles, they generate
> the energy necessary to fulfill their commitments to the two
> sets of activities (Toren,1999,p. 6).

These patriarchal assumptions were used to rationalize discrimination against women in terms of hiring, promotion and inclusion into informal collegial networks, the infamous 'old boys' club' (Acker, 1990; Bagilhole, 1993; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Thomas, 1990). In order to move up the academic ladder, woman's worth has to be recognized and encouraged by those in the upper echelons of academic institutions (Evans, 1996; Lorber, 1994; Halsey, 1992, Heward, 1996; Kaufman, 1978; Morley et al., 2001; Subotzky, 2001; Sutherland, 1985; Thomas, 1990).

Consequently, despite women's increased participation in traditionally male-dominated occupations and claims of reductions in the 'gender gap' in human capital and work experience, women in academia are still often regarded as 'strangers in the Ivy Tower' (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Subotzky, 2001; Toren, 1999; Wilson, 1999). There should be an acknowledgment that new norms do not readily replace old ones, because deeply embedded beliefs are slow to change. Commonly tensions between the new and the old norms cause points of conflict (Subotzky, 2001; Sutherland, 1985; Thomas, 1990) and in this way serves to exclude women from these networks. These networks indicate where information pertaining to the 'unwritten rules for promotion' is shared.

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Because women are often not included in these inner circles, they are marginalized in this process (Toren, 1999; Lewis & Lewis, 1996). This results in the production of an academic culture that is sustained by male bonding and assumed understandings. In this way men share traditions, styles and understandings about competing, and succeeding. This is the relevance of homosociality in academia. This is a point at which women in the academy are often caught in the proverbial crossfire. On the one hand, if they pursue their academic careers by following the rules and practices (for example, aggressive and competitive traits), established by male practitioners, they offend the traditional norms that were used to define womanly attributes. On the other hand, if women behave according to old female norms, (being patient, nurturing, smiling and soft-spoken), they appear to be weak. Often these feminine traits prevent them from attaining senior positions in the academy (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Kaufman, 1978; Lorber, 1994, Subotzky, 2001; Thomas, 1990). This is the dilemma of women in the academy because they do not easily fit into either of the conventional moulds: not into the mould of 'womanliness' nor into the prevailing mould of male 'professionalism' or male manager (Heward, 1996; Wilson, 1999). These are the stereotypes which academic women have to encounter in the academy, as well as in the broader society.

This 'cross fire' experience is the most evident at the higher rungs in the academy because it is in these positions where women experience 'glass ceilings[13]' that prevent them from reaching the most senior positions. This accounts for the reasons that women are more likely to be members of departmental and faculty committees than to serve as members on governing boards and councils (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Dines, 1993; Sutherland, 1985; Thomas, 1990; Toren, 1999; West & Lyon, 1995).

It is argued that these conceptual frameworks provide a framework for understanding the 'othering' of women's career tracks when compared to the

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[13] This conceptual framework is discussed later in this chapter.

progression of male career patterns. The culmination of these 'othering' experiences elucidates the perception that there are 'hidden passages' to progress on the academic ladder. These hidden passages negatively affect academic women's career progression (Bagilhole, 1993; Evans, 1996; Kaufman, 1978; Lerner, 1992). The 'othering' and 'outsiderness' experienced by women contribute to their marginalization in the academy and may also contribute to problems with promotion, once entry to the academy is achieved (Evans, 1996; Lerner, 1992; West & Lyon, 1995; Wilson, 1999).

Gendered careers

It has been argued that the term 'career' itself is a gendered concept in which men's career patterns are predominantly regarded as the norm, while 'other' career patterns are viewed as deficient or lacking (Evetts, 1994). When the 'normal' model of career is constructed to be one of continuous service and regular promotion to positions of increased responsibility, career paths that are not consistent with this model are regarded as 'imperfect'. Because women's reproductive roles and family responsibilities do not always allow them to 'fit' into traditional requirements of 'normal' career paths, women often have careers that tend to be 'other' and valued less than the male norm (Acker, 1984; Sutherland, 1985; Thomas, 1990). On the other hand, men's uninterrupted linear careers are rewarded and make them eligible for promotion. For these reasons they continue to predominate in the senior positions of organizations and professions (Evetts, 1994; Heward, 1996; West & Lyon, 1995).

Furthermore, there is a tendency to assess career success in terms of promotions to higher positions (Evetts, 1994; Lorber, 1994). Many women and some men may desire rewards other than advancement, from their work. For example, there are teachers who prefer to remain in the classroom rather than to be promoted to managerial (non-classroom) positions. A further example is found in nursing, where there are nurses who prefer patient-contact to administration,

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even though the latter is perceived as more prestigious and is better rewarded. A significant consequence of the hierarchical model of career is the devaluation of the work, and the possible down-grading of salaries, of those who fail to seek or fail to achieve promotion in their careers (Lorber, 1994; Toren, 1999; Welch, 1990).

A further limitation of the gendered assumptions linked to careers is that they are only developed in the sphere of paid work (Evetts, 1994; Park, 1996). In this understanding, careers are only constructed and developed in occupations and professions. Activities other than paid work do not always contribute to promotional skills or promotional entitlements. Because 'career women' frequently strive for equality at all levels in workplaces, there is often a perception that a viable route to equality is through the economic system, especially in terms of evaluation of salaries and promotions (Harris, 1995; West & Lyon, 1995). Using this argument, homemaking tasks, because they are often unpaid or underpaid activities, are not as valued as paid occupations. Similarly, community-oriented tasks in which many women are involved, are also seldom acknowledged. The lack of prestige and the low value attached to these types of activities are evident in the academy where the 'community outreach' component of the work load of academics, is not as highly valued as publishing as a promotion criterion (Bagilhole, 1993; Hansard, 1990; Park, 1996; Thomas, 1990).

The 'mommy track' is a popular conceptual framework utilized to explore the ways in which women's careers have been constructed. This framework makes reference to the marked difference between the career tracks of professional men and women (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Crosby, 1991; Lewis & Lewis, 1996). The mommy track, which is supposedly the career track of many professional women, has been described as being characterized by more commitment to family responsibilities than to work activities, slow promotion in the organization, utilization of leave options and difficulty in juggling (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988, Becher, 1989; Crobsy, 1991; Lewis & Lewis, 1996).

Traditionally, corporate businesses and the public sector did not offer permanent employment to married women or mothers (Lorber, 1994; Williams, 2000). In contemporary times, many countries have embraced the concept of Employment Equity (EE). The practice of not offering permanent employment to married women is now regarded as a form of discrimination. However, a covert, or even an openly acknowledged alternative, 'mommy track', has replaced these discriminatory practices. This option affects the career tracks of women in several ways. On the one hand, it offers flexible working hours, part-time options and liberal maternity leave benefits to women, but not to men. This often places women in an invidious position, because when women do make use of these options, their commitment to the achievement of senior positions, is questioned. Also problematic is the fact that this 'track', is seldom available to men: family pressures and responsibilities are not perceived to be 'men's responsibilities' (Henry, 1990). It can therefore be argued that the 'mommy track' reinforces the traditional status quo in that its assumptions are that 'men's work' is public, while family responsibilities are primarily 'women's work' (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Harper *et al.*, 2001; Lorber, 1994; Park, 1996).

It was found that 'mommy tracks' are not the only way in which most women executives and professionals who have children organize their careers (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Lorber, 1994). Many professional women often planned and timed both marriage and childbearing. Career women were frequently found to have assistance in child-care and homemaking. Some women find themselves compromised by the option of the 'mommy track' because, on the one hand, when they put their families before their careers, they felt that they were responding to a cultural norm that is mediated through direct pressures from their husbands or partners at home, and from other people's husbands in the workplace. But on the other hand, when women do not make the 'correct choice' to put her family before her career, both she and her husband or partner are often criticized by peers and colleagues (Bagilhole, 2000; Lorber, 1994; Williams, 2000).

When professionals choose to use the options of paid leave and reduced working time, it often causes 'career derailment' and 'career plateauing' (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Lorber, 1994). Consequently, women who want to progress in their careers, often avoid the use of these options (Lewis & Lewis, 1996). It has been argued that this 'track' was created to derail women who were on the 'fast track' to senior positions (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Lorber, 1994). From this perspective, the 'mommy track' retains women in lower-paid and less prestigious positions. The implicit assumption of the developers of the 'mommy track' is that women are not capable of simultaneously dealing with the responsibility of leadership and the responsibility of their family's well-being (Lorber, 1994; Williams, 2000). In the current stratification of careers in work organizations, this policy construction has been very destructive to women who opt for these choices. Furthermore, the negative stigma attached to the use of leave options has also constrained men's use of leave and part-time work. 'Mommy tracks' thus legitimize the 'glass ceiling'. The cumulative effects of these processes of exclusion often reinforce and justify stereotypes and prejudices that disadvantage women in workplaces. This is summarized in the following statement from one man:

> I am committed to my profession, and I want to be taken
> seriously, but I don't want to be working all hours. I want
> some time with my children. I wish it were possible to work
> part-time without losing my foot on the ladder (Cooper &
> Lewis,1994,p. 16)

Thus the 'mommy track', although it provides an option that may alleviate the 'double load' for women, may also be interpreted as a 'track' which is parallel and less valued than the 'normal' career track (which men normally use).

Another manifestation of the gendering of women's careers has been theorized within the conceptual framework of the 'glass ceiling'. The term 'glass ceiling' has been used to refer to promotional barriers that women face in the workplace. This conceptual framework specifically highlights some of the reasons for women's

lack of representation in senior management (Baxter & Wright, 2000: Henry, 1990). Women report that they are often unable to proceed more than halfway up career ladders, failing to advance beyond the positions of middle-management of organizational structures (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1998; Henry, 1990). This conceptual framework assumes that, although women have the motivation, ambitions and competencies for senior positions, invisible barriers prevent them from reaching these positions of power (Bagilhole, 2000; Lorber, 1994; Wilson, 1999). 'Glass ceilings' are used to refer to barriers that are often based on attitudinal or organizational biases that prevent qualified individuals from advancing 'upward' to management positions (Acker, 1984; Evans, 1996; Heward, 1996; Sutherland, 1985). The 'glass ceiling' has also been described as a barrier so subtle that it is transparent, yet so strong that it prevents women from being promoted to the most senior positions in institutional hierarchies (Acker, 1984; Bagilhole, 2000; Evetts, 1994).

A report in the Cape Argus (2000) revealed that South African women experience 'glass ceilings' in businesses. The report indicates that corporate women experience a definite level where their advancement is blocked and where they feel that there is a 'silent agreement' between the senior executives, who are usually men, to 'close ranks'. Women report that they feel that these men, who may be regarded as the *inner circle,* (as described earlier in this chapter), develop barriers to keep women from reaching the managerial positions of businesses (Evans, 1996; Kaufman, 1978; Halsey, 1992). These barriers include changing and modifying the criteria for advancement when women apply for promotion.

Another conceptual framework that elucidates the genderering of careers, in that men's careers are perceived to be more important than women's careers, is referred to as the *'trailing wife'.* The *'trailing wife'* is used to refer to the women who 'pack up and go' when their spouses gain employment in other geographical locations (Daily News, 2000). Research has found that many women put their

families, (and not their careers), first when their partners have better employment offers and have to relocate. It was found that men were less likely to follow their wives to a new location without a guaranteed job, than wives are to follow their husbands (Williams, 2000). Research further indicates that women risked and lost reappointment to prestigious faculty positions when their husbands had been offered employment in another geographical area (Daily News, 2000; Williams, 2000). Women were also willing to resign from permanent posts, even in the face of an imminent promotion opportunity, when their husbands had to relocate (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1998). Lewis and Lewis (1996) report that in recent times, progressive companies have policies to assist trailing spouses to find employment when a family member has to relocate.

A summary of the positions of women as employees in the academy

The literature that was presented in terms of the 'double load', androcentric culture and gendered careers, highlighted some of the conceptual frameworks used to describe the barriers that women experience more broadly and in the academic context more specifically. Dines (1993) and Eggins (1997) each provide useful summaries of the factors that interrupt the 'natural' progression of women in higher education. Their respective summaries may be categorized under the following headings:

- Limited access to Higher Education: Women, except in North America and in Europe, have not had the same access to higher education as men. Women's under-representation amongst academic staff is consistent with this limited access.

- Discriminatory appointment and promotion practices: A man is preferred because he is a man. These practices constitute barriers in institutions which do not apply equal opportunities policies

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- Dual responsibilities of traditional and professional roles: There are many reports that women experience difficulties attributed to the dual responsibilities as wife/partner/mother and as professional women. Women are often attracted to an academic career because of its status and convenience in accommodating school holidays. In many Asian countries, for example, women who are well represented at middle management level, are less concerned about their poor promotional prospects than men are, because they consider their families as their primary responsibilities.

Career interruptions: Women often progress haltingly in their careers because of breaks for child-bearing and child-rearing. The lack of child-care facilities and the absence of parental leave have been major barriers to career advancement in industrialized countries. These matters were of lesser importance in traditional societies where the extended family networks and unskilled female labour provided many options to child-care. Industrialization and technological change in many countries are drawing unskilled women into the workforce and thereby reducing their capacity to care for the children of the educated elite.

- Difficulties in pursuing research and gaining tenure: The lack of a strong research record and lack of a tenured position are cited as factors that contribute to the clustering of women academic staff at the lower levels of the academic hierarchy. Many women reported that they found it difficult to establish research records that are competitive with men. Academic careers are built in the critical years after the completion of the undergraduate degrees. These are the years when women are the most likely to have interruptions in their careers because of child-bearing and domestic responsibilities. Some women attempt to adapt their careers by delaying child-bearing. Such decisions often result in interruptions later or by studying

on a part-time basis. Neither of these options was found to be a satisfactory way of building a solid record of research

- Stereotyping: Stereotyping constitutes a major barrier for women. Assertiveness is interpreted as aggression and the notion that women are too emotional and too illogical to occupy senior positions. These stereotypes are reinforced by women who share these stereotypes and uncritically accept the roles that leave them marginalized and with limited career options.

- Alienation from the male culture: This barrier subtly asserts that women are not men and thus are excluded from informal networks which serve to bond males

- Male resistance to women in management positions: Women often find that it is not good enough to be as good as men. The women are pressurized to establish their credibility to be better than men. This forces women to adopt the tactics of high–performing men in a competitive culture..

Subotzky, (2001,p. 67) in a South African study, agrees with the barriers outlined by Eggins (1997) and Dines (1993) and also includes the following barriers to entrenched institutional barriers that women encounter: resistance to women's leadership, epistemological resistance to women's research concerns and methodologies and to feminist knowledge claims; and the gendered division of labour in the academy which assigns stereotypical nurturing aspects of work to women and which are not equally rewarded

This inner battle is particularly difficult for academic women because the 'playing fields' and the 'rules of the game' are obscure and/or unknown. A woman may encounter a problem, and because she is unable to identify and analyze its source, may make decisions that compromise her professional identity. A culmination of such errors of judgment may result in the restriction and,

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sometimes, the end, of the woman's academic career (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bagilhole, 2000; Wilson, 1999)

Women often become despondent by struggling against the 'backlash' of covert discrimination. These include attitudes, behaviours and societal norms that disadvantage and impede women's successful progression on academic ladders (Acker, 1984; Bagilhole, 2000; Hansard, 1990; Wilson, 1999; West & Lyon, 1995). This backlash often results in senior academic women suffering from the 'do good, feel bad' syndrome:this occurs when women strive to maintain excellent standards through hard work with staff and students, but feel betrayed by lack of rewards and exhausted by excessive work (Acker & Feuerverger, 1996; Eggins, 1997; Henry, 1990; Heward, 1996; Kaufman, 1978; Lerner, 1992; Subotzky, 2001).

Although there has been gradual acceptance of women into academia, their positions and competence are still scrutinized more closely and they have to work harder to be acknowledged than their male counterparts (Kaufman, 1987; Subotzky, 2001).

Publication and authorship

According to the literature, in order for women to decrease the perceptions of their 'otherness' in the academic landscape, they need to move from peripheral to more central positions in academia (Bagilhole, 1993; Henry, 1990). Currently, publications are regarded as a, (or in some cases **the**), key academic activity to secure promotion (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bagilhole, 2000; Park, 1996; Rose, 1994). Through publishing then, academic women's 'outsiderness' in the academy may be minimized (Bagilhole, 2000; Finkelstein, 1984; Kaufman, 1978).

The importance of publications is further emphasized by Smulders (1998) and Paludi and Steuernagel (1990), who assert that promotion in the academy is

largely determined by the amount and the quality of published work. Publishing was found to be one of the key criteria used for hiring, promoting and tenuring of academics. As a result, many universities have opted to emphasize the importance of publication as the prime criterion for promotion (Bagilhole, 1993; Finkelstein, 1984; Halsey, 1992; Kaufman, 1978). This emphasis on publications in academia has been popularized in the globally understood concept 'publish or perish' (Caplan, 1995; Park, 1996; Rose, 1986; Williams, 2000).

This quotation from Bauerlein (2001,p. 9) summarizes the value of publications in academia:

> but of late, at many universities senior faculty administrators have discovered a mechanism that frees the decision-makers of the responsibility and isolates for the aspirant *the* hurdle for advancement: the book. As long as the candidate proves an inoffensive teacher and a reasonable staff member, only one question sits on the meeting table: Is the research project finished? If the junior colleague has a book or acceptance from the university press, tenure is a fait accompli. If the work remains in manuscript, promising but incomplete, no promotion.

These sentiments, although referring to a book, indicate the importance of publications for promotion in academies.

Across the globe, publishing is one of the most important criteria for promotion in academies. It is important that women academics, in order to build a critical mass in senior management, should increase their publications to be promoted to these senior positions. In order to establish democratic governance structures in academies, it would be beneficial to have a critical mass of women in decision-making positions who would be in positions to challenge the androcentric ethos in academia.

Academic women, who are predominantly at the lower levels of salary scales in universities, are often involved in numerous, time-consuming academic activities which, although central to the academic project, do not offer the same rewards or count as strongly as promotion criteria as publishing does (Bagilhole, 2000; Halsey, 1992; Heward, 1996; Park, 1996; Sutherland, 1985; Thomas, 1990). These activities include teaching, supervision, the pastoral care, nurturing and counselling of students and committee responsibilities (Bagilhole, 2000; Bacchi, 1999; Wilson, 1999). The intensity of these 'other academic activities' in which academic women are frequently involved, is summarized by Thomas, Spencer and Sako 1998 (in Collins *et al.*, 1998, p. 110):

> Students come to my office for advising....... I care for students but while I spend 45 minutes with each one of them, my male colleagues write books reviews, publish and get promoted. Then I go home and I have to cook and be a mother.

The positions of academic women are further disadvantaged in the academy, because women are in predominantly in junior positions. Consequently they do not have adequate access to resources such as computers and secretarial assistance (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Lorber, 1994; Welch, 1990). Given these circumstances, the urgency for academic women to move beyond the lower levels in the academy becomes more apparent. Failing to be promoted, academic women will continue in the spiral of high teaching loads and inadequate access to resources, thus devoting less time to do research and to publish in order to establish their academic credibility. Thus the cycle of women's 'othering' and 'outsiderness' in the academy will be perpetuated.

Still another form of disadvantagement for academic women with regard to publications, are the norms related to citations. Citations of published papers by others in the field are a form of recognition and visibility that add to the researcher's reputation. It was found that women often cite other women more

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frequently than men cite women (Lorber, 1994). Consequently, the fewer the women in the field, the greater the citations gap and conversely the more women publish, the more they are cited. And the more they are cited, the higher the recognition for their contribution to the global knowledge base, and the greater the acknowledgement for their abilities as agents of knowledge production. When the credibility of academic women is recognized and acknowledged within and beyond the boundaries of academies, the less peripheral their academic positions will become and the more they will be empowered to access the 'centers' of academies.

According to Paludi and Steurnagel (1990) and Blackstone and Fulton (1975) not all types of academic work advance one's career. Certain types of scholarship and academic activities carry more weight than other faculty and administrative activities. For example, work that appears to be more objective and less value-based is higher in prestige than work that is geared towards particular social goals and underpinned by clear values (Bagilhole, 2000; Park, 1996; Thomas, 1990). Frequently women are more involved in work that involves the latter rather than the former. Furthermore, women frequently prefer collaborative preparation for publication, to working individualistically (Caplan, 1995). Working in groups was found to be more supportive to women who were beginners to research and publication and co-authorship was found to be less daunting and less time–consuming than single authorship (Bell & Gordon, 1999, Fonow & Cook, 1994). Yet this type of research is not as esteemed and acknowledged as highly as single authorship. Single authorship is the preferable option for men, especially when the researcher is not cited as the first author (Rose, 1986). In this way too, women end up producing fewer publications by traditional standards.

Research also found that in some cases women admitted that they expected to be rewarded by promotion and tenure for activities other than their publication and research output. Subsequently, they realized that these activities were not recognized, nor were they regarded as academically sound when compared to

the weight that publications carried as a promotion criterion (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Evans,1996; Kaufman, 1984; Lewis & Lewis, 1996; Sutherland, 1985). Although academics may have controversial and diverse perspectives on the value of publications as a key promotion criterion, (and understandably so), the importance of publication was found to be recognized by academics. For example, a research study by Osmundson and Mann (1994) found that the highest levels of publication activity, for men and women, occurred in the two years preceding promotion and tenure.

A further difficulty for women academics is the lack of prestige attached to publications in women and gender studies, an area in which women often publish. Gender issues are often not mainstreamed or institutionalized and feminist research and women's studies courses are usually considered to be more political than scholarly (by conventional scholarship norms). Feminist research and publications are often regarded as peripheral rather than central to the academic project and scholarship enterprise (Bell & Gordon, 1999; Paludi & Steuernagel, 1990; Wyn, Acker & Richards, 2000). It may be argued that in this way, the element of marginalization and 'otherness' of women's issues is discreetly obscured. It is also conceivable that as long as women and women's work in the academy remains marginalized (by number and position), so will women's views and perspectives on these issues remain unheard (Kinnear, Merrick & Pike, 1998; Subotzky, 2001).

Research findings on women's publishing have been somewhat contradictory to stereotypical assumptions, often prevalent in academic circles, that married women, publish less than women who had no children. Research in other countries has refuted this assumption (Astin & Davis, 1985; Kyvic, 1990; Lorber, 1994; Toren, 1993; Zuckerman & Cole, 1987). For example, a study by Davis and Astin (1987) in the US found no significant differences in article production between men and women social scientists. On the other hand, South African literature highlights the barriers to women's publications (Fester, 2000; Mama,

2000; Prinsloo, 2000; Subotzky, 2001Yates &.Gqola, 1998). While publishing appears to be central to academic promotion globally, there is clearly much stacked against women's ability to publish. This appears to be particularly so in the South African context, where women were often subjected to multiple forms of oppression and marginalization, especially given the legacy of apartheid.

South African women and their publishing endeavours

It is widely acknowledged that South African academic women, especially academic women in HBUs, find publishing particularly difficult (Subotzky, 2001). On the one hand, these institutions often have higher than average teaching expectations; on the other hand, established benchmarks and academic models are used as criteria for promotion. Because many women are in junior positions, they carry heavier teaching duties and are more frequently involved in courses that have strong emphasis on grading and advising of students (Acker & Feuerverger, 1996; EPU, 1997; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001). As previously mentioned, given these heavy workloads, women have limited time to do research and publish (Henry, 1990; Morley, et al., 2001; Park, 1996).

The local 1998 Woman-in-Research audit highlighted how *lack of time* was perceived as a central problem hindering research by 60% of the respondents (Primo, 1999). More than 75% of respondents indicated that they require further training in research-related skills. These results emphasized academic women's lack of confidence and expertise in the areas which carried the most weight in promotion criteria (Primo, 1999). De la Rey (1999) reported that even some women professors at South African universities found research and publication to be more difficult than teaching. This clearly indicates that women, even those in

the upper echelons, are more confident with their ability to teach than with conducting research and producing publications.

According to Fester (2000,p. 43)

> There are numerous reasons that very few South African women write or even think of themselves as being able to write. South African women are often caught in what could be described as a 'double-bind'. On the one hand, experiences from their position of oppression, especially in the apartheid era, have to be told. But, on the other hand, international visitors were interviewing and then writing the stories, (interviews), on South African women and they, the interviewers, became the 'experts' on the struggles of South African women.

The academy is a particular forum of knowledge and a 'site' of knowledge production. When focusing on the notion of knowledge and power, many emerging academic writers in South Africa are positioned where they, as hooks (1984) describes, do not easily imagine themselves among the powerful (Prinsloo, 2000). Many South African women, often because of the intersection of historical experiences of patriarchal and apartheid ideologies, do not readily believe that they have contributions to make or that their insights are of significance as a contribution to the existing body of knowledge (Prinsloo, 2000). Because of such an attitude, South African women tend to continue the human tendency of accepting the terms of the past. hooks 1984) contends that oppressed and marginalized groups tend to inhabit the power relations and social practices that were ascribed to them by hegemonic ideologies.

It is argued that through their publications, women may be able to break the silence on women's experiences and women's positions in academia (Mama, 2000; Fester, 2000; Guzana, 2000; Smith, 2000). Publications may be used not only to give a voice to the 'voiceless', but may also be used as a vehicle for their promotion to senior positions in the academy. Also, by publishing, academic

women may be in positions to shift women and women's experiences into the research arena: a realm which traditionally was exclusive to men and, in South Africa, white men. By publishing, academic women would be able to contribute in challenging the androcentric ideology of academies (Fester, 2000; Guzana, 2000; Handrahan, 1998; Mama, 2000).

Yates and Gqola (1998) report that in an interview with Mamphela Rampele on women's publishing, Rampele contends that:

> Black South Africans are only waking up now. It wasn't part of what people did ordinarily. The second thing is that obviously there were very few women who had the public platform to speak, let alone write. But also, women don't create space for themselves to write, because they don't have wives (Yates & Gqola,1998,p. 95).

Bennett (2000) suggests that the African debate of women's 'voicelessness' could be shifted to a debate on post-colonial, patriarchal 'deafness'. From this stance, the construction of 'deafness' to women's voices is perceived as integral to becoming gendered as a man. She argues that it is this deafness which ignores women's and gender analyses. The importance and significance of publishing by South African women academics to our relatively new democracy and the embracing of our commitment to nation-building is succinctly expressed by Penny (1998,p. 109) when she states

> if writing and publishing is part of the African Renaissance then this rebirth must encompass a sounding board of the voices of all her children.

Conclusion

The major factors that have been theorized as providing a basis for women's lower achievements relating to promotion and publication, have all been linked to the cultural and structural arrangements currently dominant in academia, and

more generally in androcentric workplaces as well as the ways in which broader gendered roles and power inequalities are reflected and reproduced in the academic setting.

The literature review presented provides a theoretical framework of the ways in which the 'double load', 'androcentric culture' and 'gendered careers' impact on the publishing ability of academic women. Given the importance of publishing as a promotion criterion in academia, it becomes evident that academic women be involved in this academic activity, in order to escalate in the academic hierarchy. Furthermore, academic women in South African HBUs experience particularities specific to these institutions that have their origins in the apartheid regime. Many of the political-historical inadequacies continue to exist at these universities. Therefore, it is arguable that women at these institutions would benefit from the development of interventions and strategies to assist them in their publishing endeavours,

The following chapter will discuss the methodology of the study, the procedures, and the participants of the current study.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGICAL PARAMETERS

This chapter outlines the methodological parameters of the study. The study is framed primarily within a feminist qualitative paradigm and draws on both quantitative and qualitative research methods.

The quantitative section of the research includes a survey methodology with the use of a close-ended questionnaire consisting of a number of open-ended items. As was mentioned earlier, the aim of the quantitative data was intended purely to provide a 'picture' of the publishing activities of the participants of the study as well as the reported factors that influenced the publishing endeavours of the respondents. This data was therefore primarily used to develop a descriptive profile of the publication outputs, the academic positions and categorization of factors affecting publication output, as reported by this group of women.

The major section of the qualitative data was generated from the focus groups and interviews that were conducted at the selected HBUs. The open-ended questions on the questionnaire also yielded a small proportion of qualitative data. The aim of this section was to elaborate on the quantitative data with the view of a deeper exploration of the participants' reports of the barriers to their publishing and their proposals as interventions to assist academic women publishing at HBUs.

The chapter elaborates on the methodological framework and outlines the participants selected, the methods and procedures used for data collection and analysis. An exploration of ethical and self-reflexive issues is also made.

Methodological Framework

The methodological framework for this study draws primarily on feminist and qualitative methodologies, which have been found to be successful frameworks for conducting research into women's issues and women's studies (Anderson, 2000; Bernal, 2001; Fonow & Cook, 1994; Malterud, 2001; Millen, 1997).

Qualitative Research

Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p. 2) provide a useful picture of the development of qualitative research by tracing it across five historical periods in social science research. Each of these periods or 'moments' have their own successive wave of associated epistemological theorizing. They describe these as follows:

- The traditional moment (1900 – 1950): This period is associated with the positivist paradigm. Positivism has traditionally served to justify the composition of reality and the parameters of valid research, which has been widely conceived as protecting and privileging men. Positivism has its genesis in patriarchal societies where men, and not women, were expected to occupy positions in the public sphere. In these societies women were excluded from the research arena and were therefore not regarded as having contributions to make, with regard to theory development and the production of knowledge.

- The modernist/'golden age' (1950 – 1970): This moment as well as the next is linked to the appearance of post-positivist arguments. Simultaneously, there was an introduction of diverse qualitative methods challenging the positivist paradigm; for example, various forms of feminist research, action research and participatory research. These 'new' methods had a strong focus on conducting research in natural settings, rather than in laboratories. Also, new discourses were constructed rather than the description of empirical data yielded in the research process.

- 'Blurred genres' moment (1970 – 1986): In this phase the humanities became central resources for critical and interpretive theory. This stage also facilitated the emergence of the next moment, namely the crisis of representation by asking questions about the location of the researcher and the political role and function of research.

- The crisis of representation (1986 – 1990): This is the moment where researchers grappled with issues relating to their location within the research process. The power relations in the research process were a key focus for critique. Researchers began to examine and reflect on their own positions while doing research and consequently the aspect of self-reflexivity became a key component of many forms of qualitative research.

- The post-modern/present moment (1990 – present): This moment is identifiable by a new sensibility that calls into question all previous paradigms. This phase is characterized by a questioning of the notion of 'truth' and of 'value-free' research. This phase has consequentially given rise to a range of methodologies such as discourse analysis and narrative analysis.

Although this schema is sometimes rigid and may not be representative of all contexts of research, it does provide a schema of some of the transitions in methodological paradigms that facilitated the development of qualitative research methodologies.

Key features of qualitative research

The characteristics of qualitative research are frequently presented as dichotomies or contrasts to more traditional quantitative research approaches, primarily qualitative methodology (Anderson, 2000; Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; ; Campbell, 1996; Creswell, 1992; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Firestone, 1987; Frankel & Davers, 2001; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Lincoln & Guba, 1985;

Malterud, 2001). The following concepts denote the most salient characteristics of qualitative research:

Qualitative research recognizes and identifies the subjective and biased nature of research. It therefore recognizes that research is never neutral, objective or value-free as traditional positivist researchers have claimed. While positivism argues that empirical studies are objective (neutral and value-free), those working with qualitative methodologies have refuted these claims. Qualitative researchers contend that the research is tainted with subjectivity on multiple levels. Researchers are understood as social players that cannot operate outside their own histories and social contexts, and who select their topic, the research method and the participants to be used in the study from a particular socio-political and theoretical location (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Fonow & Cook, 1994; Malterud, 2001; Millen, 1997;).

Qualitative research attempts to provide a picture of the lived experiences of participants. Qualitative research questions traditional notions of 'truth' and 'knowledge' and is concerned more with the social construction of meaning and the presentation of subjective perspectives and understandings. For many researchers, the major problem with traditional quantitative research is that it does not 'capture life as it is lived', while the essence of qualitative research is that its methods attempt to do this (Anderson, 2000; Glucksman, 1994; Harding, 1991; Jayratne, 1983; Malterud, 2001; Maynard, 1994). In this way, qualitative research is used in the exploration of meanings of social phenomena as experienced by individuals themselves in their own contexts, and does not pretend to offer a 'truth' or one answer to its research questions (Breidenstein, Liberatore, Lioi, Miro, Weber & Stoeck, 2001; Glesne & Peshkin, 1992; Malterud, 2001).

Qualitative research makes use of non-exploitative methods and challenges the traditional power relations in research. It aims rather to

empower and assist participants. When using qualitative approaches there is a particular focus on the power relations in the research process and concerted attempts are made to decrease the traditional hierarchical positioning of the 'researcher' and the 'researched' (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Fonow & Cook, 1994; Maynard & Purvis, 1994). The terminology used in qualitative research, for example, the use of 'participants' rather than 'subjects' is one illustration of the attempt to deconstruct the traditional power relations in research. This terminology also indicates the inclusiveness and participatory nature of the research process because participants are regarded as active members, in the shaping of the process. For some qualitative researchers, the researcher directly plays the role of a participant in the research situation that is, during participation and observation (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Frankel & Devers, 2000; Wolf, 1998). There is also acknowledgement and recognition given to the situational constraints that shape the research process, such as the inevitable differences in power relations between the researcher and participants (Campbell, 1996; Malterud, 1993; van Maanen, 1988)

Conscious attempts to challenge the traditional power relations in research are made by focusing both on the process and on the outcome of the research. In this respect, qualitative research is frequently characterized by the collection of data in a natural setting, where the researcher acts as a key instrument. Furthermore, the research contains deep, rich descriptions. Although attention is given to the research outcome, there is a specific focus on the research process (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Frankel & Devers, 2000). By means of this specific focus the participants' responses are not interpreted to fit into the ambit of the research. Generally, the data is analyzed in an inductive process rather than deductive manner, with the theory emerging from the data (such as in grounded theory) (Campbell, 1996; Yin, 1999). This is also evident from the presentation of the findings, which tend to be far more descriptive, and the use of first person accounts are common (Campbell, 1996; Frankel & Devers, 2000; Malterud, 2001)

Many creative strategies have been used to moderate and challenge the power relations in the research itself. At some point in the history of qualitative research there was a strong emphasis on carrying out socially relevant research, using community research approaches, such as participatory and action-research models (see for example, Reason & Rowen, 1981). The key goal of such methodologies is to conduct research *with* people rather than *on* people and reflects an attempt to establish non-hierarchical relationships between the researcher and the participants (Anderson, 2000; Bannister *et al.*, 1994; de la Rey, 1999).

Self-reflexivity of the researcher is a key aspect of qualitative research. All of the above-mentioned factors point to the significance of qualitative methodology's emphasis on the reflexivity of the researcher. Qualitative methodologies have this in common with feminist methodologies, as will emerge below. Both methodologies are characterized by the attempts of the researcher to make the research more explicit and reflexive (Frankel & Devers, 2000; Unger, 1998). This process is also referred to as *conscious subjectivity* (Wilkinson, 1986). As mentioned, qualitative researchers therefore often locate themselves within the research process in order to play an active role as participants in the data generation process and to decrease the power relations. Whatever role the qualitative researcher plays, there is primary concern with attempting to locate his or herself in the research process and to utilize this understanding within the analysis as well. Locating the self means both reflecting on the researchers' own identities and histories, as well as on their theoretical frameworks and subjective investments in the research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Frankel & Devers, 2000; Unger, 1998). Many qualitative researchers include a section in their work where they consciously reflect on this, and also acknowledge the effect of such factors on their analysis. Further on in this chapter, I have attempted to locate myself as researcher in this particular research project.

Challenges to qualitative research

Given that qualitative research was developed in reaction to the dominant paradigm of positivist research, it has had to defend its position. There are a number of challenges which have to be considered for legitimate and successful qualitative research. Validity and reliability have been key 'bugbears' of qualitative research, given that it has broken from traditional ' scientific' methods of data collection and analysis (Malterud, 2001).

Triangulation has been one suggested procedure to improve validity in qualitative research (Pope & Mays, 2000). Triangulation in terms of research means that researchers use different sets of data and different types of analyses to study a particular phenomenon (Chenail,1997). Overlaps in the results of different methods/analysis are viewed as illustrative of the validity of the findings.

It has also been suggested that reflexivity be used to serve as a method of validation of one's research findings. (Lather, 1991; Potter & Wetherell, 1987. Shefer, 1998). Given that there are no clear guidelines for validity and reliability in qualitative research as there are in quantitative research, the ability to reflect critically on the self and process of all aspects of the research is argued for. As Lather (1991, p. 66) suggests 'our best tactic at present is to construct research designs that demand a vigorous self-reflexivity'.

In some circles there has been a growing trend to develop 'checklists' to ensure that qualitative research meets the demands of various stakeholders, (such as funders and publishers), in the research arena (Boeree, undated; Chenail, 1997; Dixon-Woods, 2001). These 'technical fixes' are often used for 'conferring respectability' and for convincing potential skeptics of the thoroughness of qualitative research (Barbour, 2001). Although checklists have contributed to the wider acceptance of qualitative research methods, Barbour (2001 cautions

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against the uncritical adoption of them as they may become counter-productive, especially if used prescriptively.

Feminist qualitative research

Feminist epistemologies, like qualitative research, often include qualitative methodologies, and were also developed in response to positivist methodologies which were regarded as 'flawed with failures' and a product of androcentric science (Anderson, 2000; Butler, 1990; West & Zimmermann, 1987). Failures in positivist paradigms are traced to flawed conceptions of knowledge, knowers, objectivity and scientific methodology (Anderson, 1987; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Traditional positivist research was viewed as disadvantaging women by excluding them from the research arena and by disregarding their cognitive styles (Harding, 1991; Hartsock, 1998). Research located in the positivist paradigm has been criticized for producing knowledge and theory that represent women as 'other' and inferior. Feminist researchers have highlighted the reproduction of gender and social hierarchies of the dominant social order in traditional research methodology (Anderson, 2000; Kelly, Burton & Regan, 1994; Maynard & Purvis, 1994; Mies, 1993). As a consequence feminist researchers have found value in many of the features of qualitative research. Therefore many of the characteristics of qualitative research are reflected in feminist methodologies (Kelly *et al.*, 1994; Maynard, 1994; Mies, 1993; Oelsen, 1994; Worell & Etaugh, 1994).

It is important to re-emphasize that there is no one feminist research methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Flax, 1990; Olesen, 1994). Nonetheless, across feminist varieties of research, there are some central points of intersection. The common thread cutting across 'feminist variations' is the focus on gender inequality and women's positions. Feminist research is concerned with the marginal status of women, both as object and subject of research (Akman, Toner, Stuckless, Ali, Emmott & Downie, 2001; Driscoll & McFarland, 1994;

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Harding, 1987; Maynard & Purvis, 1994; McKay, 1994). A strong trend in feminist studies is, therefore, to treat women as the central subjects in the investigation (Millen, 1997). There is also an increased reluctance among female researchers using qualitative approaches to interview women as 'objects', with little or no regard for them as individuals (Breidenstein et al., 2001; Oakley, 1981; Reinharz, 1992; Smith, 1987). For example, in a typical interview a hierarchical relation exists, with the respondent being in the subordinate position. In particular, much of contemporary feminist research emphasizes the focus on women who have been denied a 'voice' in traditional male-dominated research (Anderson, 2000; Butler, 1990; Haslanger, 2000). The empowerment of women and equity in the research process, as with qualitative research, are key goals in feminist research methodologies (Holloway, 1989; Walker, 1999).

Feminist inquiry has had a strong impact on social and educational research, facilitating profound shifts in the perceptions of traditional theoretical and methodological approaches to research (Millen, 1997). Some feminists have gone so far as to argue that the issue of quantitative versus qualitative methods reflects the relationship between science and women (Fonow & Cook, 1994; Harding, 1987; Maynard & Purvis, 1994). As a consequence, feminist researchers have tended to be particularly critical of quantitative methodologies. Some have criticized quantitative methods for concealing women and women's experience from research processes.

Feminist research has also contributed to the fields of methodology by its contribution to data collection and analysis. The increased use of qualitative data collection, either in isolation or incorporated into combined methodologies, has provided a data collection method that allows the research project to be framed in the context in which it occurs. This method lends itself to the emergence of narratives from unexpected places and that includes female, private and domestic voices (Malterud, 2001; Maynard, 1998; Millen, 1997; Nessa, 1995).

This perception has motivated the advocacy of qualitative research approaches as ways of permitting women to express their experiences in their own terms and as fully as possible (Fonow & Cook, 1994; Handrahan 1998,1999; Harding, 1991). Given the emphasis on women's voices and experiences in feminist research processes, many contemporary feminist researchers have opted for the use of only qualitative research (Stanley & Wise, 1994). On the other hand, a more tolerant response to quantitative research is developing in feminist inquiry, and in many cases, a combination of the two methods has been found to yield rich and relevant data (Millen, 1997).

Challenges to feminist research methodologies

Because traditional research excludes women from research arenas, there are often numerous difficulties in doing research, which, as it were, must 'introduce' women's voices. There is often a difficulty in the very intention to give women a 'voice' or to allow women's voices to be represented in the generation of knowledge. This difficulty is encountered because, according to Henwood and Pidgeon (1995,p. 6), it involves:

> Grasping the experiences, understanding and lives of women themselves as seen from their own perspective, given that previously these understandings had been either absent or mediated through the perceptions of male researchers and the preconceptions about women.

It must be understood that the researcher's notion of power may not always assist the participant. Empowerment may be interpreted by the researcher to do what she or he wants, rather than the empowerment of the participants to express their own views, or to take their own actions (Bowes, 1996; Puwar, 1997). Feminist researchers may regard empowerment as providing participants with strategies to analyze their situation in terms of gender. But sometimes these

strategies may disempower participants by undermining their short-term coping mechanisms.

It is of utmost concern to feminist researchers, that women, particularly participants in research processes, should not be exploited or have their experiences dismissed in the research process. The researcher should be careful not to re-interpret the experiences of the participants to fit into the ambit of her research goals (Bowes, 1996; Mies, 1993; Millen, 1997).

Another challenge to feminist research is the difficulties that occur from the recognition that women are not uniformly disadvantaged (Campbell, 1996; Harding, 1991; Maynard & Purvis, 1994; Stanley & Wise, 1993). As outlined in Chapter Two, for contemporary feminist standpoint theorists as well as for post-modern feminists, the concept of 'difference' is acknowledged. From these perspectives, the experiences of women are *not* interpreted by totalizing and unifying women and woman's experience into a singular category. Research processes that utilize contemporary interpretations of feminist standpoint theory, recognize and acknowledge the differences between women and the multiple axes of oppression that women experience.

Research approaches used in the current study

As previously stated, for this study qualitative and quantitative research methodologies were used. In many cases a combination of the two methods has yielded rich and relevant data (Malterud, 2001; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Millen, 1997). As mentioned, whereas early feminist arguments preferred qualitative approaches to studying and understanding women's lives to quantitative approaches, contemporary feminists have reconsidered these positions and recognize the false dichotomy of qualitative and quantitative approaches (Bernal, 1998; Maynard, 1994). The decision to use qualitative or quantitative methods depends on the topic and the questions asked in the study. The findings of a

qualitative study are not regarded as applicable to the population at large, but rather as descriptions, analyses and knowledge applicable within a certain setting (Holstein & Miller, 1993; Malterud, 2001; Malterud & Hollnagel, 1999; Nessa, 1995)

Currently, many feminist researchers are of the opinion that qualitative research may be added to quantitative studies, to gain a better understanding of the meanings of the findings (Malterud, 2001; Mies, 1993). This does not mean accumulating the data, nor does it mean the combination of data obtained via various methods, as these types of data require fundamentally different procedures for analysis (Malterud, 2001).

Because of women's (perceived) precarious positions in the academy, there is a dire need for research to be done on women and women's lives (Millen, 1997). This has resulted in the inclusion of sensitivity to gender and womanhood within the theoretical frameworks of academic disciplines. The various feminisms and feminist perspectives provide a means of analyzing, not just the content of the knowledge gained, but the means by which the knowledge was acquired and produced (Gottfried, 1996; Hendricks, 1993).

As stated earlier, the current study is primarily located within the paradigm of feminist standpoint theory which is characterized by research studies that emphasize the interpretation of the 'lived reality' and the social world, from a woman's position. Thus, this woman-centered perspective is one that focuses on women, and few or no comparisons are made with men. From this perspective, women's voices are not regarded as 'other' or 'outsider' as they are the only 'voices' in the study (Harding, 1991; Reay, 199a, 1996b; Tanton, 1994). This, in bell hook's (1984) terms is when women and women's voices and experiences move from the *margin to the center*.

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Feminist standpoint theorists claim that academic disciplines often use androcentric language, and therefore, there is a need to re-organize researchers in relation to their 'subjects'. By means of feminist standpoint theory, the 'subjects' become re-configured to be regarded as participants who are regarded as knowledge producers. The experiences of participants generate knowledge in the research process. Feminist standpoint theory, although it has been criticized for its tendency to obliterate differences, must also receive credit for its emphasis on the location of the 'participant'. Furthermore, it recognizes that the researcher is a part of that world that she or he is researching. Feminist standpoint theory has also arguably achieved the increase of feminist consciousness and social-political engagement. This engagement is designed to reveal the false presumptions on which patriarchal hierarchies and androcentric ideologies are founded. Feminist standpoint is also used to challenge the forms of alienation produced by these hegemonic social structures.

Women's positions as both the subjects and the objects of their own research uniquely place them as agents of change (Unger, 1998). Burr (1995) argued that paradigm shifts are most likely to occur when a new generation, that lacks years of commitment to the dominant social order and dominant ideology, comes into power. In some aspects, women scholars are in the position of being the younger or new generation, whatever their chronological ages, given the history of their exclusion and marginalization.

Personal Reflections on my investment and social identity in my study

Given the centrality of self-reflexivity in feminist qualitative research, it is important that I provide an outline of my personal position in the current study (Millen, 1997).

As mentioned, self-reflexivity has been highlighted as a means of ensuring validity by reflecting on the research process and the dynamics emerging in the research contexts. Furthermore, self-reflexivity, in respect of acknowledging one's own theoretical and personal location, will serve as a validating aspect of the research. In carrying out this task of locating myself as researcher, I was concerned with locating my social identity in relation to the participants, and was conscious of the power relations within the group. Instead I attempted not to construct myself in a position of being the expert, but rather as being the group member who needed to hear the stories of all the other participants (de la Rey, 1997; Lather, 1991; Wilkinson, 1988). Furthermore, as many feminists contend, the researcher is a subject in her research and her personal history is part of the analytical process (Bernal, 1998; Maynard, 1994; Stanley & Wise, 1993). Within this framework, it is important to note my own location as a black woman academic at an HBU and my own investments in the research project. The former aspect, relating to the researcher's theoretical location, is valuable for the feminist research goal of challenging power inequalities in the research process. In this way I was in a similar position to the participants with respect to gender, race, tertiary studies at a HBU, and my occupation at a HBU and my occupational level in the academy, as well as barriers to my publishing. reflexivity was considered throughout the research process and I was participating in the discussions about my stories which were very similar to those of participants. My own investments in the research are my commitment to gender equity and women's development and the minimizing and eradication of the barriers that stymie women in their academic careers. It was interesting to note that I often had to ask leading questions to introduce discussions on the covert gendered power and androcentric cultures, as the participants did not spontaneously mention this aspect. This may be because of the subtlety of the androcentric barriers. On the other hand, it may be because of deeply embedded socialization of patriarchal systems, which women accept unchallengingly.

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One's personal and professional experience represents an important source of cultural, racial, educational and gendered intuition and derives from the background which we bring to the research situation. My identity of being black, (in the black – white divide, and coloured in the racial categorization of disenfranchised groupings in the pre-democracy days in South Africa), having been a student at an HBU and now as a lecturer at an HBU, allowed me to identify strongly with the majority of the participants in the study. I was easily able to empathize, identify and thus 'shift' from the passive researcher to the active participant in the process of data generation. I feel that this strong identification with the realities that were being reported by participants, facilitated in minimizing the power relations between myself, as researcher, and the participants. Very often their narratives were very familiar to circumstances that I experience and have experienced during my tertiary studies and my academic career. I identified so strongly that I had to develop a conscious awareness of having to be on my guard to avoid excessive interjection. In this I was assisted by my reflections in my personal journal. As mentioned, making journal entries, which were carried out at the end of every session, I noted the points at which I felt I needed to intervene to gain more information. I also noted the times that I felt I had intervened excessively or thought that had allowed the discussion to become too broad and long-winded. My reflective notes assisted me by anticipating the length of pauses required by participants as I found that sometimes participants needed time to think about their responses while I had assumed that they were ready for the next question. As I found that participants would often refer to an earlier statement, I found that asking for further discussion on topics previously discussed, often generated additional data. As the participants became more comfortable in the interview and focus group setting, their discussions were more elaborate and substantive.

Although this was my first major exercise in qualitative research, and because I had been involved in quantitative approaches more often than in qualitative research, I often doubted whether I would be able to 'let go' and actively

participate in these sessions, rather than be the 'detached researcher'. considered having a few practice sessions with family and friends to gain more confidence. Because of time constraints I was not able to conduct these 'practice sessions'. But even without the practice 'runs', the first session in Venda was a wonderful experience! After the initial anxiety, prior to the commencement of the first session, I felt more relaxed during introductions to participants. The first responses by participants who reported on situations with which I was very familiar, allowed my confidence to develop and then I was very comfortable when contributing to the discussions and asking questions. I attribute these understandings to my life experiences as being a black, woman academic, who after fourteen years at lecturer level, was promoted to senior lecturer, and who, because of having been exposed to circumstances in HBUs, as a student and a staff member, often experienced many of the obstacles that were being described by participants. Although not all the circumstances and obstacles that were mentioned by the participants were identical to the ones at the institution where I worked, they were conceivable, given the inadequacies prevalent in all HBUs. As reported by all the black women participants, I too experienced a lack of confidence with regard to publishing[14]. I thus identify with the notion that through life experiences, individuals are able to understand certain situations and often make provisional predictions of situations in particular circumstances. This implicit knowledge often assists us to understand events, actions and words more confidently than if we did not bring this implicit knowledge to the research process (Bernal, 1998; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). This implicit knowledge therefore provided me with insight from which I was able to draw during the research process. I believe that the sharing of my experiences introduced a sense of 'similarity' with participants. This minimized hierarchical power relations and enabled me to relate with them from a position of the 'outsider from within[15]'.

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[14] Additional discussions with my experiences of writing and publishing are discussed in Chapter Eight.
[15] This concept was discussed in Chapter Three.

The study

Aims

The major aim of the study is to explore the challenges experienced by women academics at HBUs with regard to publishing of academic work. This aim was articulated through two central objectives:

1. To establish a descriptive profile of current publication records of a group of women academics at the three selected HBUs. The intention was to provide an overview of their positions in the academy and a picture of how much and where the respondents publish.

2. To explore how a group of women academics at the selected HBUs construct their relationship with regard to publishing. This included key questions as follows:

- What do participants perceive to be central inhibiting factors and challenges to their successful publishing?
- What do participants regard as the major aspects of the academy which impact on their ability to publish?
  What do participants recommend, at a personal level, for advancement of their publishing?
- What do respondents recommend, at an institutional level, for the advancement of their publishing?

Overview of the targeted HBUs

General reasons for the selection of the sample

The following universities were selected for the study: the University of Durban Westville (UDW), the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and the University of Venda (Univen). The reason for the selection of these universities is that they represent the primary categories into which HBUs were classified (Subotzky, 1993; Wolpe, 1994). Thus, UWC represents the 'coloured' university, Univen the 'black/African' university and UDW the 'Indian' university. A primary reason for the selection of these categories of HBUs is that in the establishment of HBUs, there were hierarchical differences in funding and resources, 'Indian' institutions received more than 'coloured' institutions, while 'black-African' institutions were allocated the lowest funding. Furthermore, in an attempt for a geographical spread, the selected universities were all located in different provinces in South Africa. UWC is situated in the Western Province, while Univen is located in the Northern Province and UDW is in the Kwazulu- Natal Province. UWC and UDW are situated in more urban locations than Univen, which is located in a rural district.

Staff compositions

In order to elucidate women's representation in numbers as well as in academic positions at the selected institutions, the following table on the staff composition at each of the targeted HBUs, is included. From Table 4.1. it is apparent that there are more academic men than women employed in the institutions. More significantly, it is clear that the senior positions at each of the institutions is dominated by males while women are over-represented in the lower academic positions. This phenomenon is consistent with global trends as was discussed in Chapter Three.

Table 4.1. Profile of the academic positions at the selected institutions to illustrate the comparison of the number and academic positions of academic women to academic men at the selected institutions.

Academic Position	UDW		UWC		UNIVEN	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Lecturer	58	67	63	60	48	86
Senior lecturer	15	31	41	48	10	38
Associate professor	6	22	20	30	3	12
Professor	3	35	8	30	3	24

Facilities

As previously mentioned, in the apartheid era, state funding to HBUs was lower than to HWUs: and amongst the black institutions there were also different levels of funding with the funding to African-Black institutions being the lowest. Coloured institutions received more funding than African-Black institutions; but less than Indian (Asian) institutions. Since the inception of the democratic government, there have been several attempts to redress the inadequacies but the legacy of this unequal distribution of funding continues to beleaguer the HBUs. Univen, historically established for African-Black students, is located in a typical rural area, where participants report on inadequacies with regard to library facilities, infrastructure to support the academic project, as well as academic leadership. UDW, the institution established for Indians, is located in a suburb. The participants reported that although the library had the potential to support publishing, the infrastructure and inadequate staffing impeded the functioning of

the library. These sentiments were similar to those reported by the participants of UWC, the institution established for coloureds.

Participants

As the study was a study of women at the selected HBUs, questionnaires were sent to all[16] the academic women in these institutions. As mentioned earlier, the questionnaire was a 'fore-runner' to the focus groups and interviews as the questionnaire included an item where the respondents were requested to indicate their willingness to participate in focus groups or interviews. The subsequent interviews and focus groups were held with respondents who had indicated their willingness to participate in the focus groups or interviews.

It should be borne in mind that three HBUs were selected for this study and therefore the data only reflects responses from a sample academic women at these selected institutions. The sample was selected, not to represent all women at all HBUs, but to provide a range of qualitative experiences of women at HBUs and to gather a descriptive profile of these women's publication records.

Profile of respondents of the survey-questionnaire

Questionnaires were sent to all women academic staff members at the selected HBUs and the following table describes the response rate of the survey-questionnaire which was in the expected range of 30 – 40% (Miller, 1991)

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[16] The study was not intended to be about black women only and while HBUs were established for black students, the teaching staff have always included all 'racial categories'.

Response Rate

Table 4.2: Response rate to survey-questionnaire

Responses	UWC	UDW	UNIVEN	TOTAL
Surveys issued	132	82	64	278
%	32	38	22	31
Respondents	42	31	14	87

Table 4.2. and Figure 4.1.1. indicate the response rate to the questionnaire per institution. The mean response rate was 32%. The University of Durban-Westville had the highest response rate, 38%, while, the lowest response rate was from Univen being 23%. The response rate from UWC was 33%.

Figure 4.1.: Response rate per Institution
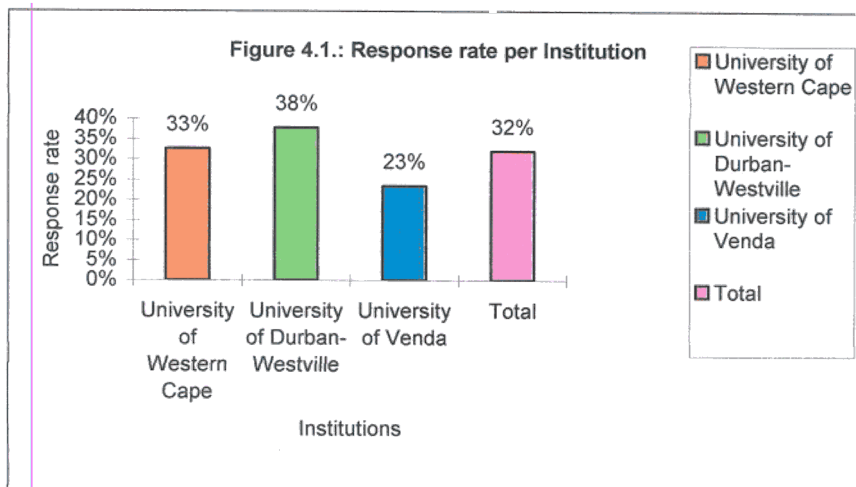
It is noteworthy to mention that although the response rate to the questionnaire from Univen was the lowest, it was the institution where the interest in the focus group discussions was the highest. Univen was the only institution where focus group discussions could be arranged. On the other hand, while UDW had the

highest response rate, they had the lowest response rate to the interviews. Although many respondents indicated that they would be willing to participate in focus groups or interviews, only three interviews could be conducted at UDW, due to logistical problems and lack of responsiveness on the part of the target audience.

Positions of respondents

The representation of the positions of respondents is illustrated in Figure 4.2. Fifty two percent of the respondents were at lecturer level, 28% were at senior lecturer level, 10% at associate professor level and 3% at professor level. Six percent of respondents classified themselves as 'other' levels. This indicates that the majority of the respondents were at lecturer level, a breakdown which correlates with the position of women academics in South Africa and globally, where women are over-represented in the lower academic positions, while the gender gap increases in the more senior academic positions (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1998; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Crosby, 1991; Dines, 1993; Park, 1996; Williams, 2000).

Figure 4.2: Positions of Respondents

■ Professor

■ Associate professor
□ Senior lecturer

■ Lecturer

□ Other

6% 3% 10%

52%

28%
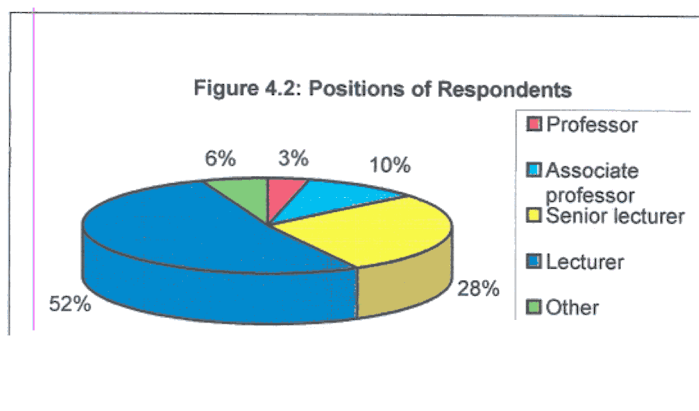
Racial groupings[17] of respondents

Figure 4.3. provides an indication of the racial groupings of respondents. The historical racial classifications were used, as these still remain salient when interventions are required for redress, as in, for example, Employment Equity. These categories were used in this study in order to provide a full profile of the respondents and their reported barriers to publications.

Figure 4.3: 'Racial Groupings' of Respondents

- Asian
- Black
- Coloured
- White
- Did not care to answer
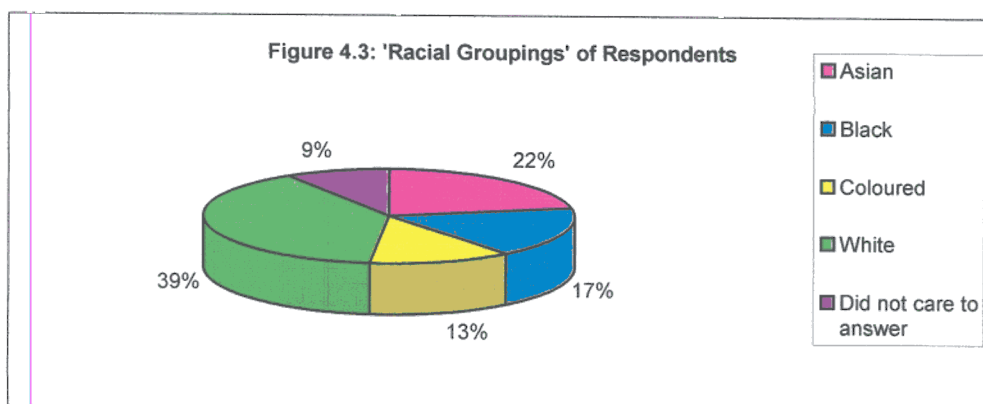
It is evident that the population is a skewed one with 39% of the respondents being white, 22% were Asian while 13% and 17% were from the black and coloured grouping respectively. The racial classification of academic women were not provided in the data base provided by registrars from UWC and Univen, while the majority of the academic women at UDW were Asian.

The response rate indicates that the majority of the respondents were white (for this chapter, black, coloured and Asian are separately categorized). This response rate could be interpreted to indicate that matters concerning publications are regarded to be more important to whites than to any other racial

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[17] Apartheid racial categories were used, and these included: Asians (being mainly people of Indian origin), black being black/African, and coloured being of mixed origin.

category or, on the other hand, that women in the other categories were not interested in publications.

Positions and racial groupings of respondents

The findings of cross tabulations of positions with the racial groupings of respondents are reflected in Figure 4.4.

Figure 4.4.: Racial classification of respondents across various academic positions
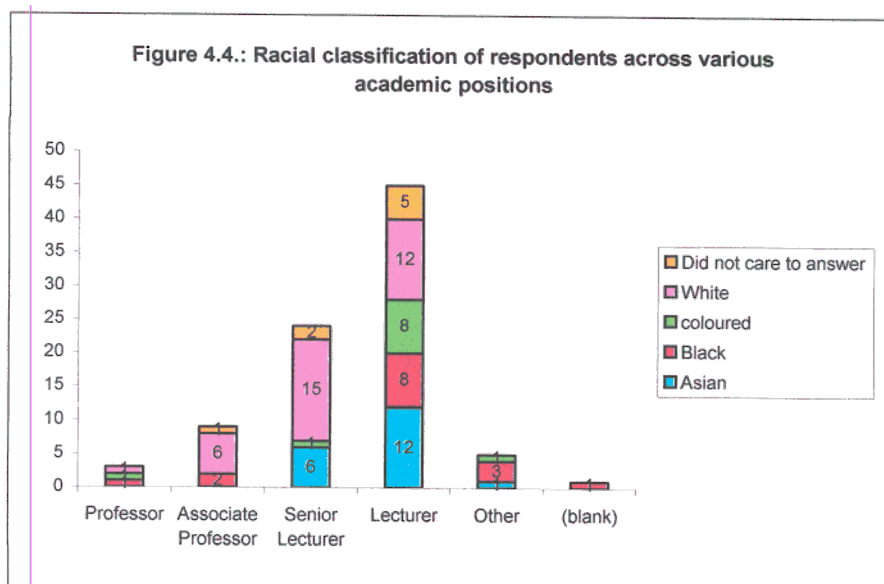
The analysis of the respondents' positions by racial category indicates that there were no Asian professors or associate professors, while there was one full professor in each of the black, coloured and white racial groupings. There were no black senior lecturers. The results indicate that the majority of respondents in each of the racial categories are at lecturer level. In the coloured grouping there were no associate professors but one respondent in each of senior lecturer and professorship position. These findings could be linked to the 'glass ceiling' phenomenon which postulates that women across racial categories experience difficulty in reaching the most senior positions (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Daily News, 2000; Lorber, 1994).

Positions of respondents in specific disciplines

Figure 4.5. indicates the positions of respondents in the natural sciences and in the social sciences.

Figure 4.5.: Positions held by respondents in the social and natural sciences
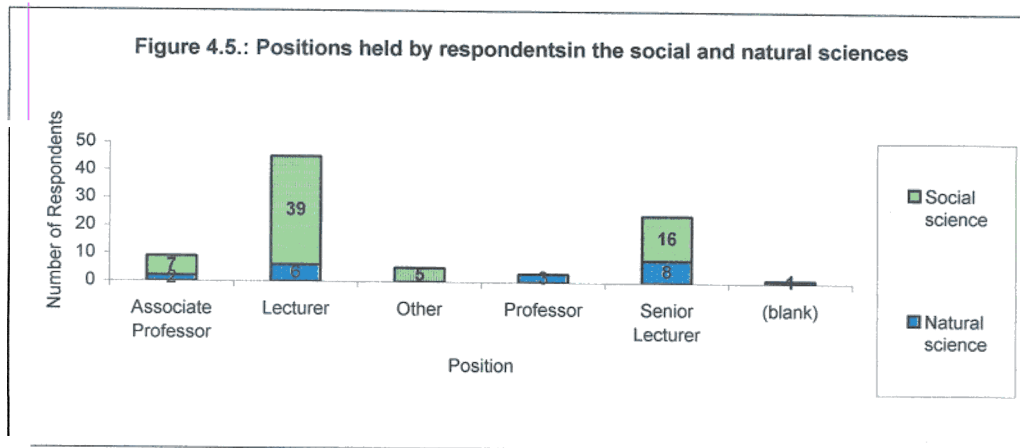
Seventy eight percent of respondents held positions in the social sciences while 22% were located in the natural sciences. These findings could be interpreted to indicate that there are fewer women in the natural science discipline than in the social sciences. This would concur with the literature that men still predominate the science discipline (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Harding, 1991; Lorber, 1994). Twenty two percent of associate professors were in the natural sciences, none of the professors were located in the social sciences. Eighty seven percent of the lecturers were located in the social sciences. At senior lecturer level, 33% of the respondents were in the natural sciences while 67% of the respondents were in the social sciences.

Profile of participants for the focus group discussions

Participants were drawn from those who indicated their willingness to participate in further discussions through their response to an item of this nature on the questionnaire.

Overall demographics of participants

Total number of participants: 25

Table 4.3.: Number of participants in focus groups and interviews

Method	Total number	Number of participants per institution
Number of focus groups	2	9 and 5 participants respectively at Univen
Dual interviews	1	2 participants at Univen
Individual interviews	9	3 at UDW 6 at UWC

Table 4.4. provides additional demographic data relating to the 'racial classification' and academic positions of participants in the focus groups and interviews respondents.

Table 4.4.: Additional demographic information on participants

Method	'racial' classification				Academic position				
	African	Asian	Coloured	white	lecturer	Snr. Lecturer	Assoc. Prof.	Prof.	Snr. Manag.
Focus Group 1	9					6	2	1	
group 2	5					3	2		
Group Interview				2	1		1		
Individual Interviews		1	3	5	2	6			1

As mentioned, focus groups were only held at Univen. The first two time slots for focus groups discussions were well attended. The first focus group had nine participants while the second was attended by five participants. The final focus group attracted only two participants. The participants of the first focus group consisted of one professor, two senior lecturers and six participants at lecturer level. The second focus group consisted of two participants at senior lecturer level, and three at lecturer level. The final focus group had a staff member at professorial level and the other participant was at lecturer level. In total, two of the participants at Univen had PhDs. The participants at Univen were from the Schools of Education, School of Nursing, School of Public Health, and from the departments of English, Sociology.

At UDW, the participants in the interviews were from the departments of Physiotherapy, English and Statistics. One participant had her doctoral degree while the other two participants were at various stages of their doctoral degrees.

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Two of the participants were at senior lecturer level while one participant was at lecturer level.

The participants in the interviews at UWC were from the departments of Physiotherapy, Anatomy, Computer Science, Occupational Therapy and two of the participants had recently been promoted to management and a senior management position in the university respectively. Three of the participants were at senior lecturer level, and one at lecturer level, while the two who held recent appointments in management had moved from lecturer level. Three participants had doctoral degrees, two had Masters degrees and one participant was completing her Master's degree.

The majority of the participants in this study were at lecturer level, and therefore they were mainly representative of the lower academic positions and thus occupied the lower rungs of the academy.

Research Methods

As mentioned, quantitative as well as qualitative methods were used in gathering the data. The methods used to generate data to address the central aims of the study included the survey questionnaire, interviews and focus groups.

Survey Questionnaire

The researcher developed a semi-structured questionnaire with both qualitative and quantitative items (See Appendix Two). The questionnaire was based on a questionnaire I had developed in an earlier research project, on the development of a publication profile of women academics within the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences at UWC (Cairncross, 2000).

The survey-questionnaire was used to achieve the first aim of the study, namely, to develop a profile of the publication output of the respondents. These findings are discussed in Chapter Five in the study.

The questionnaire was distributed to all women academic staff members at the selected HBUs, with the permission of registrars (see Ethical Considerations and Procedures). The questionnaire included questions relating to demographic details; including position, department and race (these results are presented earlier in this chapter). Other questions that were included in the questionnaire pertained to the number of publications over the past three years and to the type of journals and/or books in which the respondents published and the quantity of publications. A number of questions relating to factors perceived to have contributed to and those that have impeded publication output, were included in the questionnaire. There was also a question relating to the respondents' availability to participate in a focus group discussion. This question served as the primary means of recruiting participants for the interviews and focus group discussions.

Focus groups and Interviews

Focus group discussions were held with those respondents who made themselves available by their responses to the questionnaire. A major advantage in the use of focus group discussions as a research instrument lies in its ability to facilitate the expression of many opinions and comments. These interviews ultimately often produce richer qualitative data (Du Plessis,1999, Potgieter, 1997). Furthermore, focus groups allow the researcher to observe the attitudes and group dynamics among participants as well as providing supportive environments for researchers to address the ethical concerns of power relations in the research process (Du Plessis, 1999; Shefer, 1999; Smulders,1998; Wilkinson, 1998).

Some of the advantages of using focus groups are that they are relatively inexpensive to conduct and they often yield rich data. The disadvantages of using this type of research instrument must be borne in mind. These disadvantages include the group dynamics that may inhibit individual expression, and the possible domination of the group by one participant present (Bannister *et al.*, 1994; Smulders, 1998; Wilkinson, 1999). In the current study, the participants with whom individual interviews were conducted, expressed their gratitude to be interviewed individually, rather than in a group situation, because they 'felt completely comfortable' in being open and honest in this forum.

Although the initial intention was to conduct focus groups at all the selected HBUs, it was exceptionally difficult to co-ordinate these groups because of the working schedules of participants. In order to facilitate data collection, it was decided to conduct individual interviews with participants who indicated their willingness. The participants selected convenient time slots for these interviews. The discussions in the interviews and the focus groups, although they were informal, were broadly guided by two semi-structured questions, as follows:

- What are the challenges/barriers to your publication output at various levels?. The relevant levels are personal, departmental and institutional?

  Which strategies/interventions would assist and improve your publication output?

Discussions were then focused on the three levels (personal, departmental and institutional).

Procedures and Ethical Considerations

A letter was sent to the registrar at each of the selected universities and served as an introduction to the study. There was also a request for access to names, departmental addresses and, where possible, e-mail addresses of all women academic staff members (Appendix One).

A covering letter and questionnaire (Appendix Two) were then sent to all women staff members at the selected HBUs. The covering letter submitted to all respondents assured them of the confidentiality of their identities. The questionnaire did not include identifying information such as names and surnames.

At the commencement of the focus group discussions and interviews, participants were informed of the tape recording, and were asked for their permission to do so. Participants were also given the option to leave at any point if they became uncomfortable. Confidentiality and anonymity were assured.

personally convened, co-ordinated and conducted the focus group discussions and interviews in English. The reason for using English as the language of communication, is that English is the official language at Univen and UDW. At UWC, although the dual language policy still recognizes both English and Afrikaans, the language most frequently used for official documentation is English. Another consideration for the use of English was that the participants for the focus group discussions may have had different first languages and that may have led to a dilemma in terms of comprehension, rapport and interpersonal dynamics in the group. Some participants may have felt intimidated to speak spontaneously in a group using the dominant vernacular. Personally, I was also incapable of conducting the interviews or focus groups in another language and did not want to use a translator in the groups. Given that English was the medium that all the participants need to conduct their classes in, I chose English as the language for communicating, although I was fully aware that English was often not the mother-tongue of many of the participants. I made apologies for that.

The focus groups were directed by a number of semi-structured questions as mentioned. The duration of the discussions was between 40 and 50 minutes. All focus groups and interviews discussions were tape-recorded and transcribed

verbatim. Confidentiality was verbally assured at the commencement of the interview and the focus group discussion.

Within the framework of self-reflexivity, a journal was kept throughout this project. At the commencement and the end of each focus group discussion and interview, I, the facilitator of the focus groups, made notes. The cryptic notes covered the following topics:

- Personal emotions and experiences before the commencement and during the session
- Group and interpersonal dynamics and in the case of the interviews, the relationship with the respondent was noted
- Non-verbal behaviour of participants
  General impressions and thoughts.

As a woman academic at an HBU, I fulfill the prerequisite of a respondent for this study. For this reason, I alternated between the two roles during the focus group discussions and interviews. On the one hand, I played the role of passive outsider (the researcher); on the other hand, I shifted to the role of committed participant/insider by contributing to the discussion and expressing some of the challenges that I, too experienced in my publishing endeavours. This shifting seemed to work well in both the interviews and in the focus group discussions, in that the power hierarchy between myself and the participants, was minimized.

Responses, responding and co-ordinating the study

Although the response rate was within the expected range of 30 – 40% (Miller, 1991), the rapidity with which the questionnaires were completed and returned to me was very heartening. I felt very excited about the response rate and about the positive response with regard to the intention of participating in the focus group discussions. I also noted the enthusiasm and the valuable comments that respondents made on the questionnaires.

The co-ordination of focus groups at Univen and UDW was a very challenging prospect as I had no prior contact with any colleagues at these institutions nor was I familiar with their geographical location. The public relations offices of both UDW and Univen were extremely helpful and arranged traveling and accommodation (hotels as well as venues that were used for the study). As previously mentioned, the co-ordination task was a challenge, but the positive communication from people who I had yet to meet, made up for the despondence that I felt at times.

Data Analysis

Questionnaire: The data was coded and entered onto a database. Computerized statistical analytical packages (frequency tables and cross tabulations) were applied to the data generated by the questionnaire. Findings are diagrammatically presented in Chapter Five of this study.

Focus group discussions and interviews: The discussions of the focus groups were analyzed using the key themes emerging in the literature as well as common themes that emerged from the participants' responses. In carrying out the data analysis, I drew particularly on an ethnomethodological perspective on data analysis. Ethnomethodology is concerned with how people construct meaning of their everyday lives (Denzin & Lincoln,1998). The **ethnomethodological** technique involves the search for processes through which people make sense of their interactions and the institutions through which they live (Feldman,1995). This analytical technique assumes that people make sense of these phenomena and that their sense – making is the basis of their future actions and their interpretations of reality. Because ethno methodologists collect data which can be analyzed in detail at a later stage, they often make use of video – and/or audio recording. Contemporary ethnomethodologists tend to have a particular bias towards qualitative content or thematic analysis (Heritage,1984). Responses to the broad guiding questions that were used to

guide the qualitative data generation were used as the basis of analysis. In this research, the analysis of the content of these responses in the interviews and focus group discussions elucidated numerous commonalities between experiences and perspectives of participants. Thus the categorization of definite themes became evident, and although the emergence of various themes were obvious, many of these themes overlapped each other. While the multiple overlaps in the thematic analysis proved difficult at times, it highlighted the way in which experiences of participants cannot be neatly compartmentalized. For the purpose of presenting the findings in some logical format, discrete themes are presented. It should however be remembered and hopefully it is evident in the presentation of the findings, how different themes intersect, overlap and impact on each other. It was apparent that, for example, the theme of workload intersected stronglywith the theme of the inadequacies inherent in HBUs. This meant that many of the subjective reports relating to workload were often linked to the perceived lack of facilities at HBUs. Similarly, the theme of workload overlapped with androcentric culture, as women are positioned in more junior roles and are expected (and they 'buy-in') to do more teaching and play a more supportive, mentoring role with students than men might.

My Reflections on the Study

Many of the respondents, especially at Univen, often were responsive to the study and assisted when I informed them of any difficulties that I was experiencing. They co-ordinated venues, arranged to e-mail respondents and offered assurances that they would ensure the success of the study at their campus. Their responses indicated that they were keen to co-operate with me, and that they were eagerly anticipating the discussions. One difficult aspect related to the participants constructing me as the 'expert' that would assist them in their publishing. This occurred predominantly at Univen and created a real dilemma for me. Although I was willing to assist where I was able, this construction of myself as the expert was contrary to feminist research. In order to

minimize the power hierarchy in the research that may have been created by the perception of myself being the expert, I was very active in the discussions at Univen. I often shared the problems I had with my publishing endeavours and confirmed the barriers they experienced as ones that I too experienced. In other instances, the diminishing of the construction of the self as expert was not such as easy task, as for example, when participants wanted information on procedures to be followed when a publication is to be submitted for a journal; other participants did not even know where to find information on the status of journal (accredited or non-accredited). I then assisted as best I could but was fully aware that this role was not aligned to the aims of feminist research, where the 'expert' researcher is in a dominant position in the research process. I made concerted attempts to diminish the power hierarchy, which sometimes involved requesting participants to assist each other. For example, when one participant asked the question, I asked others whether they knew of any resources that would assist the colleague.

At the inception of the research process, I had to consider aspects which were integral to feminist and qualitative research. Some of the elements are described by Denzin and Lincoln (1998) as: assessing the situation; understanding the language and the culture of the respondents; deciding how to present oneself; gaining trust; establishing rapport and collecting empirical notes. I shall now proceed to discuss how I navigated through these stages.

Assessing the Situation

I had the advantage of great familiarity with the situation at UWC having been a staff member for fourteen years. I had not ever visited the other two campuses and thus had no prior knowledge of their whereabouts. I did not even know the modes of transport to travel to these universities. The registrar's office, where I directed the initial letter for access to the academic women's addresses, was my first contact with these universities. Once the women had responded to the

questionnaire, I made contact with the public relations offices at these universities. Various modes of communication were used, namely, faxes, e-mail and telephone calls.

My subsequent communiqués were directed to a specific individual, who later became my 'contact person'. This was the person who took charge and co-ordinated all my travelling and accommodation arrangements. This person was the first person I met on arrival at the university and was the one who escorted me to a venue that they had arranged. This person was thus a major source of information on the 'core business/internal politics' of the university.

Understanding the Language and the Culture

The official academic languages at all three of the selected HBUs is English. This eradicated some of the problematics of language. All the participants were fluent English-speakers and had a good command of the language.

'Drivers' discussed the cultural and historical backgrounds of the universities with me. These were the people who met me at the airport/bus stop and who were responsible for transporting me to and from the university. These individuals were a rich source of data on the university, given that they may be regarded as 'natives' to the university. Their particular positions provide them with a unique and privileged position to observe the 'goings on' without having to get involved with 'issues'. On the other hand, they had first hand information from a position of 'observer status'. They spoke openly and frankly to me. The reason for this honesty may be attributed to several factors. They may have considered themselves as my hosts when they discovered that it was my first visit to their university. Furthermore, I think that because I did not make notes in their presence, they regarded their information as mere small talk. They did not realize that their discussions set the stage for the research process, which was to follow. I was briefed about the socio-political histories of the geographical locations of

the institutions, the impact of the changes in institutional management after 1994 on the various sectors of the university community as well as the uncertainties and insecurities of academic staff with regard to the imminent 're-shaping of the higher education landscape' which was to be introduced by the Department of Education. The responses in the interviews and focus group discussions were contextualized within these parameters.

It was hoped that the focus groups would consist of six to eight women participants who represented diverse departments. Initially, it was envisaged that three focus group discussions would be carried out at each of the three selected HBUs. However, because of many logistical problems, and the lack of collective available time slots, the focus groups were not very successful at UWC and UDW.

At Univen, the first two time slots for focus groups discussions was well attended. The first focus group started with six participants. Three more participants joined in later during the session. The second focus group consisted of five participants. The final focus group attracted only two participants. I received many e-mails once I returned from Venda. These came from women who had indicated that they had been willing to attend, but administrative duties, unscheduled meetings and other unforeseen academic engagements made it impossible for them to attend these sessions.

At UWC, the situation was even more difficult to co-ordinate. Even though I had expected the co-ordination of focus groups at my own campus to be easier to facilitate, this was not the case. I had received many responses from people who indicated that they were willing to participate in the focus group discussions. Communicating by e-mail, I scheduled a range of time slots, especially during the lunch hour, and requested that potential participants provide me with alternative time slots. The response was dismal. Not one participant turned up at the first two sessions. I then telephoned individuals and asked for permission to conduct

individual interviews. This method was more successful. People were able to arrange this interview in a time that suited their schedules. The fact that the interviews were conducted in their offices seemed to provide further convenience. Many participants indicated that they preferred the option of the interviews being conducted in their offices, as they were able to continue with their work until I arrived and continue with their work when the interview was over. conducted a total of six interviews at UWC in this fashion.

The focus group/interview co-ordination at UDW was the most difficult. Regular e-mail communiqués were sent to respondents who had indicated their willingness to participate in focus group discussions. These requests met with minimal responses. I had informed the respondents of the intended dates and times that I intended to conduct the interviews and requested feedback on alternative times that might be more convenient. Eventually I managed to complete a total of three interviews at UDW.

It was interesting to note that, at all the universities, many more women responded to the questionnaire and indicated that they were willing to participate in focus group discussions, than those who eventually made themselves available. This in itself possibly reflects an overload of work by academic women at these universities.

Deciding how to present oneself

This aspect, though integral to the research process, was not as daunting as some of the other aspects. I was very eager and enthusiastic to meet the respondents. I was keen on engaging colleagues at UWC on this level and was looking forward to the responses from the respondents at the other two universities. Because I did not often engage with colleagues outside the department where I am located, I approached this aspect of the research process as a challenge. I therefore regarded this a major task in 'networking experience'

and was positive about this sharing process that was embarking on. As mentioned[18], I attempted to present myself as a colleague, with similar issues in relation to publishing, rather than as 'expert' researcher.

Gaining Trust

This aspect had been initiated by means of the questionnaire. In the questionnaire the assurance of confidentiality was guaranteed My open communications with respondents prior to the actual focus group discussions and interviews were also a means of securing the trust of the participants.

At the commencement of the interviews and focus group discussions, again assured participants of their confidentiality and anonymity and gained informed consent. Many of the participants thanked me for the assurance and said that the assurance would secure the openness and frankness of their comments. Many of the participants were also grateful for the opportunity to be interviewed individually, as they said that they felt more comfortable expressing themselves honestly individually, than among other people.

Establishing Rapport

As with the 'gaining trust' aspect, I established rapport with many of the participants well before the commencement of the discussion. I acknowledge that at Univen, was more involved in the discussions than at the other the other two universities. I felt that I also had a close rapport with the participants who were all in constant contact with me via e-mail. The reason was that participants had been requested to assist in the arrangement of the venue and at the time of my arrival this arrangement seemed to be in disarray. The communiqués to me from prospective participants reassured me of the confirmation of a venue that had

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[18] This discussion is also presented earlier in this chapter in the section relating to self-reflexivity

been arranged by one of the participants. The person carrying out the organization had then taken it upon herself to inform all the other prospective participants of the new arrangements. My communication with prospective participants informed me of their anticipation of my visit and 'presentations' to assist them in their publication endeavours.

Collecting Empirical Notes

Participants were aware of the tape recorder/s, which were evident and obvious and based on the permission of the participants. The empirical notes I collected were those that I regard as my journal[19]. I recorded the thoughts and emotions that I experienced before and after every discussion. When the interviews or focus groups were in succession, I made empirical notes between sessions when possible. These notes recorded the previous discussions (the positive and negative points), as well as pointers to myself for the next session based on previous discussions. I often tried to record strategies to overcome those experiences that I experienced as challenges. I constructed strategies to improve and enrich the data for imminent sessions. In many instances, the observations and awareness of the pitfalls and positive points of the previous session, assisted in improving the following interview and/or focus group discussion. For example, I became aware that I should leave additional time between responses to various questions. realized sometimes participants still have additional ideas or need time to amend and expand on responses even if they pause and remain silent for a period. My reflexive notes also made me aware of some leading questions, for example, questions pertaining to resources including the library.

I was constantly aware of the danger of the potential of one person speaking for all women or that I may articulate and interpret the participant's views. Therefore always probed to extract the maximum information from the participants

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[19] The role of my empirical notes is also referred to earlier in this chapter in the section relating to self-reflexivity.

themselves. This practice, of the researcher expressing and articulating on behalf of the participant, would have been damaging in that it repeats hegemonic research practices and undermines the value of feminist research.

Summary

This chapter presented the methodological parameters of the research study as well as my personal investments in the study. Given the centrality of the role of self-reflexivity in feminist research, my reflections on and in the research process are presented. The response rate and a profile of participants of the study were described. The ethical and procedural considerations which guided the study, were also presented in the chapter.

Chapter Five, Six and Seven will present the findings of the analysis of the quantitative data (survey-questionnaire) as well as the analysis of the qualitative data (from focus groups and interviews).

CHAPTER FIVE: PROFILE OF PUBLICATIONS AND FACTORS INFLUENCING PUBLISHING OF RESPONDENTS

This chapter presents the analysis of the quantitative data that was generated by responses to the survey questionnaire. As previously mentioned, these findings were not analyzed to substantiate or refute a hypothesis, as is the case of quantitative data in traditional positivist and empirical research studies. Therefore there is an absence of inferential statistics such as: levels of probability, means, correlational–coefficients and the like. The aim of the quantitative data generated in this study was purely descriptive to provide a descriptive profile of the publication status of respondents at the targeted HBUs. It was also a way of presenting a picture of the respondents' perceptions of the factors that influenced their publication endeavours.

The findings were obtained by contingency tables and cross tabulations and are presented primarily through diagrammatic representations of the results. Aligned with the goals of feminist qualitative research, the findings are presented to provide understandings, rather than to attempt to find causal relationships between variables. Although the method of data collation for this study did not lend itself to a further level of analysis[20], the descriptive analyses of the findings of this study were used to make very general inferences.

The chapter is divided into three broad sections: The first will provide a descriptive profile of the publication outputs of the respondents; the second presents the reported levels of influence of institutional factors on the respondents' publishing endeavours; the third focuses on respondents'

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[20] Recommendations with regard to further research and analysis will be presented in Chapter Eight.

perception of their publication outputs and their reported need for training with regard to publishing.

The key 'variables' used for the cross tabulations were academic position and race. In some instances, discipline and institution were also used as variables. The reason for the selection academic position, as a variable, was to explore differences between respondents in various academic positions, given that the literature highlights how women in junior positions have higher workloads, more administrative duties, are more responsible for academic development and student counseling, and thus have less time to engage in publishing (Acker, 1992; Bagilhole, 2000; Crosby, 1991; Dines, 1993; Harper *et al*, 2001; Morley *et al*, 2001; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Williams, 2000). The aspect of race was included in the questionnaire because the historical apartheid categories remain salient in the development of programmes for redress as well as for and equity interventions. Therefore, for this chapter the 'various categories of blackness', along the apartheid categories which include black (denoting black-African), coloured (of mixed origin), and Asian (of Indian origin), are compared

Section One: Publication Profiles of Respondents

This section provides a descriptive profile of the publication activities of respondents. The data was analyzed to reflect the general publication output of respondents in terms of quantity. Further analysis of the findings provided a more qualitative indication of the publishing activities of respondents in terms of publications and authorship styles.

Publication outputs

Table 5.1 reflects the number of articles that were published by respondents over the past five years. It is clear that the majority of the respondents (58%)

published between 0 – 2 articles over the past five years while only 8% of respondents, had more than 10 articles in the same period.

Table 5.1: Level of Publication

Publications	How often have you published in the past 5 years?						
	Publications	Publications	Publications	Publications	Publications		
Publications	>10	6-10	3-5	1-2	0	blank	Total
Frequency	7	12	17	28	22	1	87
%	8%	14%	20%	32%	25%	1%	100%

These findings indicate that many of the respondents were not publishing on a regular basis. The low rate of publications may relate to the fact that the majority of the respondents were in lecturer positions, where their involvement with their teaching and administrative duties is expected to consume excessive time and energy, (physical and emotional).

Figure 5. 1. indicates the publication output of respondents in various academic positions. From this diagram it is clear that all the respondents in the senior lecturer level had not published during the past five years, while 38% and 30% of lecturers and professors respectively had not published any articles during the last five years.

Figure 5.1.1.: Number of publications by respondents in various positions
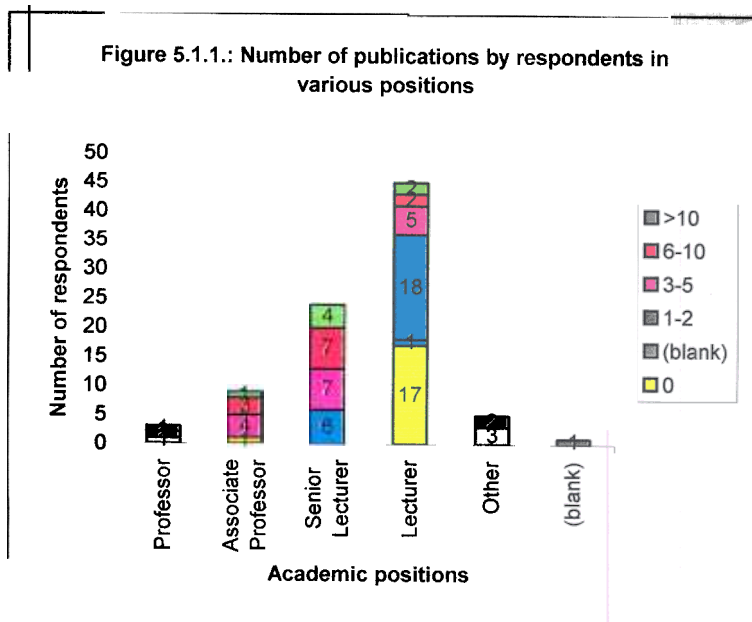
These findings reveal that senior lecturers and associate professors were more prolific in their publishing activities than lecturers and professors. While 16% of senior lecturers and 11% of associate professors had published more than 10 articles during the last five years, no professors and only 4% of lecturers had more than 10 publications. A mere 16% of respondents at senior lecturer level and 33% of professors had published between 6 – 10 articles in the specified time period

It is apparent that respondents at lecturer level had fewer publications than respondents in any of the other academic positions. More prolific publication rates by associate professors and senior lecturers could be attributed to promotion prospects; either the respondents had recently been promoted to these positions or were attempting promotion from these positions in the near future. This finding concurs with Osmudson and Mann (1994), that publishing activities increase in the period before imminent promotion to senior, managerial positions. When considering the publication rates of the professors, where 33%

had no publications over the last five years, the findings concur with de la Rey's (1999) study which found that women professors appeared to be more confident with teaching than with their publishing abilities. Women professors may also be involved with other managerial and senior administrative co-ordinative duties, thus leaving them with limited time and less impetus to publish.

The findings of the publication outputs by respondents in different racial categories are illustrated in Figure 5.1.2. Bearing in mind the skewedness of the sample, where the response rate comprised 39% white respondents, the findings reveal that the white respondents published more than the any of the other racial groupings. From the findings it is apparent that only white respondents had produced more than 10 publications over the last five years.

Figure 5.1.2.: Number of publications by respondents across various racial groupings
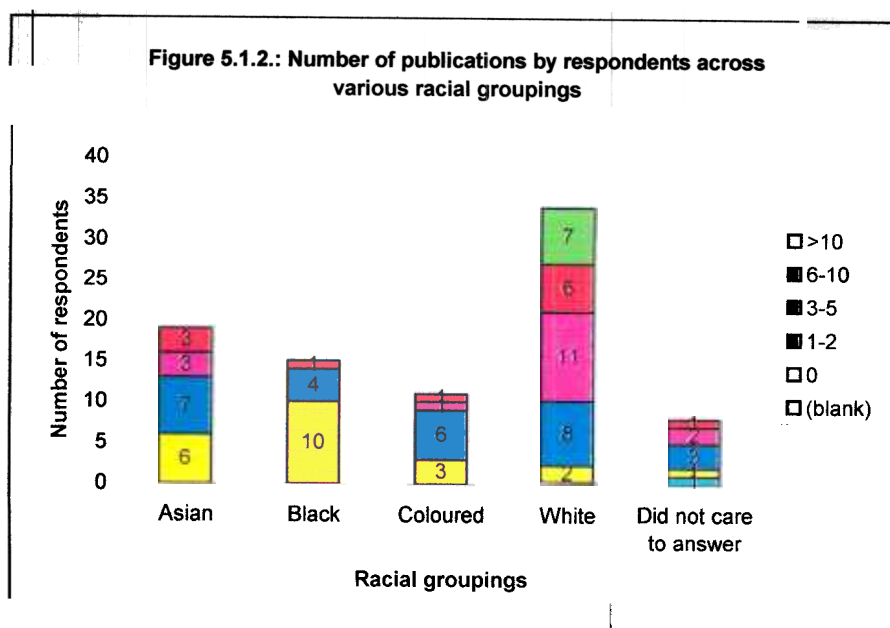
In the black category, the majority (67%) had no publications, while 27% of these respondents had between 1 – 2 publications over the past five years. This is a significant difference between the white category, where 6% of the respondents had no publications and the majority (32%) of the respondents in this racial group had between 3 – 5 publications. Also, bearing in mind the 'racial skewdness' of

the response rate, more Asians (17%) published in the categories 6 – 10 and the category 3 – 5 articles, while 9% of coloureds published the same amounts. The evidence that white respondents published more than respondents in the other racial categories, may be attributed to their tertiary careers in HWUs where publishing was more central to the academic project at these institutions than it was in HBUs. The lower publication outputs in the other racial categories may also be attributed to the historical-political legacy of many of the respondents in the other racial groupings. These respondents may have experienced the disadvantagement of the separatist education system in the apartheid era as well as the disadvantagement of the other axes of gender and racial oppression. This findings may also be attributed to the 'hierarchy' of oppression of disenfranchised South Africans in the apartheid era: in this time Asians less marginalized than coloureds while black-Africans were the most marginalized in the dominant ideology. Asians institutions were thus more favourably funded than black-African and coloured institutions. Furthermore, these factors often continue to contribute to women's peripheral positions and their over-representation in the lower academic positions in academies. Ramphele (2000) asserts that women from oppressed communities, were afforded very few opportunities to be heard historically, and even fewer opportunities to become authors. This may contribute significantly to the findings that black, coloured and Asian academic women do not publish as frequently as their white counterparts.

When considering the number of publications of respondents in various disciplines, it is evident from Figure 5.1.3. that only respondents in the social sciences published more than 10 articles during the last five years. This number indicates 8% of all respondents and 10% of respondents in the social sciences. One must bear in mind the skewdness of the sample, with 78% of the respondents from the social sciences and only 22% in the natural sciences. These findings illustrate that 13% of the sample had published between 6 and10 articles, with 66% of these articles being published by respondents in the social sciences and only 33% published by respondents in the natural sciences. On the

other hand, a quarter of the sample had no publications over the past five years. Although the sample is skewed in terms of the greater numbers of respondents in the social sciences, the findings indicate that women in the social sciences had published more articles than women in the natural sciences. This finding is consistent with the finding of the Woman–In-Research audit of 1998 that found which women in the social sciences published more than women in the natural sciences (Primo, 1998). These findings may be attributed to the fact that there are relatively fewer women in the natural science discipline compared, to the numbers of women in the social sciences.

Figure 5.1.3: Number of publications by respondents across disciplines
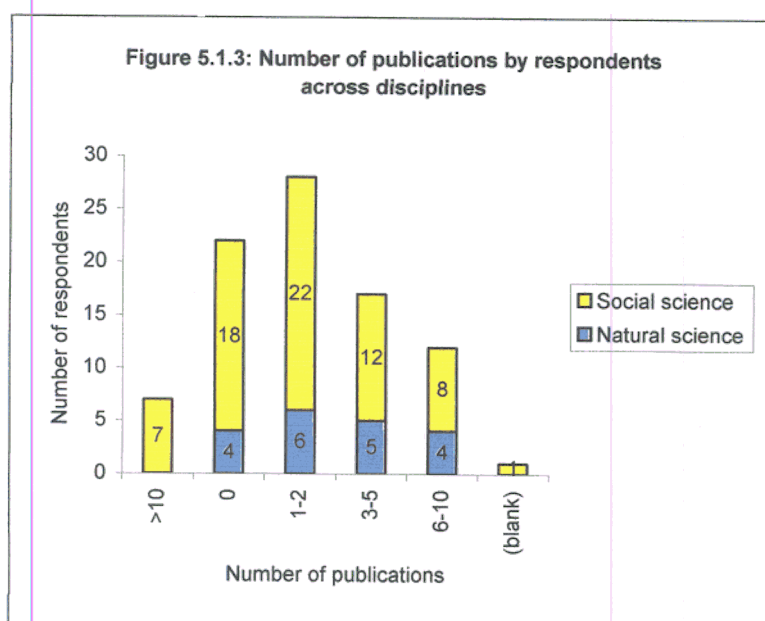
When observing the numbers of publications of respondents at the selected institutions, it is apparent that the respondents from Univen had the lowest number of publications. No respondents at Univen had published more than 10 articles although one respondent had published between 6 and10 articles. This was also the only institution where the majority (64%) of respondents had not published any articles. At UDW and at UWC 23% and 14% of respondents respectively, had no publications in the past five years. Nineteen percent and 14% of respondents at UDW and UWC respectively had published between 6 -10

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Articles. By contrast only 7% of respondents at Univen had published this total. Between 30% and 40% of respondents at UDW and UWC respectively, had published between 1 and 2 articles; while only 21% of respondents at Univen had published between 1 and 2 articles during the last five years.

Figure 5.1.4.: Number of publications by respondents across various institutions

Number of respondents (y-axis: 0, 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, 45)

University of Durban-Westville: 7, 12, 5, 6, 1
University of the Western Cape: 6, 13, 11, 6, 6
University of Venda: 9, 3, 1

Legend:
□ >10
■ 6-10
■ 3-5
■ 1-2
□ 0
□ (blank)
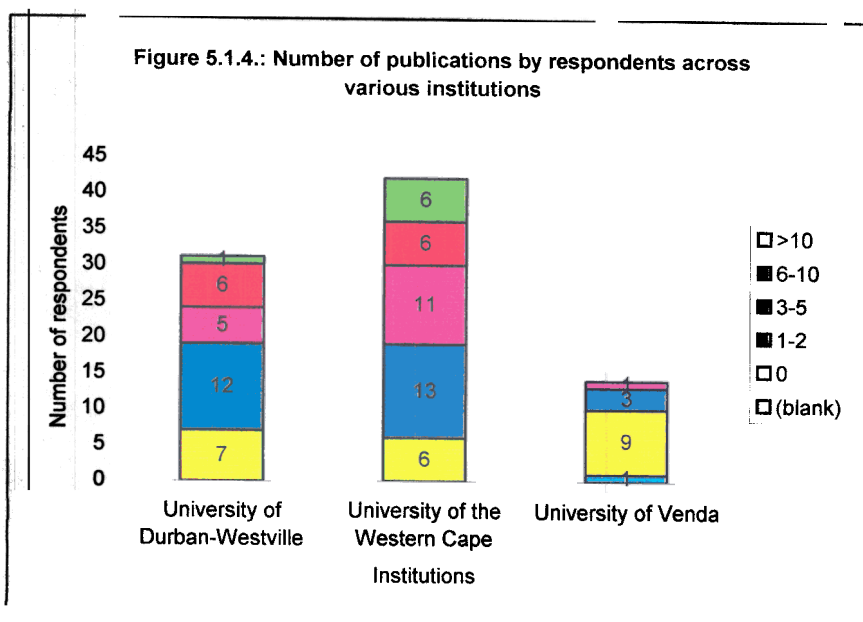
Institutions

These factors may be traced back to the historical-political origins of HBUs, where all of these institutions had fewer available resources than HWUs. These findings, too, may be attributed to 'hierarchy' of disadvantagement as mentioned earlier, where amongst HBUs there were also categories of disadvantagement with the institutions for black Africans being less resourced than the coloured institutions that had less resources than 'Indian' institutions (Bunting, 1994, Subotzky, 1997; Wolpe, 1993). The findings relating to the publishing may clearly be a representation of the lack of facilities and resources that continue to beleaguer staff at institutions that were historically established for the least advantaged and most marginalized sectors of South African societies.

Another reason that may have contributed to the findings with regard to the respondents' deficient publication records at Univen may be linked to the rural location of Univen and also its geographical isolation from other universities. This

institution is located approximately five hours away from the nearest institution. By contrast, UDW and UWC are closer than 30km or approximately 30minutes away from their sister institutions. The rural region where Univen is located may also contribute to lack of publishing as the staff members are heavily involved in community outreach programmes, community projects and academic development for those students who mostly come from academically disadvantaged backgrounds. It is assumed that the proximity of other institutions increases accessibility to resources as well as to colleagues and other supportive networks at other institutions[21]. The lack of access to outside networks, due to geographical isolation, may contribute to a reduced engagement in publications. These factors were reported as barriers to publishing in the focus group discussions that were conducted at Univen.

Types of publications

Respondents were asked to indicate the type of academic journal and authorship style of articles that they used in their publications during the past five years. The academic journals were categorized as: accredited journal[22]; non-accredited journal and international journal.

The findings are presented for each of the type of academic publication and the findings of the analysis of cross tabulations of articles by respondents in various academic positions. Figure 5.1.5. indicates the total number of respondents who had published articles in accredited journals. Forty four percent of respondents had not published in this type of journal, while 15% of respondents had published more than four articles in this type of journal.

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[21] The influence of outside networks is discussed in Section Two of this Chapter as well as in Chapter Seven.

[22] Accredited journals are those which are registered as such by the National Department of Education and are thus more valued than journals which are not accredited (non-accredited journals). Also, the accredited journal articles enable the author to accrue funding.

Figure 5.1.5.: Number of articles in accredited journals
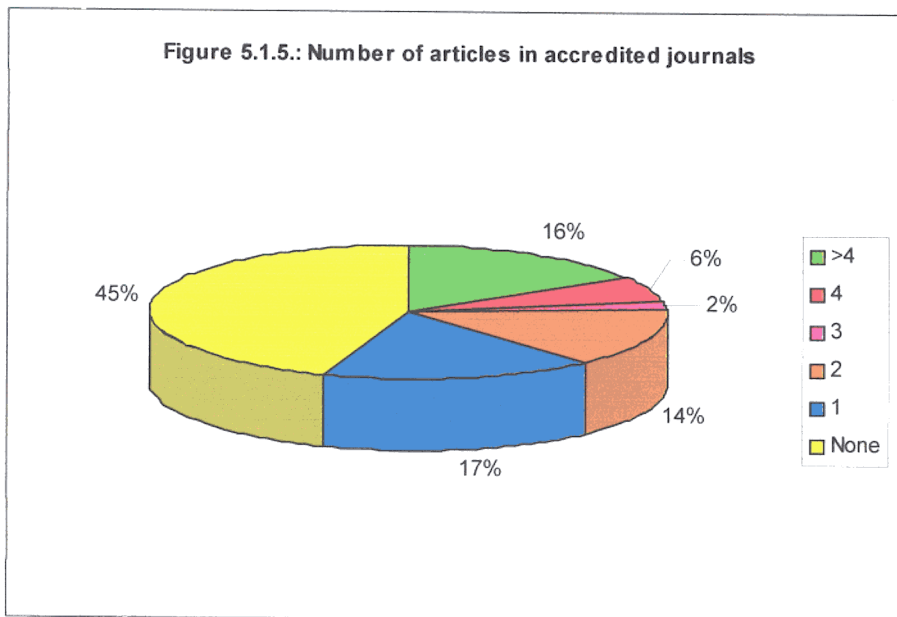
Clearly, the respondents who are aware of the value of publishing in this type of journal, frequently make use of them. Articles published in accredited journals, as mentioned in the footnote earlier, are more valued than articles published in non-accredited journals.

Figure 5.1.6. illustrates the number of articles that were published in accredited journals by respondents in various positions. It is evident that senior lecturers used this type of journal for their publications more frequently than respondents in any of the other academic positions. Thirty eight percent of senior lecturers had more than four articles in accredited journals, while 20% of senior lectures had not published in accredited journals in the past five years. Sixty six percent, 33% and 53% of professors, associate professors and lecturers respectively had not published in accredited journals. This finding indicates that senior lecturers represented the highest percentage of respondents who had produced publications in accredited journals. This finding again, illustrates their apparent concern with accruing academic prestige.

Figure 5.1.6.: Number of articles in accredited journals by respondents across various academic positions
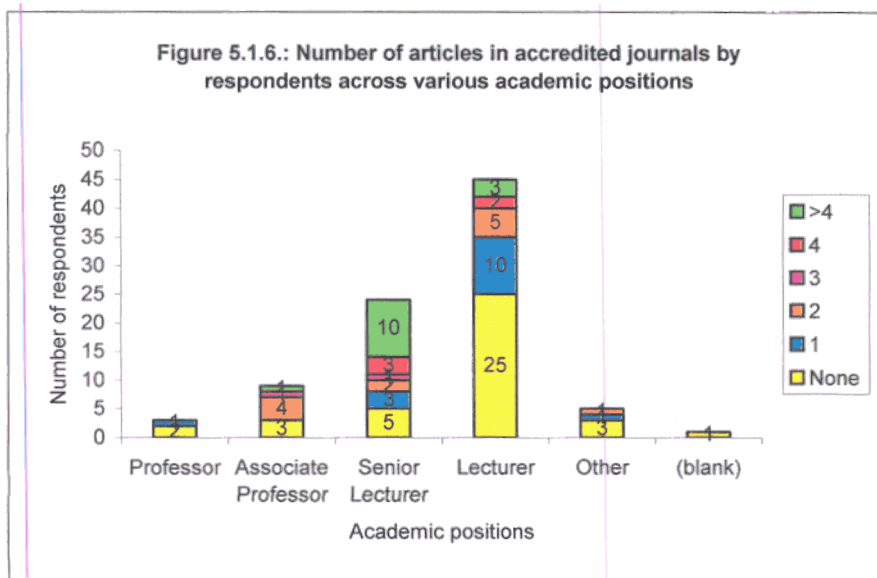
When considering the findings of the number of publications in non-accredited journals, it is apparent from Figure 5.1.7., that the majority of respondents had not published in these journals, although 8% or respondents had published more than 4 articles in these journals. It is evident that those respondents who had published, published in accredited journals rather than in non-accredited journals. These findings indicate that respondents particularly those at the senior lecturer level, understood the significance and the value of accredited journals when publishing.
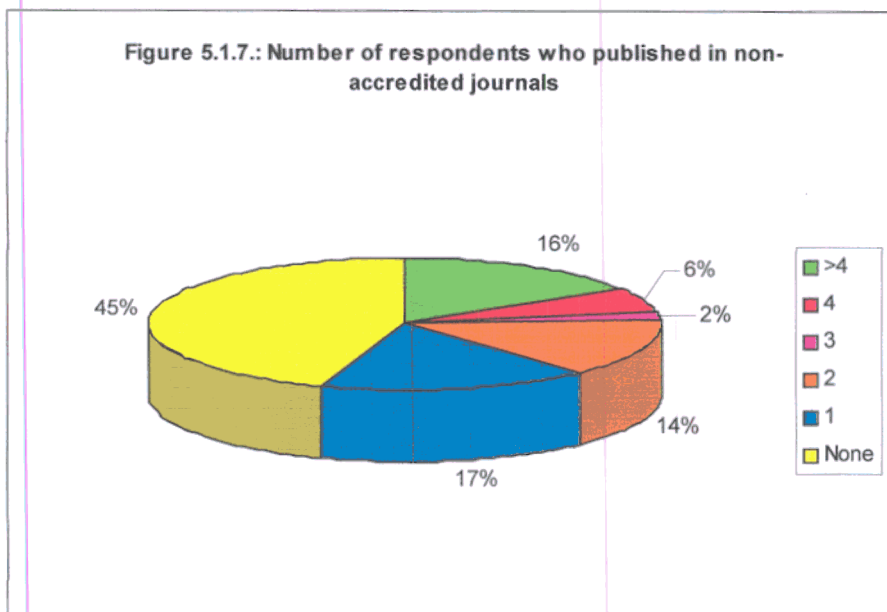
Figure 5.1.7.: Number of respondents who published in non-accredited journals

The number of articles in accredited journals by respondents in various academic positions indicates that although no associate professors had published in non-accredited journals, 33% of professors, 21% of senior lecturers and 2% of lecturers had published more than four articles in these types of journals. These findings, represented in Figure 5.1.8., also indicate that majority of respondents in each of the academic positions who had published in non-accredited journals, had published one article with 22%, 17% and 13% of associate professors, senior lecturers and lecturers respectively, each having produced one publication in this type of journal. It is apparent that many respondents refrain from publishing in non-accredited journals. This may be due to the lack of weight these journals carry in terms of value for promotion.

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Figure 5.1.8.: Number of articles published in non-accredited journals by respondents in various academic positions
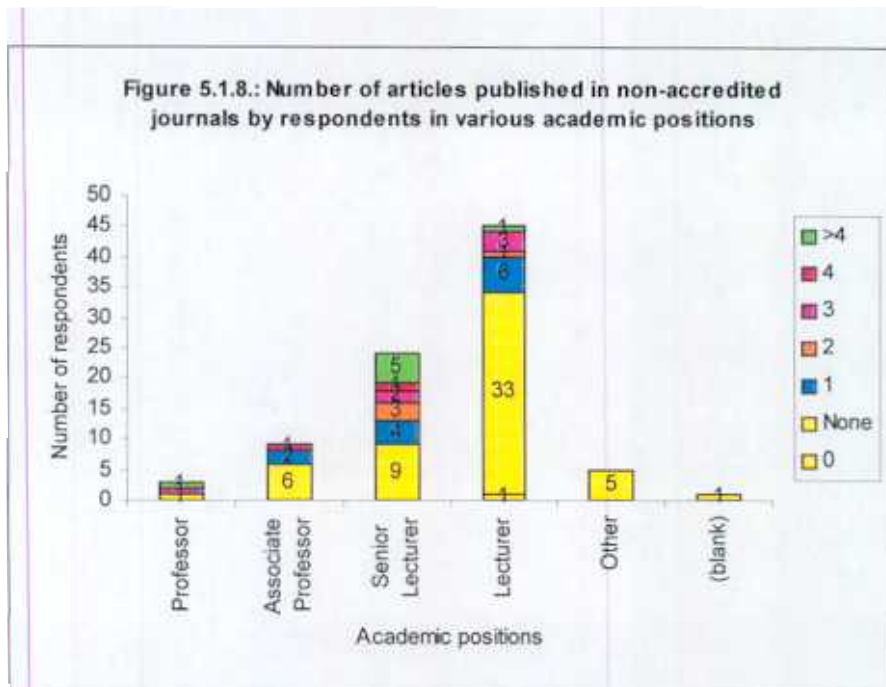
Figure 5.1.9., it is evident that the majority (64%) of respondents had not published in international journals, a mere 7% of respondents had published four and more articles in these journals. Although 18% of respondents had published between one and two articles, it is apparent that respondents did not frequently publish in international journals. This finding may be attributed to the prolonged period that authors have to wait to receive feedback for their submissions. This was partly explained by participants in the focus group discussions and the interviews indicated that the negative feedback received from review panels, often discouraged submissions to international journals.

Figure 5.1.9.: Total number of articles published in international journals
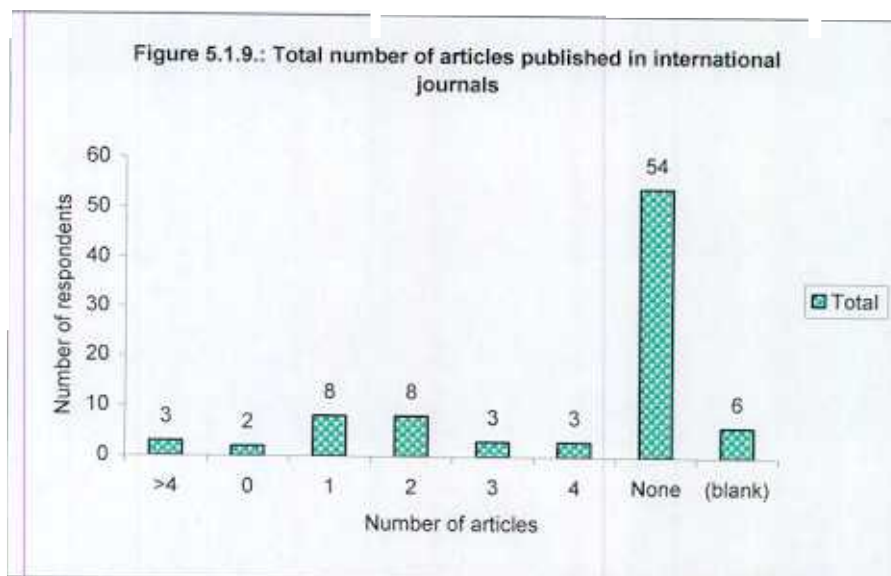
The findings of the number of publications in international journals, by respondents across various academic positions, (as illustrated in Figure 5.1.10.), indicates that only respondents in senior lecturer positions had published four and more articles in international journals. The majority of lecturers (75%) and professors (67%) had not published in international journals. The reason that associate professors and senior lectures had published in this type of journal, more frequently than respondents in the other academic positions, may again relate to their concern with promotion and their general higher engagement in publications in all types of academic journals.

Figure 5.1.10: Number of articles published in international journals by respondents in various academic positions
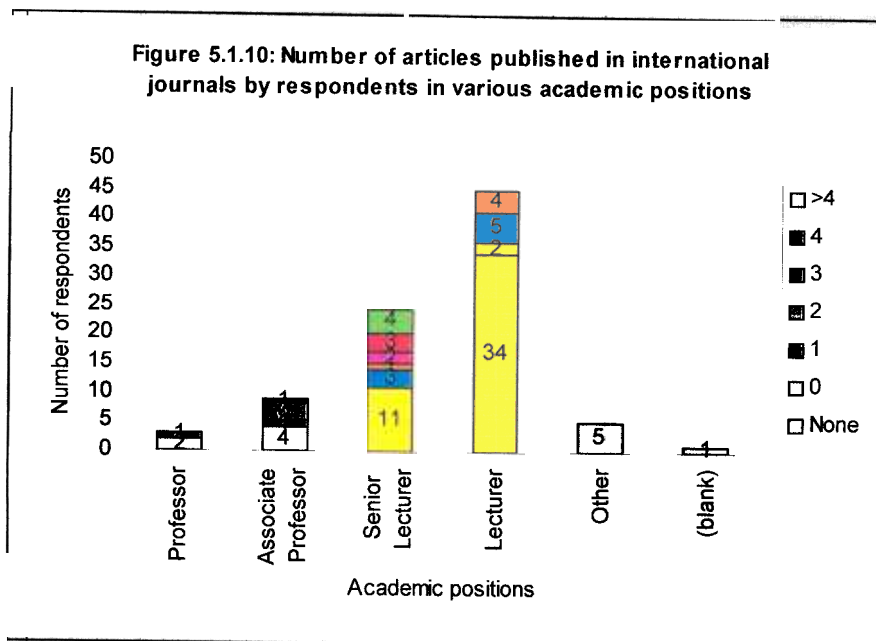
When observing the findings of the type of authored style used by respondents, it is evident that the majority of respondents did not prefer the co-authorship style. Figure 5.1.11. represents these findings, which are contrary to the literature that suggests that women prefer collaborative publishing ventures to individual publication endeavours (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bell & Gordon, 1999, Fonow & Cook, 1994). It is apparent that 56% of respondents had not co-authored any publications, while only 10% of respondents had co-authored four and more articles in the past five years. Twenty two percent of the respondents had co-authored between one and two publications during the past five years. These findings seem to suggest that the respondents in this study used more individual styles, which have generally been accepted as the traditional working styles of men. These findings may therefore indicate that academic women in this sample have 'bought into' the notion that androcentric publishing styles are the more preferred styles for gaining access to the centers of power in the academy. These findings may also suggest that the respondents were not aware of the positive benefits of collaborative writing ventures.

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Figure 5.1.11: Total number of articles that were co-authored

Legend:
- >4
- 4
- 3
- 2
- 1
- 0
- None

Values shown: 6%, 5%, 5%, 8%, 15%, 2%, 59%
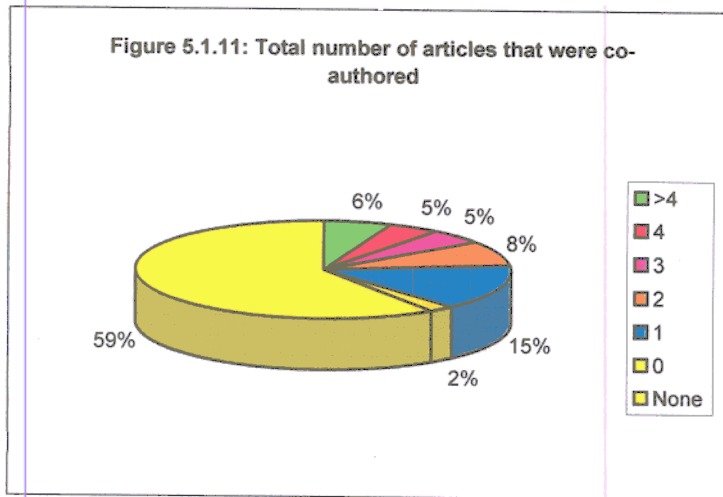
Summary

This section provided a descriptive profile of the respondents' publication records across the variables of race, academic position, discipline and institution. The findings illustrate that the historical-political legacy of apartheid continues to influence publishing in HBUs in that black respondents, who experienced the most disadvantagement of separatist education, published less than white respondents. This may be because white respondents had, on the other hand, experienced the positive effects of resourced institutions in their educational careers. The institution that was included in the least resourced category of HBUs, was found to have the lowest publication rate, which may be attributed to the lack of academic resources and its geographically isolated location. The influence of these factors too, which may be traced to its origin in the apartheid regime.

The types of journals where respondents published and the authorship styles of the respondents were also presented. The findings indicate that the respondents at associate professor and those at senior lecturer level were the most prolific in

publishing. The findings also illustrate that the majority of the respondents published in accredited journals more frequently than in any other type of academic journal. Another finding, contrary to evidence elsewhere, was that the majority of respondents used individual authorship rather than collaborative and co-authored types of authorship.

Section Two: Factors impacting on publishing

This section highlights the reported factors that influence the publication endeavours of the respondents. The findings contained in this section is classified and discussed into two broad categories, namely, institutional context ar

Institutional context

Figure 5.2.1. clearly illustrates that the majority of the respondents (93%) indicated that they felt that the institutional atmosphere played an important role in publication output of staff, with 69% stating that it played a very important role. Only 7% indicated that the institutional atmosphere was 'not important' in respect of

Figure 5.2.1.: Importance of institutional atmosphere on publication output

24%

7%

69%

- ■ Important
- ■ Not important
- □ Very important
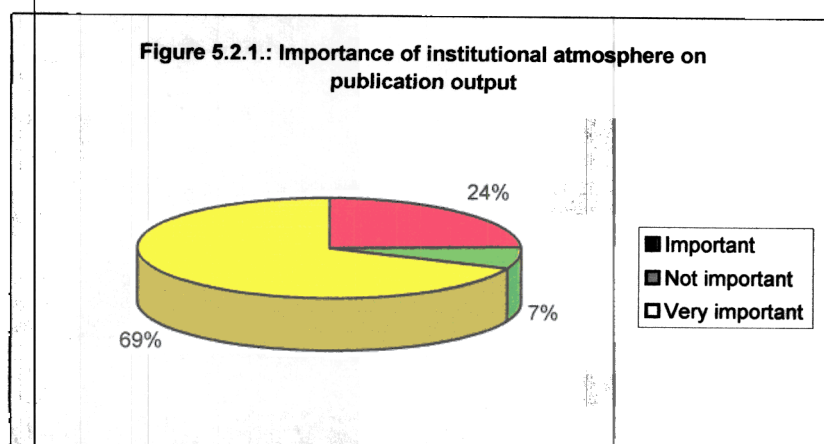
The findings of the analysis of the importance of institutional atmosphere by respondents in various academic positions, as illustrated in Figure 5.2.2., indicates that only respondents in the professor position did not regard institutional atmosphere to be 'very important'. All the respondents in associate professor positions indicated that institutional atmosphere were important. While 33%, 8% and 7% of respondents at professor, senior lecturer and lecturer level respectively, indicated that institutional atmosphere was 'not important' to publishing. These findings may be attributed to the fact that respondents in professorship level, who were found to publish less than respondents in other academic positions, did not experience the impact of institutional atmosphere on publishing, to the same extent as those in other academic positions. Another reason may be that professors may also experience the impact of the institutional context in a different manner to the respondents in the other academic positions because their positions may be interpreted to be closer to the supportive 'inner circles' as described by the literature in Aisenberg and Harrington(1988) and Lorber (1994).

Figure 5.2.2.: Influence of institutional atmosphere by respondents in various academic positions
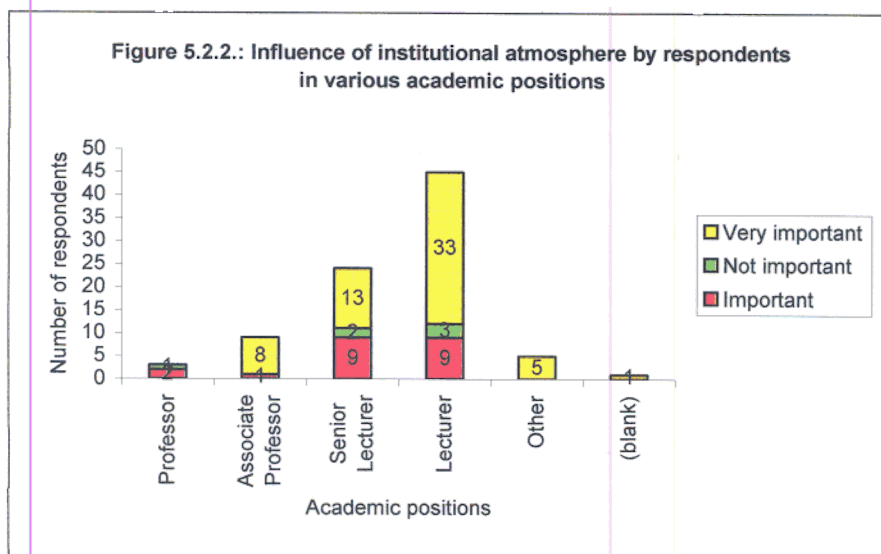
Figure 5.2.3. illustrates that the findings of the importance of the factors that may be interpreted to contribute to institutional atmosphere including workload, teaching load and administrative duties, indicate that respondents found that all of these activities tended to impede their publishing endeavours.

Figure 5.2.3: Influence of teaching duties on publishing
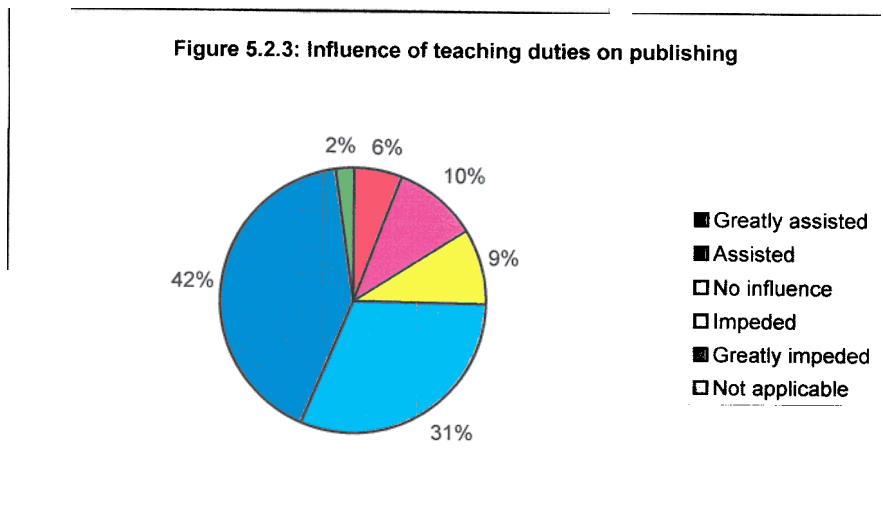
From Figure 5.2.3.,it is apparent that the majority (63%) of the respondents indicated that teaching duties 'impeded' and 'greatly impeded' their publishing endeavours, while only 9% indicated that their teaching duties 'did not influence' their publishing. On the other hand, 16% of respondents indicated that teaching duties assisted their publishing endeavours.

The findings of the cross tabulations of the level of influence of teaching duties with academic positions, illustrated by **Figure 5.2.4.**, indicates that only 8% and 4% of senior lecturers and lecturers, respectively, felt that teaching duties 'greatly assisted' their publishing endeavours. These findings were verified in the

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qualitative findings where the majority of the participants reported that heavy teaching loads often impinged on their ability to engage in publishing[23].

Figure 5.2.4: Level of influence of teaching duties by respondents in various academic positions
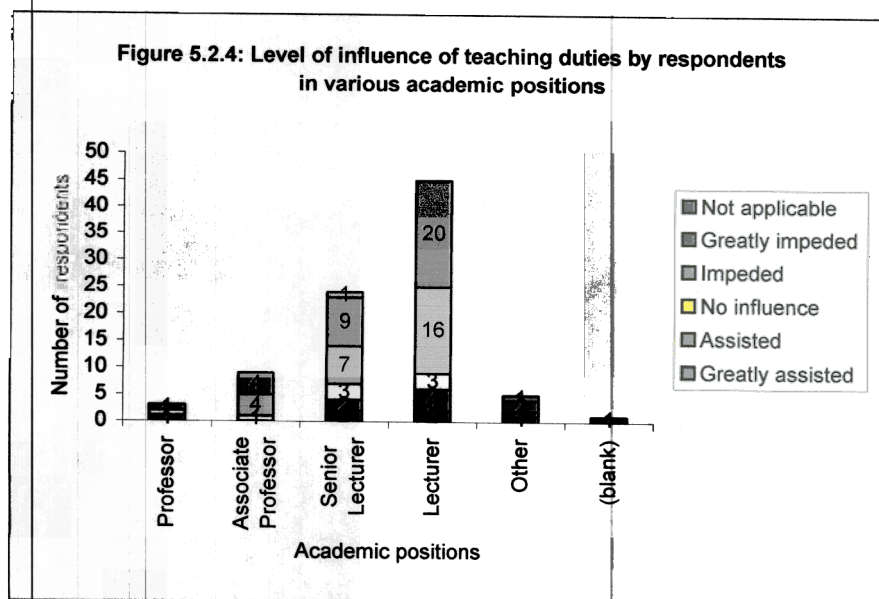
Similarly, as outlined in Figure 5.2.5.,the majority (83%)of respondents indicated that administrative duties 'impeded' and 'greatly impeded' their publishing, while only 7% indicated that administrative duties 'assisted' and 'greatly assisted' their publishing endeavours.

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[23] These findings are comprehensively presented Chapter 6.

Figure 5.2.5:Influence of administrative duties on publishing

2%   5%   2%   8%

44%

39%

- Greatly assisted
- Assisted
- No influence
- Impeded
- Greatly impeded
- Not applicable
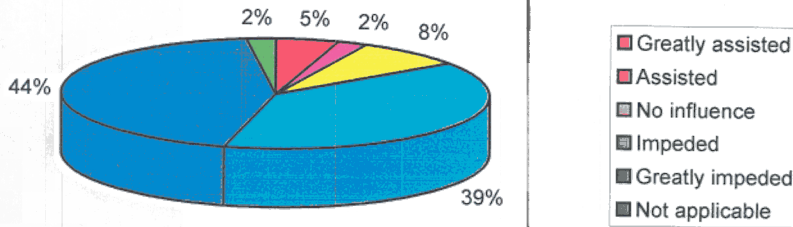
The findings of the cross tabulations of administrative duties with respondents in various positions are very similar to the findings of cross tabulations of teaching duties with respondents in various positions. The majority of respondents, across various academic positions, indicated that administrative duties impeded their publishing endeavours. (See Figure 5.2.6.).

Figure 5.2.6.: Influence of administrative duties by respondents in various academic positions

- Not applicable
- Greatly impeded
- Impeded
- No influence
- Assisted
- Greatly assisted

Number of respondents

Academic positions: Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer, Lecturer, Other, (blank)

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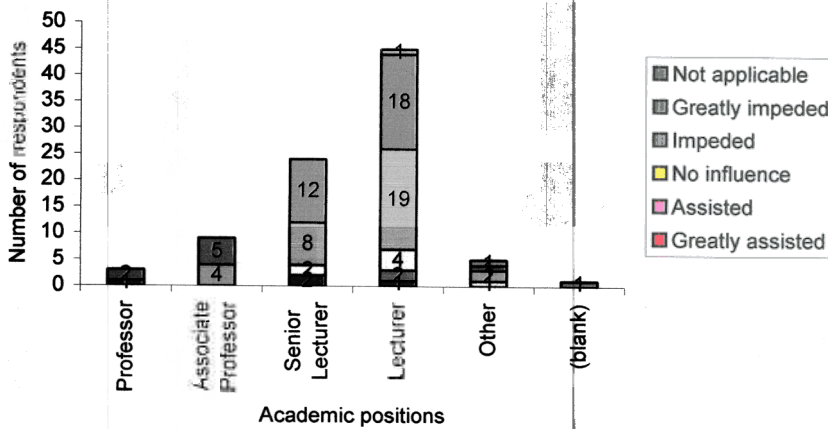
The findings indicate that no associate professors and only 33%, 8% and 2% of professors, senior lecturers and lecturers respectively, indicated that administrative duties 'greatly assisted' their publishing. These findings could be attributed to the gendered workload that women in HBUs generally experience, where 'women's work' in HBUs often constitutes many more academic activities than teaching, community outreach and publishing. Women in junior positions often experience higher teaching loads that require regular marking and have more administrative duties than their colleagues in senior positions (Eggins, 1997; Dines, 1993; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Williams, 1990). Still another reason that may be attributed to these findings is that, because there are often so few women in senior positions in academia, these senior women often have to carry very heavy administrative loads at managerial level (Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Howell et al., 2001; Morley et al., 2001; Subotzky, 2001). Yet, the senior women feel less impeded than the junior women, by administrative duties.

The majority of respondents indicated that their publishing was supported at institutional, faculty and departmental level. Interestingly, though, many respondents indicated that support institutional, faculty and departmental level had 'no influence' on publishing. The majority of the respondents (47%) indicated that they enjoyed departmental support for their publishing, while 29% of respondents reported that their departments impeded their publishing efforts. The finding also indicates that 21% indicated that the department had 'no influence' on their publishing ventures.

Figure 5.2.7: Influence of departmental support

Legend:
- Greatly assisted
- Assisted
- No influence
- Impeded
- Greatly impeded
- Not applicable
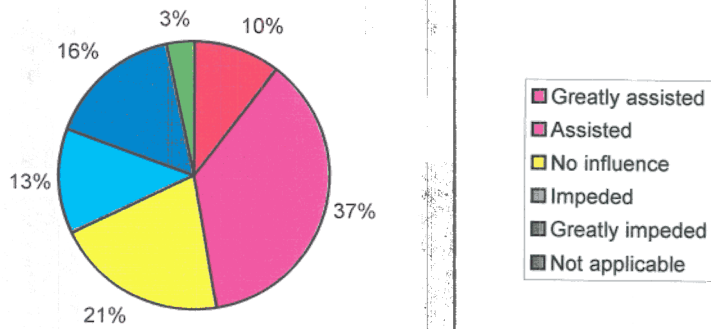
Similarly, the majority of respondents (42%) indicated that their publishing was supported at faculty level while 30% of respondents indicated that the faculty had no influence on their publishing.

Figure 5.2.8.: Influence of faculty acknowledgement

Legend:
- Greatly assisted
- Assisted
- No influence
- Impeded
- Greatly impeded
- Not applicable
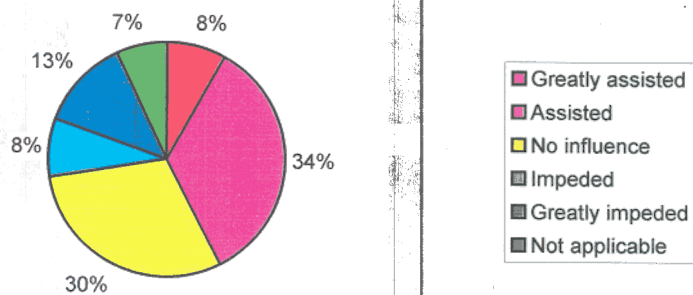
When considering the findings from the respondents' responses to the level of institutional support they had for their publishing, it is apparent that 36% of

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respondents felt that the institution supported their publishing endeavours, while 21% felt that the institution impeded their publishing endeavours. The selection of the option 'no influence' probably refers to a lack of support from the various institutional levels, this is represented in Figure 5.2.9.

Figure 5.2.9.: Influence of institutional support

Legend:
- Greatly assisted
- Assisted
- No influence
- Impeded
- Greatly impeded
- Not applicable
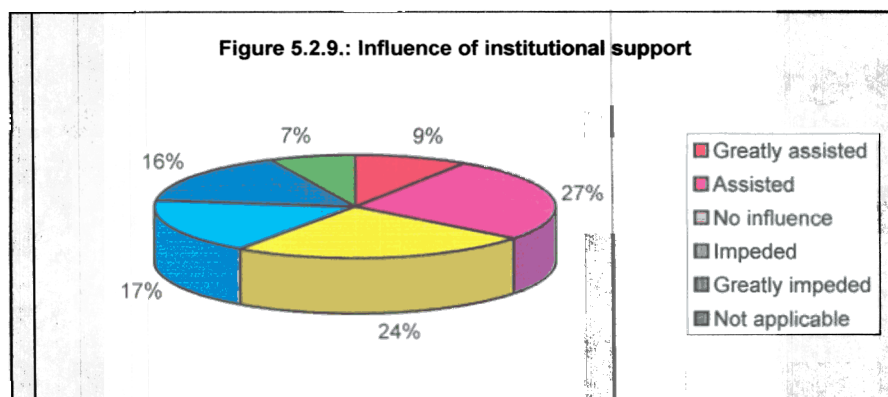
The findings relating to the respondents responses to the level of support at different levels may mean that although departmental, faculty and institutional commitments were verbally made, the reality was that respondents had heavy workloads. This may be compounded by the respondents' extensive responsibilities with regard to academic development and student counseling resulting from their socialization. Furthermore, the findings may illustrate that the deeply embedded socialization of women as nurturers and care-givers, is not easily abandoned by academic women[24].

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[24] This notion is comprehensively discussed in Chapter Six.

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From the findings to the level of influence of the gender equity office on publishing, it is evident that the majority of the respondents (57%) indicated that this office had 'no influence' on their publishing while 13% indicated that the gender equity office assisted in publishing. These findings are represented by Figure 5.2.10. These findings may be attributed to the tendency that the gender equity office, because it is often more involved in ensuring equitable employment and equitable working conditions of women, may not be directly involved in assisting women in their publishing activities. This may contribute to the finding that the most respondents did not feel that the gender equity assisted their publishing activities.

Figure 5.2.10.: Influence of the Gender Equity Unit
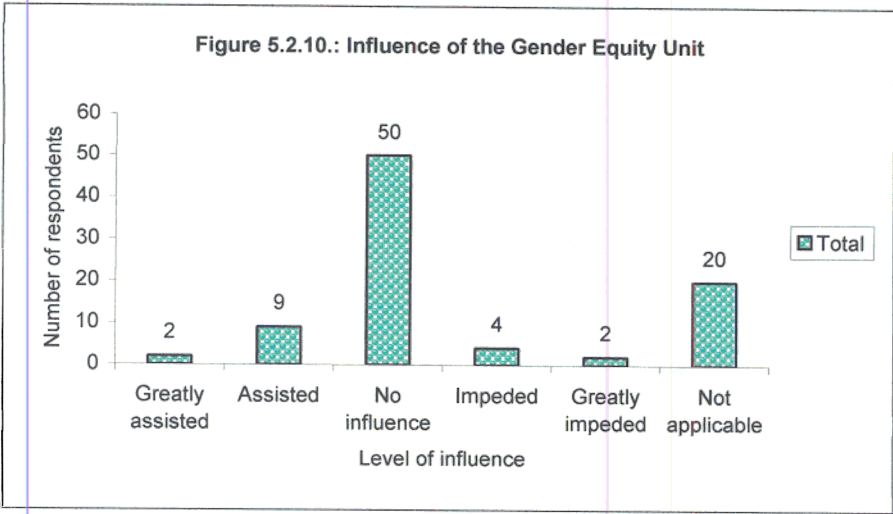
With regard to the influence on publishing by another institutional structure, namely, the Research Office, it was found that 35% of respondents indicated that this office assisted their publishing, while 32% indicated that the research office had 'no influence' on their publishing. This finding, illustrated by Figure 5.2.11, may be attributed to the respondents' experiences with the research office. These findings are reinforced the subjective reports by participants, as discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

Figure 5.2.11.: Influence of the Research Office

A bar chart titled "Figure 5.2.11.: Influence of the Research Office". The y-axis is labelled "Number of respondents" from 0 to 30. The x-axis is labelled "Level of influence" with categories: Greatly assisted (11), Assisted (19), No influence (28), Impeded (7), Greatly impeded (11), Not applicable (11). Legend shows "Total".
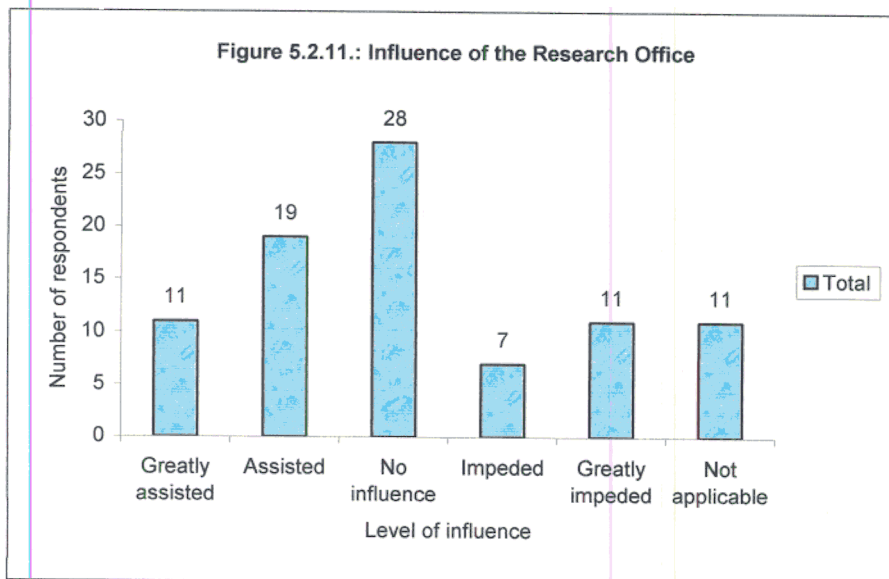
Personal context

These factors included the respondents' perceptions as to how family commitments, socialized identities such as racialized and gendered identities, race, academic rank and outside networks influenced their publishing.

Not surprisingly, reflecting on the literature, the majority of respondents (56%) indicated that their family commitments impeded their publishing endeavours as is illustrated by Figure 5.2.12. Although there have been shifts in the division of household chores in societies globally, albeit gradual ones, women continue to be responsible for the bulk of home-making and child-rearing tasks in even the most progressive societies and environments (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Crosby, 1991; Evans, 1996; Henry, 1990; Lorber, 1994; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Williams, 1990). It is clearly evident from the findings that only 13% of respondents, reported that family commitments assisted their publishing, the majority of respondents in the current study experienced the negative impact of the 'double load' as outlined in Chapter Two.

Figure 5.2.12.: Reported influence of family commitments on publishing
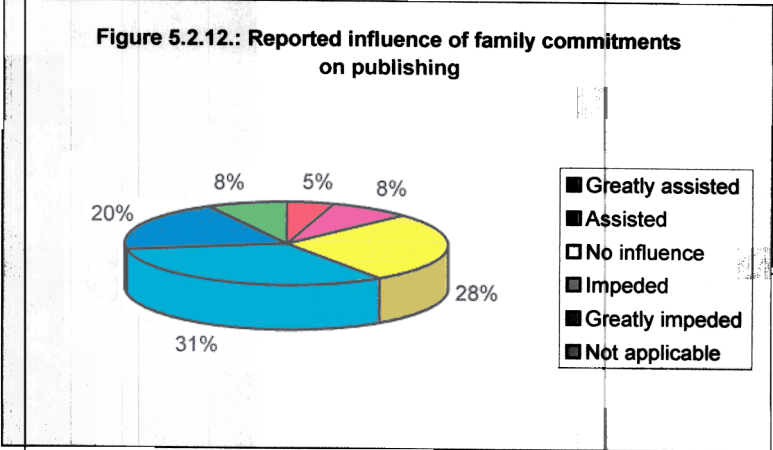
When considering the influence of race on publishing, most of the respondents (68%) reported that this was not important for them, as illustrated by Figure 5.1.13. It is noteworthy to mention at this point, that although race was not specifically mentioned by participants in the focus group discussions and in the interviews, further analysis of the qualitative reports indicate that there were differences in terms of confidence between historically different racial groupings[25]. These findings may be attributed to the general 'silence' on race in higher education as asserted by de la Rey (1997) and Thaver (2002).

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[25] These findings are elaborated on in Chapter Six of this study.

Figure 5.2.12: Importance of race on publishing endeavours

Number of respondents

Level of importance	Total
Very important	7
Important	15
Not important	59
(blank)	6
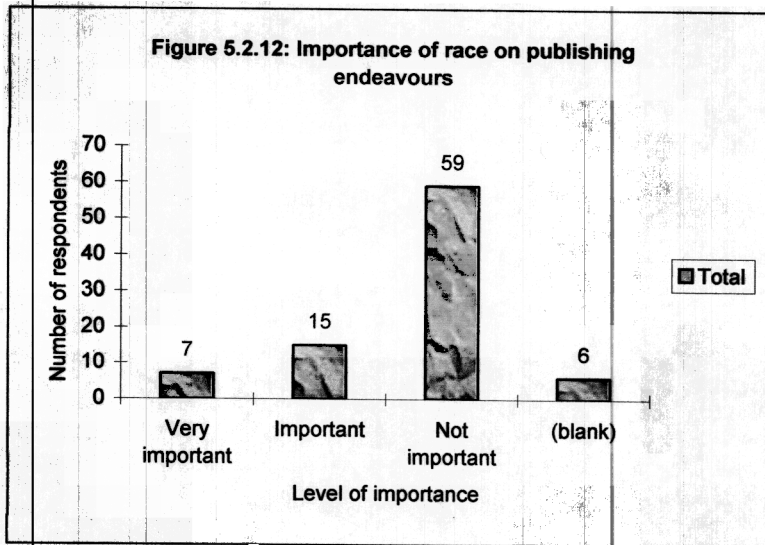
A further factor that was reported to influence the respondents' publishing endeavours, was that of academic rank. As is evident from Figure 5.2.14, most of the respondents (75%) indicated that academic position influenced their publishing endeavours while only a quarter (25%) of the respondents reported that academic position did not influence publishing.

Figure 5.2.14.: The importance of academic position

25%
33%
42%

- Very important
- Important
- Not important
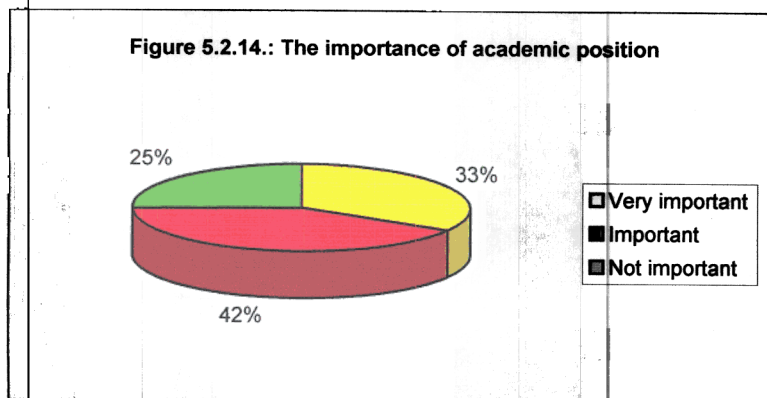
When analyzing the responses of the respondents in various academic positions, it is evident from the following diagram, Figure 5.2.15, that all professors

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considered rank to play a role in publishing. Approximately a third of respondents in professor, associate professor and senior lecturer positions indicated that rank was 'very important' to publishing, while 17% of senior lecturers reported that academic rank was 'very important'. The findings may be attributed to the retrospective perceptions of respondents in associate and professorship positions, who have progressed to these senior positions, but who have experienced the barriers to publishing in junior positions. These senior colleagues are able to report on the advantages of being in senior positions, with regard to publishing productivity. On the other hand, it may also be postulated that the responses from respondents in more senior positions, may be attributed to the 'glass ceiling' that these respondents experience in their academic careers, which may include their ability to publish.

The importance of academic position to respondents at lecturer level may illustrate the difficulties they experience in publishing because of their heavy workloads, that are often an inevitability of their junior positions. These findings may also indicate that lecturers perceive the publishing endeavours of senior colleagues to be more keenly supported, than their own, because of their senior positions, which often include more access to resources and lower teaching loads. Often this assumption is influenced by the perception that women in senior positions do not carry as much of the undergraduate teaching load as do the more junior academic women. As mentioned earlier senior women are often more involved in managerial and co-ordination responsibilities than in teaching. This is not to say, that senior women work less. In the South African context, the dearth of women in senior positions results in these women having greater responsibilities and with fewer role models and mentors (Potgieter & Moleko, 2002). Senior women also acknowledged that the seniority of their positions allowed their expertise and opinions to be exposed and thus drawn on, more than was the case when they were in junior positions.

Figure 5.2.15.: The importance of academic position to respondents in various academic positions
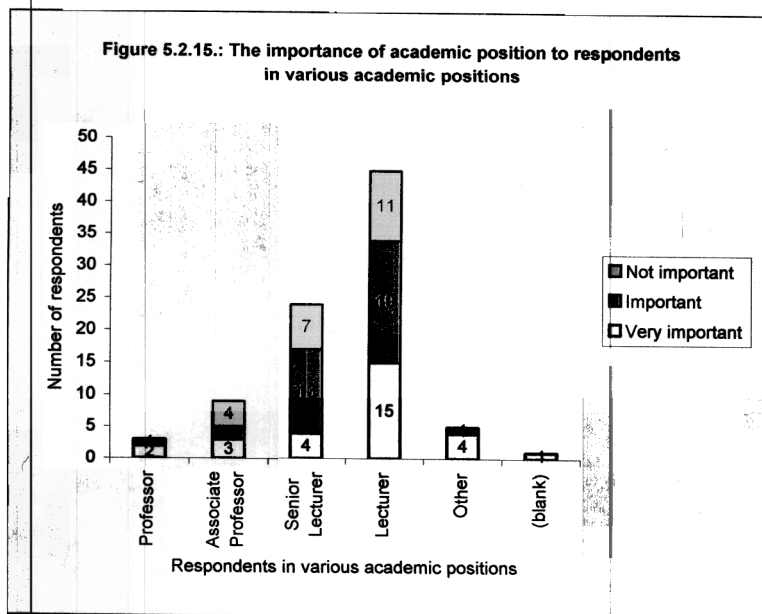
Figure 5.2.16 illustrates that most of the respondents (63%) indicated that they gained support for their publishing endeavours from networks that were outside the boundaries of their institutions. A mere 10% indicated that outside networks impeded their publishing endevours. Many professional boards have criteria for membership which include publishing and/or presentation of papers at conferences. These activities often provide the incentive to publish for continued membership. These findings are reinforced by reports in the interviews and focus gro

Figure 5.2.16: The influence of outside networks
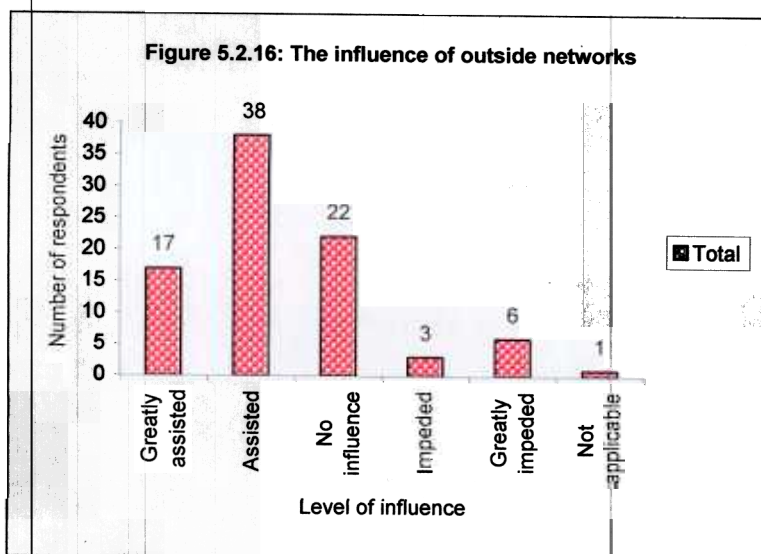
This section of the chapter presented the reported factors that influenced the publishing endevours of respondents. From the responses it is clear that many of the respondents feel that departments, faculties and institutional structures could do more to support their publishing endeavours.

On a personal level, respondents indicated that family commitments and academic position played a major role in publishing abilities. The majority of respondents reported that 'race' did not influence their publishing and that outside networks assisted their publishing productivity.

Section Three: Subjective perceptions publishing output and need for interventions

This section of the chapter presents the findings of the subjective reports of firstly, the respondents' level of satisfaction with their publications records and secondly, their perceived needs for interventions.

The findings of publication rates and the expressed need for interventions are analyzed across different academic positions and racial groupings. As was previously mentioned, the apartheid racial categories remain salient to the development of intervention strategies.

Subjective perceptions of publishing output

From Figure 5.3.1. it is evident that the majority of respondents were not content with their current publishing output, while only 16% of respondents reported that they were satisfied with their publishing output.

Figure 5.3.1.: Levels of satisfaction with publication output
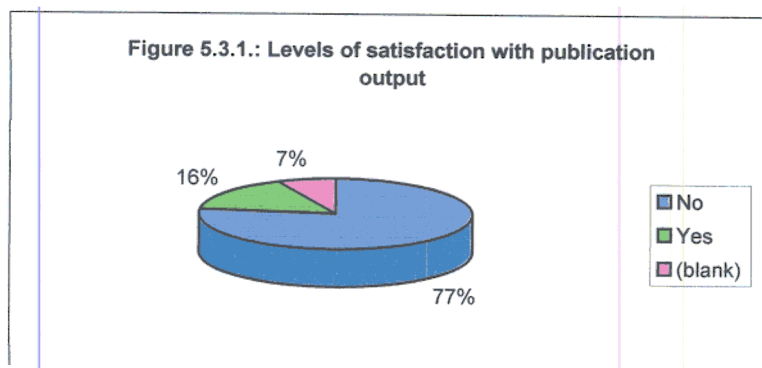
These findings are not surprising, given the relatively low publication records of the majority of the respondents, as only 22% of the respondents had published more than 6 articles during the last five years.

When cross-tabulating the subjective levels of satisfaction with academic positions, the findings indicate that the highest level of satisfaction (29%) was in the senior lecturer position; compared with the 11% of lecturers who indicated that they were satisfied with the publishing. As is evident from Figure 5.3.2., all the respondents at the professorial level, indicated that they were dissatisfied with their publishing output.

Figure 5.3.2.: Level of satisfaction with publication output across different academic positions
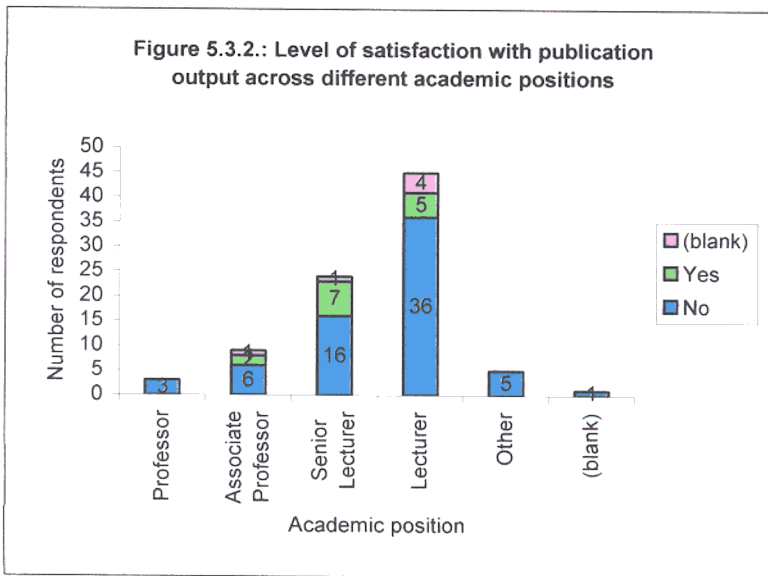
The findings presented in Section One, of this Chapter, illustrated that lecturers and professors had the lowest publishing outputs. In these two academic positions, 66% and 77% of professors and lecturers, respectively, indicated that they had published a maximum of two articles during the last five years. This may contribute to the findings that respondents in these two academic positions were the least satisfied with their publication output. Professors may be heavily involved in co-ordination and managerial responsibilities and thus may experience time as a barrier to their publishing abilities. Lecturers, on the other hand, are often more involved with teaching and committee work, which may impinge on their time to publish.

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As expected, when cross-tabulating the respondents' numbers of publications with their reported level of satisfaction, it is apparent from Figure 5.3.3., that the majority (90%) of respondents who had published a maximum of two articles were dissatisfied with their publication records. Twelve percent of respondents who had published between 3 and 5 articles were satisfied with their publishing output, while half of the respondents who had published between 6 and 10 articles during the last five years were satisfied with their publication records. Also interesting to note, is that 29% of respondents who had published more than 10 articles were dissatisfied with their publishing activities. This highlights the fact that even those respondents who had published relatively frequently, still do not feel that they are reaching their goals

Figure 5.3.3.: Level of satisfaction with publishing output by respondents with various numbers of publications
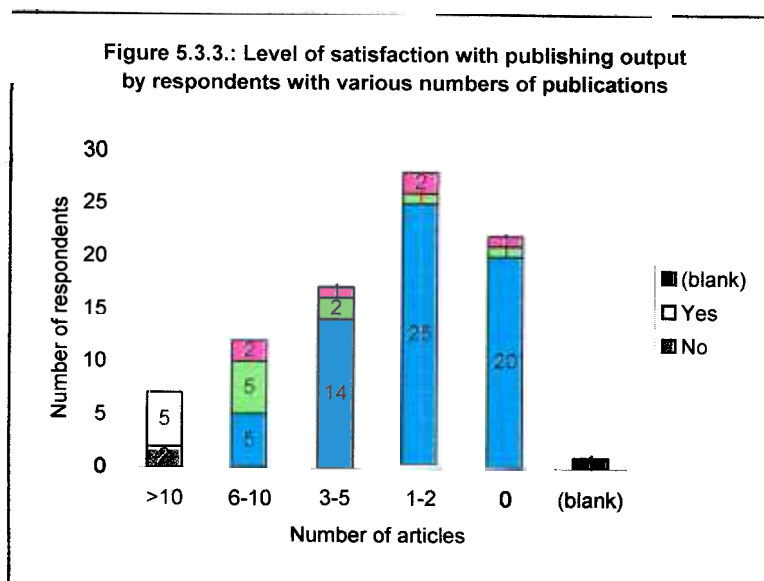
Bearing in mind the skewedness of the sample, with regard to the racial composition, it was interesting to note the differences in levels of satisfaction of respondents across the various racial groupings. Given that white respondents had the highest publication output when compared to the other racial groupings, it was to be expected that white respondents exhibited the highest levels of satisfaction with their publishing activities. This did follow such a trend, with 29% of white respondents reporting that they were satisfied with their publication

records. This level of satisfaction was considerably higher than the levels of satisfaction with publishing activities reported by respondents in the other racial categories who indicated satisfaction levels ranging from 5% to 13%, as illustrated by Figure 5.3.4.

Figure 5.3.4.: Level of satisfaction with publishing across racial groupings
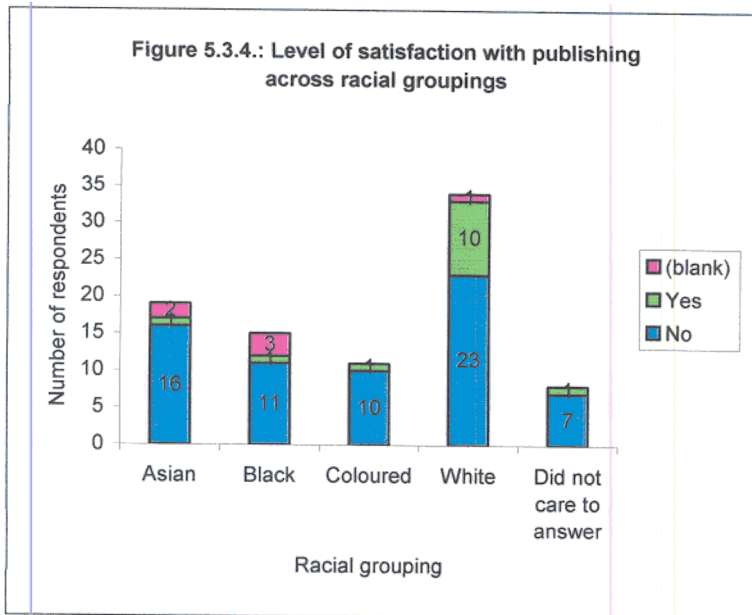
The levels of satisfaction with publication output, seem to suggest that the remnants of the apartheid legacy of separatist education continues to beleaguer the academic activities of respondents who came through the educationally disadvantaged institutions of South African society. It is also apparent that the respondents in junior positions perceived their publishing activities to be deficient. Given these subjective reports, it is arguable that respondents are not content with their engagement in this academic activity, which is a major promotion criterion.

Perceived needs for interventions

The majority (62%) of respondents expressed the need for training in publication skills as is illustrated by Figure 5.3.5.

Figure 5.3.5.: Perceptions of need for training in publication skills
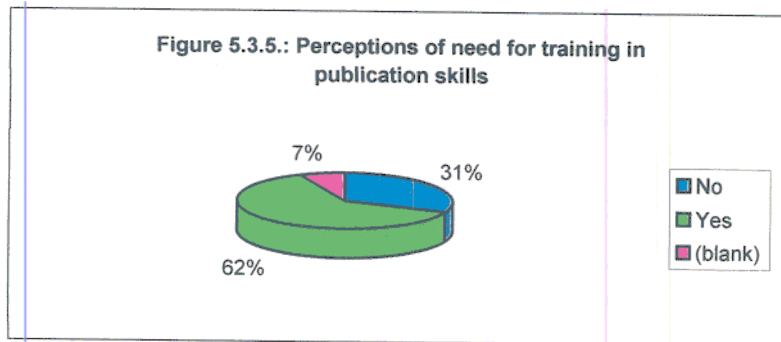
These findings, which are similar to the findings of the levels of satisfaction with publication records, could mean that respondents feel that training in publishing skills would assist them in their publishing endeavours and enable them to publish more regularly. Consequently, more publications would increase their levels of satisfaction with their publishing records. These findings may also be interpreted as an expressed need for institutionalized staff development programmes which may include training in publication skills. Subotzky (2001) asserts that there is a dire need for institutionalized staff development programmes, especially at HBUs, to assist academic women to be promoted to senior positions.

When considering the perceptions of the need for interventions of respondents across various academic positions, it is clear from Figure 5.3.6., that many of the respondents that were found to be the most prolific publishers, namely senior lecturers and associate professors, reported that they did not need training for publishing. On the other hand, approximately 68% of respondents who published the least and were located in positions of lecturers and professors, indicated that they required training in publishing skills. According to the respondents publication skills are related to their current inadequacies publishing and there appears to be an expectation that publication skills training will accelerate their publications.

Figure 5.3.6.: Participants' perception of need for interventions across academic positions
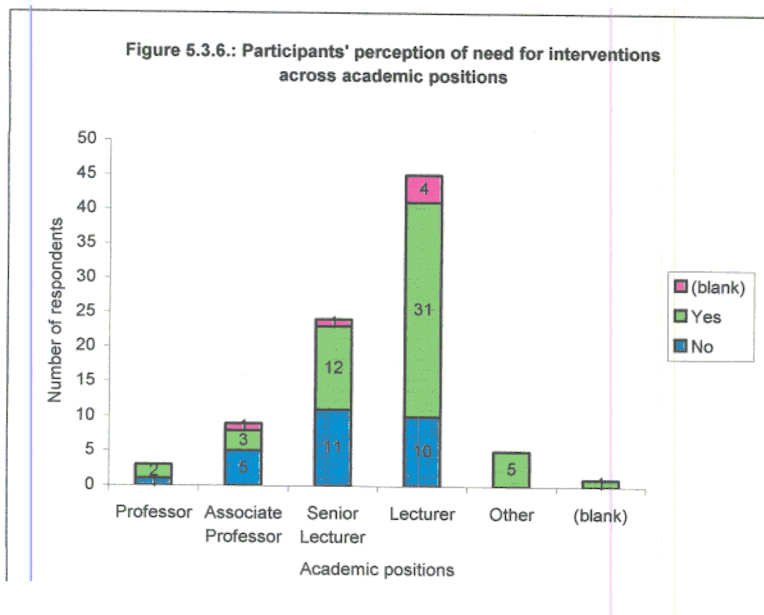
These findings are also substantiated when the expressed need for training is analyzed across the various numbers of publications. From Figure 5.3.7, it is evident that all the respondents who had produced over the past five years indicated the need for training, while the majority of respondents who had between 1 and 10 articles also reported a need for training. It is therefore apparent that there is a strong association between low publications and the need for training. Interestingly, 43% of respondents who had published more than 10 articles, expressed the need for training in publication skills. This may be interpreted as the respondents' willingness to engage in producing more articles than their current publication records.

Figure 5.3.7.: Expressed need for training by respondent with various numbers of publications
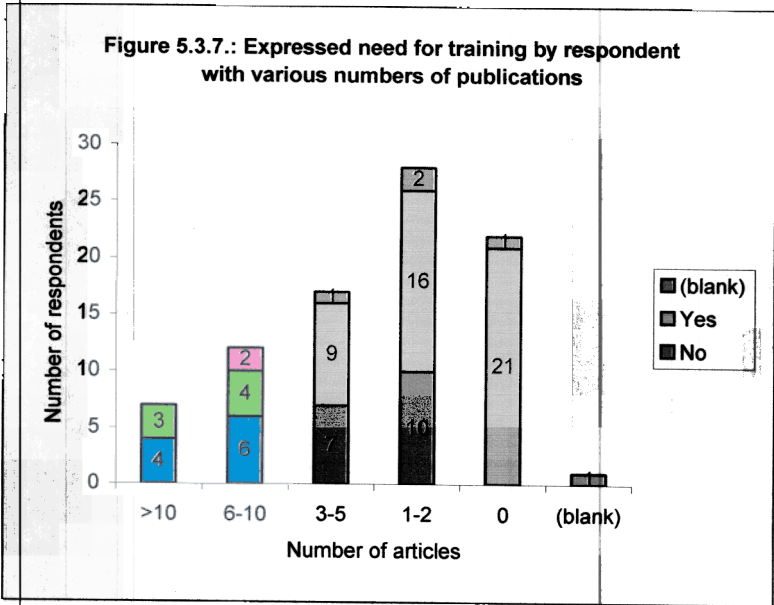
The analysis of the cross-tabulation of racial grouping with the expressed need for training indicated that all the black respondents indicated that they required training in publication skills. Forty four percent of white, 16% Asian, 36% coloured respondents indicated that they did not require training in publication s

Figure 5.3.8.: Expressed need for training across racial groupings

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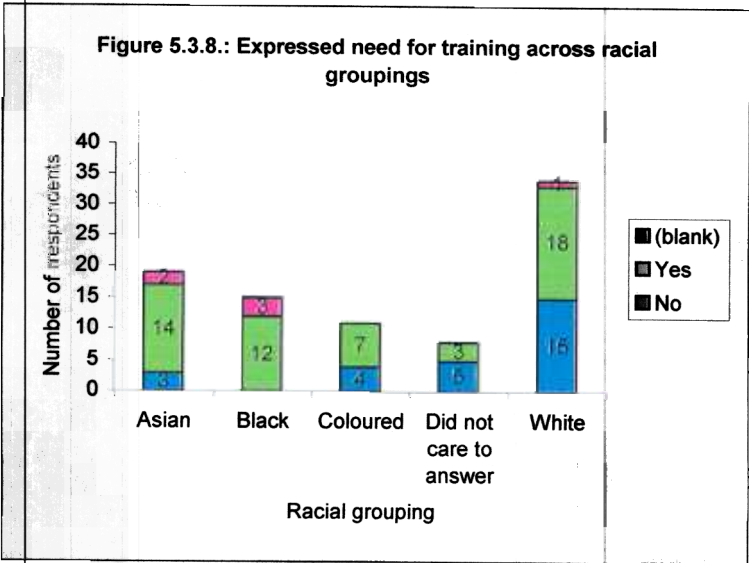
As discussed in an earlier chapter, the **strong** indication of the need for training as reported by the black respondents **may be** indicative of the statement made by Mamphele (1998,p. 95) which refers to:

> The lack of writing culture of black South Africans....
> especially women, who experienced various forms of
> oppression and marginalization in patriarchal society in the
> apartheid regime... who did not **have** to write, and seldom
> had a public platform to speak from, let alone write....

Summary

This section of the chapter presented the findings of the respondents' subjective perceptions of their publication records and needs for interventions. The findings illustrate strong associations between low publication records, levels of satisfaction and expressed need for training. The findings confirm the expectation that the lower the publication record, the lower the perception of satisfaction with publishing activities and the more the **desired** need for training. Clear differences in stated need for training emerge across both racial and occupational categories.

As stated earlier, Chapter Five presents a purely descriptive picture of the quantitative data. It will become evident that this picture provides a backdrop to the in-depth subjective experiences of participants, as presented in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX: BARRIERS TO PUBLISHING

This chapter provides comprehensive accounts of the reported barriers to publishing as elaborated by the participants. The bulk of the data was obtained from the focus groups and the interviews that were conducted at the selected HBUs. A small portion of the data is also based on responses to the open-ended questions on the questionnaire.

The chapter will be presented in two broad sections. The first section deals with the participants' reported barriers to publishing on a personal level: this will include the discussions on the perceptions of participants with their 'double load' and the difficulties they experience in 'juggling' their roles. The next section of the chapter deals with the participants' reports on the barriers to their publishing that they experience at the institutional level.

The qualitative analysis was conducted using the headings presented in the literature as well as thematic analysis. As mentioned in Chapter Five, some of the challenges I was presented with were the development of discrete themes in the light of the multiple overlapping of responses within into the themes. This was often because, as illustrated, the categorization of ideas intersected between themes. For example, excerpts used to illustrate participants' difficulties with their 'double load', may also reflect the participants' reports on barriers which they experience with their heavy workloads. Ultimately, the development of particular themes is an arbitrary one and in the lived realities of participants, it is evident that distinguishing particular experiences into a singular theme, was not always possible.

Personal barriers to publications as reported by participants

Many of the participants referred to the ways in which circumstances in their personal, interpersonal and social lives create barriers to their publishing on a personal level.

These include contexts such as their domestic situations and their social identities of being women and/or black.

Experiencing the 'double load'

The participants referred to the ways in which their 'double load' impedes on their publishing endeavours. As elaborated in Chapter Three, the 'double load' was coined in the early days of the second wave of feminism, as a means of explaining women's multiple roles in the home as well as in the workplace; as wives, mothers and workers (Aisenberg & Harrington,1988; Blackstone & Fulton,1975; Crosby, 1991; Henry, 1990; Lorber, 1994; Park, 1996; Thomas, 1990; Welch,1990). Although there have been gradual changes towards gender equity, in the workplace and outside, women are still primarily responsible for child rearing and home making (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Lorber, 1994; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001). Participants' experiences hinge around the impact of the 'double load' . They particularly raised issues about the lack of time to publish, given the multiple demands on women's time. The following quotation highlights the dynamics of the 'double load' in this participant's experience. This is further complicated by her multiple work load as she takes on extra work for financial need[26]:

> ....I think the most important challenge for me, is **time.**
> Because, on a personal level, I have **a family and my**
> **children are quite young and they make demands on me**
> **at anytime.** To publish, you need a very set amount of time,
> undisturbed. I mean, **probably the single most inhibiting**
> **factor for me, on a personal level, is time,** because I have
> to juggle my job, and I have three kids and having to run a
> home and that kind of thing. **And teaching, a full teaching**
> **load. So often I just run out of time.** Where I would
> **normally have quiet time to spend on stuff like that, it's**
> **taken up by trotting around with kids.** I'm trying to finish
> my PhD and I'm really labouring through it. **Because it's**

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[26] See Appendix Three for the coding conventions used in the quotations.

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just a matter of time, all the time. I'm having to do private work at night as well, to supplement our income, because the school fees are so high. I run a private business where I do teaching at night as well. (Int,2).

Many participants referred to the ways in which they experienced difficulties when juggling their academic and family responsibilities. This often impacted negatively on their ability to publish. Academic women, because of traditional patriarchal values, appear to be more involved in the home, and experience more 'juggling' demands than their male counterparts. This type of conflict frequently causes more physical and emotional exhaustion in women than in men (Acker, 1992; Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Blackstone & Fulton, 1975; Crosby, 1991; Morley *et al.*, 2001; Subotzky, 2001; Thomas, 1990, Welch, 1990). The following excerpts provide an indication of the ways in which the participants construct these 'juggling' experiences as an added burden which centers on their identities as academic women, wives and mothers:

I think that being a woman academic is a challenge on its own! Especially if one thinks of married women with children. **Women, I think have more commitments!** Especially if they have children. **I always find it [the work] goes on and on.** Personally, I think, if one wants to work, you start work at 22h00 in the evening, [because],that's when you have time. That's when I have my time to start my work. After my day's work! (Int,9).

The participants reported on the difficulty they experience in their 'double load', because of the deeply ingrained socialization of women as nurturers. What also emerges, is the notion of the 'choice' that women often have to make between home and work. As one reflects on the literature on the 'double load' (Acker, 1990; Lerner, 1992, Park, 1996; Smulders, 1998; Thomas, 1990; Williams, 2000), many participants made reference to the difficulty they experienced when having to 'choose' between work and family commitments, and how very often family responsibilities took priority over professional work and careers. Often the 'double

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load' is not problematized as an association of the home with its power dynamics and therefore this aspect is ignored or fails to be recognized as an androcentric expression of authority (McDowell, 2002).

> ... The big challenge is **juggling roles**. It's the fact that a woman is on top of her career or in addition to her career, has a lot of other responsibilities, domestic and/or caring either for one's own siblings or an extended family. I sometimes think, [sighs], in quite an angry way, that **men are so fortunate** that they can go home, and eat and go into a little study and close the doors and sit down and work. **Whereas women are busy, non-stop.** When you get home at five o' clock in the afternoon, that's when your other job starts. **So that's the big thing.** I think **most women academics manage to juggle their roles** and to find shortcuts in domestic things and so on to make time. **But it is an extra burden, a sacrifice!** There's something that you have to give up. **Your family and your home comes first**, and you give up on friends or personal outside pursuits, or other things that would help to balance your life. **I think it's very much a time-constraint on a personal level.** If I had **ways of making my domestic life easier**, I could gain time there. **The more domestic support that there is, the more it frees up one's time** to focus on projects or publishing. I think another thing, which I don't think I ever verbalized and is coming up quite strongly for me now, is that some **women sometimes make choices between their career and children.** But I think for women, if you have children, it's very **difficult to put your work before your children.** (Int,7).

This argument is supported by de la Rey (2002) who argues that because of marriage, child bearing and child rearing, academic women may often be regarded as 'late entrants and late achievers' in academia. This phenomenon reflects the deeply entrenched and gendered socialization of women.

Furthermore, it appears that some women participants still face male partners' resistance to their success outside the home:

> ..... Some **men are better off than women**. If women are married and maybe try to work harder and have more

academic achievements, most of the men won't like it. (FG,2).

The quotations illustrate the difficulty academic women experience in juggling the multiplicity of their tasks and responsibilities. The intersection of class and economic factors with the 'double load' of home and work is also evident in the quotation above. The lack of domestic support from husbands/partners or other support in the home exacerbates the pressures facing women academics. The choice between home and work does not appear to be one facing male academics, yet according to these participants, being an 'academic mother' implies a compromise, a choice, in which one of her roles, either mother or academic, or both, will be compromised. This also illustrates the gendered nature of careers and the ways in which academic women, regarded as 'other' and 'outsiders' may have to subscribe to the norms of academia which are often guided by androcentric principles (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Evans, 1984). These sentiments may be analyzed in terms of the dominant construction of femininity, which because it is so deeply embedded in the socialization process, is often overlooked. The acknowledgement of gendered organizational structures and the impact of the ways in which they define power for themselves, assists in the analysis and identification of the barriers that women experience in the workplace (Agacinski, 2000; Groshev, 2002, Miller, 2002).

The impact of gendered identities on the publication output of academic women

As elaborated earlier, academic women often have career paths that differ significantly from those of male academics. These differences are manifested by ways in which the careers of women may be interrupted by reproduction and child rearing (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Lorber,1994; Welch, 1990). This frequently results in women being retained in junior positions for extended periods of time. Consequently, they remain in positions where the workloads and administrative duties generally take precedence over research and publication. These conditions clearly perpetuate the

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cycle of women's positions in the academy (Acker, 1990; Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bagilhole, 2000; Bem, 1993; Morley et al., 2001; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001). De la Rey (2002) also comments how academic women's careers are influenced by childbearing, child rearing and domestic responsibilities. As a consequence women's careers do not predominantly follow the anticipated pattern of uninterrupted service that contributes to promotions. Important to this notion is the understanding of the definition of career[27].

Participants reported on the ways in which academic women adapt their careers to accommodate the social expectations of women as primarily focussed on their families. Women may feel guilty about having to work (Crosby, 1991; Lorber, 1994; Welch, 1990) and thus succumb to subtle socially coerced expectations which oblige them to focus on family and home care responsibilities when they are not at work (Bagilhole, 2000; Henry, 1990; Park, 1996; Williams, 2000). The traditional patriarchal values, which play themselves out in the 'private/public divide in which women are expected to be responsible for homemaking and child rearing, are illustrated in the following excerpts:

> ....mother and wife. There are **too many responsibilities** that you are left with and [you have] very **little time to do research**. You **can't even come and [work] in the office over the weekend** because that's when you are supposed to do the job with your family. **But men can do it!** They can spend **two extra hours in the office in the evening**. They can even go and do it over the week-end. (FG, 1).

> ...I suppose with women [it's] the commitment. You have **less advantage** than the males because you've got **to go home and cook and sort out the child's home work**. Do the running around, shopping and so on. Women also get time off for pregnancies. In order to get back into your studies, for example, it **takes that whole period** of about two years. When you have two or three children, this time increases in years. [It takes about] three or four years,that **you miss out** on, before getting back to your studies.(Int, 3).

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[27] This discussion in dealt with in Chapter Three.

Here participants report on the ways in which they had to make conscious 'mind shifts' in their academic activities, in order to advance their academic careers. These quotations also reflect the strongly embedded socialization of women as nurturers and the powerful ways in which the 'mommy track' impacts on their careers.

Furthermore, participants realized that what they did in their academic work as 'second nature', (in terms of student counselling and teaching activities), was not assisting them in claiming their 'academic validation'. These 'other' academic activities rarely carry any weight for promotion in academic careers (Acker, 1990; Bagilhole, 2000; Evans, 1996; Kaufman, 1978; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001). Participants spoke of a conscious choice when having to focus on their own promotion and academic development, implying that some of the other aspects of their 'natural' mode of being, are compromised in such a pursuit. The following excerpts provide an indication of the ways in which participants report that they consciously 'diverted' from their 'natural' course in pursuit of promotion in their academic careers:

> At this stage, I've **started to focus on my CV**, because I know my **CV is standing still**. So I **had to make a choice**. **Either, focus** on the publications and, as they say, publish or perish, or see what **else I can do to advance my career**. So, **I've enrolled in part-time studies in doing a business degree**. So, it should broaden the CV and in this way, I do get publications. (Int,8).

> **Slowly I started realizing** that I need to look at my own **professional development as well**. It was **very much a kind of moral question**. It was like **making a [conscious] choice**. (Int, 6).

Some participants found that while they were quite content with teaching and counselling which came naturally to them, they gradually realized that their colleagues were engaging in professional development and overtaking them.

These colleagues pursued other academic activities which were not necessarily more time-consuming, but carried more weight in promotion criteria:

> **It's a slow realization that your CV is stagnating and you don't often get to see the CV of other staff members that have the same amount of experience as you.** You see how **theirs has grown, [but] yours has not.** I love teaching, and I love research. But when you teach, I think, your focus is more on teaching 110%. **You would be happy with doing your teaching to the best of your ability.** Because you don't have pressure on the research and publishing side,[in this institution], it's easy to keep away from this activity. And you feel proud of teaching well, **but you also don't get recognition for that [teaching]**, so that's the catch 22. It is very difficult for me now. I **still can't accept that I must be happy with [teaching] for 80%. And spend that other 20% on the things that matter.** So that the **difficulty with loving teaching is, that it is a priority for you and that, for you, is what makes a difference! Unfortunately,for teaching, you don't get recognition. Except, your own personal satisfaction.**
> (Int,8).

From these discussions, it is clear that these participants tended to be more involved in the teaching component of the academic project in the institutions where they work. Women appear to have to make a conscious decision for a career trajectory. The reports highlight the way in which such decisions frequently reflect deliberate and conscious choices between teaching and professional development for themselves.

The following excerpts further serve to indicate that women often experience difficulty disentangling and distinguishing their personal socialized roles and academic roles, and how what comes 'naturally' to women, (that is, what is central in their social and personal identities), does not 'fit' well with what is 'natural' and normative in academic roles . A central aspect that academic women have to contend with on the personal level is their reproductive role. Expectations and pressures around women's reproduction may result in women losing focus in their academic careers in order to fulfil

these social expectations. The following quotation illustrates one of the ways in which academic women's careers are affected by the traditional values relating to 'successful' femininity which still appear to hinge around reproductivity:

> I started having family planning problems [and] all those kinds of things. [Then] I discovered **was pregnant**. Soon after, **miscarried**. ... I'm mentioning these things, because they're realities of women... Then after a couple of months, another pregnancy and another miscarriage. Soon after that, *infertility, nothing happened! [I developed] depression.* Everything was **focused on family planning**. Every day [was] consumed with **how am I going to have a baby?** Society's pressures, questions, such as 'how you planning?, and what are you planning?' In other words, **your attention shifts from [your work] to the social roles:** I'm an academic; I'm a mother trying to have children; I'm a woman without children ! In other words, your whole focus [shifts]. You **start looking at identity issues** [like] 'Who are you? What is most important in your life?' [Then] I decided to take leave. I thought I'm going to **take six months out and give myself a break, a mental break from everything. Take all the pressure off. No publications. No research. No teaching.** I'm just going to sit at home and read at my leisure, and pull myself back up. What **I'm saying is, just the consciousness of what women are expected to do, regardless. You are expected to keep [up and]** push yourself. And then I literally deregistered from my PhD. My academic career was built around my family planning circumstance. And of course, in terms of the family planning thing, big pressure was off my shoulders [when I de-registered]. Once I eventually **had the** big stomach, it felt like *'I'm now a **normal woman'. Validated!*** (Int,6).

This excerpt reflects arguments in the literature about women's socialization to be wives and mothers, and how social expectations and traditional values with regard to reproductive and nurturing roles, often take precedence over work commitments and responsibilities (Bem, 1993; Lorber, 1994). Clearly, for this participant at any rate, the power of social expectations around being a woman and a mother, impacted negatively on her academic career. De la Rey (2002) refers to the choices academic women make with regard to starting their families. She argues

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that whether early or late, reproductive roles often result in women being 'late starters and late achievers' in academia

Self-confidence with publishing

The responses from the participants indicated that self confidence played a central role in the participants' relationship with publishing. Interestingly, although none of the participants directly addressed the issue of race with regard to publishing, further analysis of the responses revealed that self-confidence with regard to publishing appeared to be racialized. This was evident from the stark difference in the levels of confidence (in relation to publishing) between black and white participants. For the most part, white participants were found to be relatively confident with regard to publishing. Many white participants reported that the lack of time was more problematic to their publishing endeavours than the levels of confidence. A few excerpts to illustrate responses from white respondents are:

> ...[draws a breath]... Look! **It's not difficult to publish** anything. If you produce an article and you send it off, it's **not difficult to publish.** You don't have to go through anybody. I just go to international journals. I've been sending articles to various journals. So **it's simple! Click on file and e-mail it through** to them.

> ...For me, I **don't have a technical problem, or problems with how to write or anything like that**, or what to do ! I've **got bottles of unnamed species that I must just describe.** No, **I don't have a problem with that. For me, definitely, it's time.** Time, and as I say, a little bit of equipment, infrastructure and things like that, but those are not major obstacles.

A further quotation illustrates the level of confidence in academia of a white respondent who is also relatively young. She did not have any teaching experience in academia before the current position, which she has

occupied for the past three years:

> ...I've got **a lot of energy. I think I am quite bright.** By the
> end of the year I **might get a couple of publications out.
> It will be a nice by-product.** And I wasn't even trying to
> publish, it was like my normal work. And **it's actually that
> easy.**

On the other hand, all the black participants, at some stage of the
interview or focus group discussion, referred to their lack of confidence in
publishing and their need for training in the development of publication skills. This
finding is consistent with the findings in the quantitative data, where all the black
respondents indicated that they required training in publication skills. The following
statements reveal how daunting the task of publishing is to many of
the black academic women

> ...Oh no, I **don't have confidence in publishing!
> Definitely not!** I think, maybe for me, **it's the writing**
> [laughs].

> ...**we don't have confidence.** We don't believe in
> ourselves.

Some black participants acknowledged that, although they sometimes do write on their
own, they admitted that they felt that they needed assurance and guidance in this
academic endeavour. The following quotations illustrate this:

> ....I mean, **all of us have ideas.** You have all these projects.
> We've all **written five or six of them somewhere along the
> line, and then you think, 'Why should I? Is it really good
> enough?'** Honestly, we've all written something. It **could be
> the lack of confidence** or because we want to be perfect.

> ...It really **boils down to a lack of confidence. We need to
> be given a sort of green light every step of the way...** a
> push and a little urge.

Black participants clearly experience a lack of confidence in publishing,

and report that this is a major barrier to their publication endeavours. When one observes some of the differences in responses between white and black academic women, it becomes clear that the findings of this study concurs with literature relating to the limited publishing activities of black South African women (Fester, 2000; Guzana, 2000; Mama, 2000; Prinsloo, 1999). The lack of confidence reported by black participants may be attributed to their experience as students in HBUs, where the primary focus of the academic project in these institutions was traditionally geared to teaching and community development rather than to research and publications. Furthermore, an additional contributor to the lack of confidence of black participants may be that HBUs seldom have institutionalised staff development programmes to assist in the development of research and publication skills of staff (Subotzky, 2001).

Personal dilemmas of publishing

It was evident that participants viewed publishing as valuable not only in personal terms, but also in terms of the struggle for gender equality. Academic women, because they are often in the lowest academic positions in academic institutions, have relatively heavy teaching loads, more administrative duties and are usually more involved in student counselling and academic development. The participants reported that the intensity and regularity of these responsibilities left the participants with limited time for research and publishing. Because these activities did not count as much towards promotion as publishing did, participants reported that they found it difficult to progress on the hierarchical ladder. This cyclical nature of academic women's retention in junior positions is often the reason that women remain at the peripheries of the research and publication enterprises of institutions (Acker & Feuerverger, 1996; Harper *et al.*, 2001; Morley *et al.*, 2001; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001). This cycle serves to maintain gendered power, given that the management and decision-making positions

are still predominantly dominated by males, thus androcentric cultures continue to exist in academia (Bagilhole, 2000; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001). Publishing was found to be an area of ambivalence for some participants in that, although they recognized the importance of publishing as a promotion criterion, they often questioned the 'weight' of publications in the light of historical and political context of HBUs. As highlighted, these institutions have had different academic agendas when compared with HWUs.

Traditionally, there was a heavy emphasis on teaching and student development at HBUs because of the historical and political origins of these institutions. The vast majority of students at HBUs were, and continue to be from disadvantaged sectors (Subotzky, 2001). Therefore, academics at these institutions frequently construct their primary activities as entailing mainly teaching and student counselling, as opposed to research and publication. Arguably, participants experienced ambivalence with publishing as a primary criterion, since they were involved with activities which they regarded as central to academic enterprises at these institutions.

Most of the participants recognized the value of publishing, even if they were not totally accepting of it. The following excerpt illustrates the acceptance of the pressure to publish although the tone is critical:

> ... the **criteria for promotion as well for** advancement! I
> mean that's the **only way that we are going to get ahead.**
> That's the game that you have to play. **That's the rule :**
> **Publish or perish.** That's it...(Int,8).

For some, publishing was viewed more positively, as it was constructed as a political vehicle for gender equality, and as a way of facilitating women's voices in academia. For example:

> ...first of all, it is for **equality issues.** I think that, if women
> **want their voices heard,** and if women **want to aspire to**

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senior academic positions, then we know that **the route to seniority and to acceptance in the academic world is through publications**. Also, apart from that, my other strongly felt view is that **women bring a particular perspective**. And I think that as a result of our gender, **our gendered role**, I think we **view the world differently.** And we bring a **very important perspective.** (Int, 7).

On the other hand, some participants referred to their ambivalence with regard to the role of publications at HBUs. These participants felt that the focus of the academic enterprise at HBUs should be teaching and academic development. For many of the participants, these perceptions were based on the historical and political contexts of HBUs as discussed earlier. In this respect, some of the participants made conscious decisions to identify more strongly with the historically constructed expectations of academics at HBUs and continue to focus on teaching and student development. This point was elaborated by a participant as follows:

> When I took the job, I **didn't see that [publishing] as a primary responsibility**. Because I felt, even when I was made aware that I needed to be submitting publications records, I **resisted very strongly.** In fact, I **spoke out against it**. Because I felt that **given the quality of the students** that we take at this institution, that my **priorities should be to focus on teaching and on the student development.** So, I **preferred to spend my spare time doing tuts [*tutorials*]**, doing workshops, teaching students basic things, like how to analyse. I **actually developed a great resistance** or actually, I was **very disgusted with the fact that professors who were supposed to be academic leaders in the institution**, had so little concern for the teaching project. That they were concentrating too much on developing their own research portfolio. And so I took a **principled stance. I felt I'm not going to chase publications** for my own advantage. (Int,6).

Another participant questioned the strong emphasis on publishing in academia and the impact this has on teaching

... In my limited, maybe **naïve way, I think that people place a lot of emphasis on publications**. And I **wonder if that couldn't then, have an effect on one's teaching**: time spent with teaching and developing your course. **I'm still not sure that emphasis should be placed on publication.** (Int,9).

... I **have never published**. Publications for me, I suppose, would be a demonstration of that confidence. We all **need to find our voice and I don't personally see it as that important.** (Int,5).

Clearly, some the of participants are ambivalent about the significance of publication records, while other participants recognize the role of publishing for promotion, as well as an intervention for gender equity in academic institutions.

Institutional barriers to publishing

The institutional barriers that were reported to impede the participants' publishing endeavours were strongly associated with the historical and political origins of HBUs and in particular the reproduction of male-dominated and androcentric values.

As elaborated earlier, HBUs were established by the apartheid regime to cater for disenfranchised South Africans and in this separatist education system, these institutions obtained less state funding than white institutions (Bunting, 1993; Subotzky, 1997; Wolpe, 1993). Conceivably, HBUs had fewer resources (material and human) because they were designed to produce an inferior education when compared to HWUs.

Another feature of HBUs is that these institutions often have heavily embedded

patriarchal values, because the governance structures are often dominated by Afrikaner or African males (National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), 1993; Subotzky, 2001). The literature reviewed asserts that women often encounter subtle, covert institutional barriers which stymie their progress to the higher echelons in academia (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bagilhole, 2000; Bethlehem, 1992; Crosby, 1991; Evans, 1996; Halsey, 1992; Henry, 1990; Kaufman,1978; Morley *et al.*, 2001; Subotzky, 2001; Williams, 2000).

Other institutional barriers which were reported by participants related to inadequate resources at these institutions, which include: lack of facilities; understaffing and heavy workloads; lack of institutional staff development and training programmes. It was also reported that these barriers to publishing were further compounded by the lack of research co-ordination; lack of support from senior colleagues and the lack of institutional support for external funding. Another feature of HBUs, as mentioned, is that the central focus of the academic enterprise at these institutions has historically been a strong emphasis on *teaching* rather than on publications.

The participants' responses indicate that the impact of the lack of time, is a major barrier. These sentiments are included in the quotations in some of the previous sections in this chapter. The following excerpt illustrates a reason provided for the lack of confidence with regard to publishing by academic women at HBUs:

> You end up **teaching five different sub-disciplines**. And in terms of the **depth of your knowledge**, in any particular field, you're **not abreast of the most recent research** in any particular field. You **battle to read** in five different fields. [Unlike] in **HWUs where they focus on one area**, on a discipline, one course. They spend all their time there, in the one course and are **confident with their subject knowledge** We, with **so many courses, experience a** lack of time and with the result we **lose confidence**. We **don't write enough,** and thus we lose confidence. (Int, 6).

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Because HBUs were established for the disenfranchised peoples of South Africa, the apartheid regime of the day did not deem it necessary to fund these institutions in the same way that the HWUs were funded (Bunting, 1994; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Subotzky, 1997; Wolpe, 1993). Due to the lack of facilities and inadequate human capacity, many components of the academic project become very laborious and time-consuming These factors are regarded as barriers to publishing since the participants report that they are primarily predominantly involved with teaching and class preparation. Consequently, their time for publication is very limited.

Androcentric Cultures

Although they do not have positive proof of discrimination or biases, participants report finding themselves in situations in the academy where they sense the androcentricities of universities. Such experiences are not uncommon among groupings of people who are regarded as 'outsiders and other' to the reigning ideology (Behabib, 1986; Handrahan, 1998; Harding, 1991; Hennessy, 1995; hooks, 1984; Reay, 1996a; Simeone, 1987). There is a difficulty in distinguishing clear-cut inequalities and hard facts with regard to disparities in power and positions, because hegemonic structures often serve to obscure and rationalize policies and practices that maintain the exclusivity of the ideology (Handrahan, 1989). The following excerpts illustrate the experience of the 'glass ceiling', by participants (Acker, 1984; Daily News, 2000; Evans, 1996; Heward, 1996; Sutherland, 1985). Some participants alluded to such experiences for example:

> ... I have **no facts or figures. It's more like a feeling,** because if you look at the structure of the university in terms of professors and seniors, you will see that **women are very, very low-profile in the higher [academic] rank** of the university. And I do **think that might impact on the willingness of women to exert themselves** in terms of researching publications. It's **very difficult to pinpoint** where the obstacles are. I **think it's just natural that** if you **look at the top [structure]** of the academy **you always**

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have the men. /laughs/. And **they kind of get there.** You'll find that **it's this buddy relationship** where they're all friends. **Rather than choosing a woman, they would choose a friend.** But not [intentionally] to prevent or to get a person to present to be represented on that committee. **I don't think it's done with deliberation, mean intent or something like that.** It's just that they know this person. 'Why don't we ask him to be on this committee?' **And in that way, women often get surpassed.** Except when they really star, then they get lifted out. (Int,4).

But, I think what is **happening at the moment**, is that **men are still being promoted, though on an unfair basis** when compared to women. . (FG, 3).

The participants also alluded to 'gendered' experiences as academic women. Although participants did not mention power specifically, many comments alluded to a sense of powerlessness resulting from their gendered identities. Many referred to the subtlety in the gendered nature of organizational structures and their difficulties in identifying the reasons which render academia having a 'closer fit' to the careers and working styles of men. These notions of the subtlety of the dominance androcentricity in the social order generally and in academia specifically is supported by various authors (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bethlehem, 1992; Evans, 1996; Handrahan, 1998; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001;Toren, 1999; Wolpe,1988).

Some participants referred to incidents in which they felt that being a woman and having been socialized in a gender-stratified society, contributed to their excessive workloads and strong family commitments. These factors, in turn, retained them in junior positions. These excerpts also reflect the conceptual frameworks of the 'old boys club' and the 'people-like us' syndrome, which stymie the advancement of academic women's careers. This type of homosocial bonding, where men seem to 'close ranks' and 'guard the gates' of senior positions continues to beleaguer women in their pursuit of senior positions in

academia (Acker, 1984; Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Lorber, 1994; Toren,1999)

Participants often acknowledged that deeply ingrained expectations around gendered roles impacted on their academic careers, as illustrated in the following quotation:

> I feel that **stuff I did, feels like a lot of grunge work. My own willingness to do that dirty work**, is partly a personal thing. And **maybe, it's also a gender thing**. I mean, men in my department, or **male colleagues, I've often heard them with the attitudes** that 'This is my narrow responsibility, which is to deliver my course. **If my students aren't well prepared, it's not my problem.** It's not my responsibility to intervene on the lecturing level. It's not my problem if the printers don't deliver the notes. It's not my responsibility to drive out and get them'. And **I've always done it the other way. Maybe it's quite a female way.** Maybe, in a **chaotic institution where things don't work, women have taken it upon themselves to do more** than males do. (Int,5)

The following excerpt similarly reflects a participant's perception of the negative yet subtle forms of discrimination which academic women experience:

> I **resented my male colleagues very much. Not that they could help it**, but I always felt that their choice about going to international conferences or not, was a simple matter of 'Do I have funds or not? '. **No consideration for 'How does it affect my family?** Then there are also the kind of **security issues women face, and have to be concerned about. But many women are intimidated by the prospect of having to travel across the world on their own.** But, besides the international travels, if you just think of fieldwork and stuff like that. I mean, how easily can **men just get into the car and go and do field work.** You know, **women have to consider all kinds of other things.** If you **want to do research in township settings** or wherever, you are going to think about security issues. You are going to think about 'How am I going to access that? How am I going to cope with situations like this, that and the other?' **So safety issues do come into it.** (Int,6).

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These were the types of androcentric values and subtle gendered expectations which academic women often encountered and had a negative impact on the advancement of their academic careers. This quotation also illustrates the salience of the 'private/public' divide where men are socialized and rewarded for engaging in the public domain. From this perspective there are fewer expectations of men, than of women, to be responsible and involved in their families and family life (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Campbell & Bunting, 1991; Crosby, 1991; Handrahan, 1999; Ribbens & Edwards, 1998; Standing, 1998). Men are therefore freed up to advance their publication records, while for women with families, this challenge is far more complex.

It is interesting to note that many participants reported that they did not encounter overt gender discrimination. This finding concurs with Bethlehem (1992) and Subotzky (2001) who contend that covert and subtle gender discrimination continue to exist at HBUs, but that the governance structures develop strategies and practices to obscure and rationalize these discriminatory practices.

> ...I haven't seen much [discrimination], to be honest. I'd love to be able to say, to actually make it clear-cut gender perception. I think there are **a lot of other external pressures on women that may be come from their family environment.** You know, doing a PhD with their children [in these cases]. I'm not actually sure that it stems from the institution. I **do think there are individuals in this university who are extremely sexist, disgustingly so.** But I think I would say that that **originates from individuals within the system, rather than a systematic discrimination against women. (Int, 5).**

> ...It's a **hard thing to answer that. I've never found any kind of bias against me being a woman.** I don't get involved in bureaucracy here. I stay clear of meetings and that kind of thing. (Int,2).

Furthermore, the following quotation highlights the participants' acknowledgment that, although women are progressing in academies, their progression is much slower than men's progression through the academic ranks. The reason for the delayed progress of women is often obscured by rationalized policies:

...I'm **unsure** about this! I don't think that women are awarded the **same** status as men. But I'm **unsure** because I think that **men choose** to focus on a higher academic career. They **decide** that they are **going to study and publish** and manage to get into roles where they make it possible. And I **don't have the same impression** about women. In our faculty **men get there, so quickly** and **so easily.** Women are going to get there, but it seems as though it goes with **enormous sacrifices**, and the giving up of something. (Int, 7).

The excerpts show the difficulty the participants have in describing and unpacking the biases they experience in their institutions. These subtle discriminatory practices are often obscured by covert policies and selections which do not assist women in gaining access to the 'centers of power' in these academic institutions.

Gendered roles in the institution

Over and above their own socialized roles as nurturers, there is also pressure on women to extend these roles in the university. Participants report experiencing infringements on their time, because of the nurturing role they are expected to play in institutions. Moreover, academic women are often also expected to execute tasks regarded as 'women's work' (Morley *et al.*, 2001; Subotzky, 2001). It is argued that this becomes particularly salient in the less advantaged contexts of HBUs (Subotzky, 2001). Academic women are expected to take on responsibilities which often include secretarial duties, counselling students, and involvement in institutional initiatives, for example

... I think where time to do research and that type of thing are concerned, women come second. Women are inclined to be very hard working. If you reflect on the men, they are not hard working. The **women are inclined to take the large classes; they don't moan about** it. They do it. **They're seen as people that are very approachable by students.** So they get many **students coming to them.** Consequently they carry a big load there. And **then, obviously, it's difficult to do the research.** I think that is also **something that we bring upon ourselves.** We try to

mother our students. So I think, that we know some of this is our own problem. It's **just the way that we were institutionalized [socialized].** (Int,4).

...If you look at how many times **women are asked to take minutes in meetings,** even when you have men present. And what happens is, you **end up having to spend time typing up** minutes of the meeting. If you **look at outreach projects, how many times do you have women involved** with those? With regard to these types of things I would say, not that we don't have options, but the **choices we make are often to our detriment.** Not just because we consider safety issues, personal issues, domestic issues, but also because **we tend to get involved in things that require development, nurturing, and those kinds of things.** I think from a career planning point of view, women need to be strategic. **Women need to plan their professional careers.** I think women need to be guided more. (Int,6).

The reports indicate that the participants often acknowledge that they are not assertive enough in challenging the additional extra (and very often gendered) duties and responsibilities which are regarded as implicit to women's workloads. Although the participants acknowledge the traditional expectations of women as nurturers, **they** also recognize that in order to challenge these traditional values as a means to gender equity, they would have to consciously 'undo' or 'ignore' traditional values and roles. The difficulty in 'disentangling' this socialization is acknowledged by hooks (1991), who, although she refers specifically to black women, talks about the assumption that women are innately more capable of caring for others and as a consequence are often expected to assume multi-purpose caretaker roles. Some participants challenged this status quo and made proposals for the 'unshackling' of the traditional roles of women as nurturers as follows:

.... **There should be a way of changing our personal attitudes.** I think it is about time that we **change the idea that we should always be taking care of others.** We must **reach the stage where we should say, 'Okay, enough is enough!** We have been socialized to be nurturers,

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caregivers and **it becomes difficult say 'No, I have no time'** to a student who comes into your office and has a problem. (FG, 1)

...We're not aggressive about marketing ourselves. Women tend **to wait to be** called, nominated. They wait for it, **they do not volunteer.** As for a man, they don't really mind, **they volunteer!** (FG,2).

The literature indicates that the tendency for women to take on gendered roles is a common feature at many institutions (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bagilhole, 2001; Evans, 1996; Halsey, 1992; Henry, 1990; Lorber, 1994; Park, 1996) and is especially evident at HBUs, because of the deeply entrenched androcentric ethos at these institutions (Subotzky, 2001; Wolpe et| al., 1997). Responses indicate that the participants were able to identify the ways in which 'their research time' was often used for these additional responsibilities. They realized that their heavy involvement in these activities was curtailing their progression| on the academic career ladder. Ramphele (1995) also refers to the issue of being expected to be the mother figure and states that in most societies the role of women as mothers is given and when women choose not to be mothers, literally or symbolically, they are often constructed as transgressors.

The socio-political context of HBUs

As mentioned frequently, HBUs were established to serve students from disadvantaged communities and as a consequence these institutions had a strong focus on teaching and academic development (Bunting, 1993; Subotzky, 2001). These trends continue to exist even after the election of the democratic government. Many participants referred to the focus of the academic enterprise as well as the type of research conducted at HBUs. They perceive that these institutions were constructed as having a different emphasis from HWUs. As mentioned earlier, HBUs were considered to have a strong focus on community development and community-based research, rather than applied research. Some participants felt that applied research was a central focus at HWUs.

Many participants constructed the primary aim of HBUs to be that of teaching, as evident in these quotations:

> ...Something that I find **about the focus of our universities, is that it is very much towards meeting the students' needs where they are**. And what happens to me, is that **my whole teaching changes [to be] directed towards students**. In this situation, I **tend to forget about the outside world**, [of academia] where one has to give account to people for what one is doing. Because at a **university like ours, which is located in a very rural area**, many of us feel that we don't have time, for what I call, idle academic research, that is, for pure research. So what we are doing, is really **applied research**. We do a lot of research in the community. And we **get caught up in that research and in the implementation of our research**. The **last thing that we get to, is the publication of those results**. It is very frustrating and we should do that, but [in our situation] it's **very important that communities benefit from that research**. We are firstly and fore-mostly involved in implementing community development. One has a shortage of person-power: In our department, we are three people, with three hundred students and so many post-graduates. And **I must run the department, every aspect**. Publication, is really the last thing. (FG, 3).

> ... For a long time, I think **this university was basically a teaching university**. I think that now research is coming into its' own. **Research now seems worthwhile**, because we now are provided with incentives, making it a worthwhile endeavour because one gets funding for it. The university has become a kind of **environment that is more conducive to publications**. (Int, 4).

Some participants made specific reference to socio-historical accountability of HBUs These participants alluded to the differences between academic enterprises at HBUs and other universities. The following excerpts capture the sentiments of participants with regard to these issues

But I think that **colleagues that work at first world universities** in third world countries, have **so much more chance.** I think in **our institution, probably everybody is loaded with undergraduate teaching work.** (Int,7).

...But **at this point of our history, I always challenge in my own mind and** I have this problem with: 'Should we be as *our white institutions?*' **These institutions are concerned with research profiles.** When we [at HBUs] have a social agenda in terms of research, **in terms of getting students on par, in terms of getting students through to higher qualifications** and post graduate programmes, in particular. (Int,6).

From the excerpts it is clear that participants experience the traditional emphasis of academic enterprises at HBUs, that of teaching and community development, as a barrier to their publishing. Although there have been gradual shifts towards moving publications onto the agenda of HBUs, this academic activity remains peripheral in many HBUs. The student profiles at these institutions are similar to the demographic profiles of the students in the pre-democracy period. The arguments presented earlier in this chapter, with regard to the participants' ambivalence to the significance of publishing at HBUs are relevant. They may be linked to the socio-political contexts of HBUs. While some participants feel constrained by this, for other participants the aspect of teaching at HBUs is more important than the 'indulgence' in research, which these participants feel, should take prominence at HWUs.

Academic Resources

Participants referred to the lack of facilities that impeded their publication abilities. They reported that inadequacy of available resources, for example, the library, information technology (IT) services and laboratory facilities, negatively impacted on their publishing. Accessing these facilities or improvising methods to access these facilities was cumbersome and time-consuming. All the participants referred to the lack of adequate library facilities:

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...The **poor library** facilities really **have a great impact on our ability to publish.** If we could have **technical assistance** to do our literature search, or at least someone to find the journals for us in the library, that would save time because the **library is in such disarray** [and it sometimes] takes the whole day to find one journal. So that's a major influence. (Int,1)

...The **library is not well-staffed.** And there have been many managerial difficulties. I **have sympathy for library staff because they have had an enormous crisis. It doesn't compare well with other libraries,** because resources are certainly very limited. But, the electronic journal access that we have now and also having **access** to read books from other institutions in the region, has alleviated some problems. **I have to admit, that most of us, the staff here, and most of our postgraduate students, go to the HWUs in the region,** when we want to find something quickly or efficiently. (Int,7).

The following excerpts, though quite strongly stated, illustrate the negative impressions that some of the participants held of their institutional library:

...The other thing about **the university, is the library. In fact, there isn't a library. I'm not ever going to say that the library is cool.** [laughs]. I'm actually going to say there isn't a library. (Int,5).

....**The** library is a major obstacle to research. **I actually go and do my research at a sister institution – HWU** (*deleted for anonymity*). I don't use this library, because it's chaotic. (Int,4).

Participants also referred to the lack of other facilities such as IT and other academic resources that impede on their time available to publish. They reported that the lack of academic resources caused frustration when attempting to access information. Many participants spoke about having to access information at other resourced institutions. This has a negative impact on available time, which is often a scarce commodity for academic women at HBUs.

The limited and sometimes non-existent facilities often resulted in participants being forced to engage in time-consuming activities to be able to prepare for and teach classes. The following quotations provide examples of the ways in which the lack of academic resources impinge on the participants publishing abilities:

> ...the one thing that is a **particular concern to me at the moment is, [the lack of] computer software for data analysis**, specifically qualitative **data**. And **there is always an excuse** [for example],there is no money, or it has to be in next year's budget. I think that somebody in, if a **different engendered position says, 'this is what I need, I need it,'** they get it. ...Also in terms of IT equipment, if **my printer is broken and I need a new printer, it is months and hours that have to go into negotiations** and letter writing. It **wastes my time! It prevents me from publishing.** (Int,7)

> ...We **don't have the lab equipment.** I was in the science field, I was **sharing the laboratory with physiology in Physiotherapy department.** A lot of the equipment I was supposed to use, was material **that I got from industrial psychology or psychology departments. Some of the things weren't even calibrated. Whenever I had to have a lab, there would be a whole schlep with extension cords and works, over to the physiology lab, to physiotherapy lab, push away their massage table** and all sorts of items. In terms of **energy spent on just having one lab session** a day, I **had to prepare two days in advance** for some of them. If I looked at what **my colleagues were doing in the discipline at sister institutions (HWUs), they were spending time in well-established labs.** They have updated equipment. (Int,6).

Clearly, the inadequate facilities at HBUs are perceived as creating time-consuming activities for staff in their efforts to access the services and facilities that are not always readily available at these institutions. The historical backlog of HBUs means that these institutions continue to have limited academic resources and infrastructures. Participants clearly perceived these inadequacies to impede their publishing endeavours. Limited academic resources resulted in participants having to spend large amounts of time to ensure the success of their lessons. The participants felt that

adequate academic resources would provide a more supportive environment for publishing

Understaffing and heavy teaching loads

Because of limited funding in the days of separatist education and low financial reserves, HBUs are very often understaffed. This results in staff members having heavy and diverse workloads. Staff members are frequently required to teach multiple courses at various levels, and because of limited staff complements, these academics have had heavy committee duties as well.

Heavy workloads leave academics with marginal amounts of time to focus on publications. They report that more often than not, they have difficulty in keeping abreast with teaching and administrative duties. Furthermore, because the majority of students at HBUs come from disadvantaged sectors of the South African society, academics at these institutions have the additional academic responsibility of significant amounts of academic development (Subotzky, 2001; Wolpe *et al.*, 1997). This situation is even further exacerbated when considering that many academic women have high teaching loads because they are often in junior positions (Henry, 1990; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Williams, 2000). The following quotations illustrate the ways in which some participants alluded to the impact of their workload on their ability to publish:

> ... **Heavy workloads are bad for the people who haven't published.** In our department we have mostly females and there is a **woman who has been sitting in a lecturer's post for the last, maybe, 10 years.** And she **doesn't have any chance of promotion,** because for promotion you need a PhD. **For promotion from lecturer to senior lecturer, [you need a PhD.] plus four publications. She doesn't have the time to do any of that,** and she **has to take care of all her other domestic responsibilities.** And then **she's the third and fourth year co-ordinator. Students enter that office at any time of the day,** with queries. (Int,1).

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...I can just think of **my own experience**. We are **totally understaffed** in our department with **only three staff members**. Student numbers **have** been increasing by an average of 30% per year for the last three years. So the **work's getting more, but the staff is not keeping up with it**. And I'm the **junior one in the department, having been there for the least amount of time. Normally that translates directly into heavier workload**. So, from the **department's side there is no opportunity for research**. You **can always get by with the [lack of] equipment**, or the research facilities or things like that. You can always **make another plan**: use MRC or whatever. **But not time!!!** The **students that we are getting are not making our teaching much lighter**. We have to be more flexible. Actually, **we have to push more development into the teaching, which stretches our teaching to 150% of our time**. (Int,8).

These responses indicate the dilemmas of participants who, because they are in junior academic positions, often have heavy teaching loads and have high administrative and committee responsibilities as well. This produces the proverbial 'vicious cycle' in which academic women are retained in junior positions. Because of their junior positions, which often entail heavy teaching and administrative loads and limited access to supportive academic resources, academic women find it difficult to publish (Bagilhole, 2000; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Williams, 2000). The dilemma of academic women at HBUs is further exacerbated by the amount of student development that is required by the students that enter HBUs. As mentioned earlier, the majority of students at HBUs are from disadvantaged communities; they require more academic development and counseling from teaching staff. Because academic women are often more represented in the lower positions, they are frequently responsible for the bulk of the undergraduate teaching. This includes intensive student development and counselling. These activities have a negative impact on the time available to publish and they are thus detained in these positions.

Publishing is a primary promotion criterion and because of the often deficient publication records of academic women, these women have difficulty in attaining promotion to positions which would assist them in accessing supportive resources.

Senior positions often have fewer teaching responsibilities. It appears that many of the participants at a more junior level believe that senior women have an easier time than themselves. This has been shown not always to be true in the South African context. Potgieter and Moleko (2002), in a South African study, argue that although there are perceptions that senior women have 'seem to be having an easier time' than their junior colleagues, the lack of mentoring, role models and the levels of managerial responsibilities which are expected to be fulfilled by the relatively few senior women, dispute these perceptions.

Lack of support and motivation from the institution

A reported lack of support from the various levels of the university, including faculty and departmental level support, as well as the lack of support from senior staff and the Research Office, emerged as a significant factor for many participants.

Participants reported how departmental policies and structures were often an impediment, rather than a facilitating factor ,to their publication activities They spoke of developing negative attitudes towards publications, as an outcome of such insufficient support. The participants reported that they would appreciate acknowledgment of their publications at departmental and/or even at institutional level. The following excerpts highlight some of the negative responses that participants report to have experienced at departmental level. These, they feel, are significant barriers to publications:

> ...There's always a **kind of dichotomy** in terms of the department. **Firstly, they recommend that people should be allowed to have a research day,** once a week or something, so that they can go out and do their field research or whatever. **But then the amnesia!** But **then the decision is turned around** and no, that's, **[the research day] is actually a luxury.** [laughs]. **So people don't get to have a research day** for **five months.** FG, 3).

> ...Everybody is **on their own**. It's [publishing] an individual
> thing and **those that are doing very well with their
> research profiles are sitting there,** improving their
> research profiles. They **do not lend a hand to the lower
> members** who are not on their feet yet. (Int,3).

The quotations illustrate the participants' perceptions of a lack of support from departmental environments. Participants clearly feel that publishing is not supported in their respective departments. Publishing is often regarded as an individual activity, in which participants are expected to engage on their own prerogative without assistance from their colleagues. Similarly, a South African study by Dlukulu (2000), reports on the lack of departmental support as perceived by academic women in some institutions. This becomes problematic to academic women who have not published yet, as they often feel isolated and require assistance to 'get started'.

The following lengthy excerpt is a good illustration of the ways in which institutional and departmental procedures and attitudes are experienced as demotivating for new and junior staff. The perception of negative departmental responses to innovative initiatives, discourages new staff members from venturing into new and creative ways of teaching, learning and publishing:

> I came here five years ago, **expecting to find myself in an
> environment where there would be all the more
> experienced people doing research** and with their
> guidance, I would learn. **I came here with lots of ideals
> about my subject area and developing the subject area**
> in Africa. And **I thought I would be coming to a lecturing
> university where there would be much criticism going
> on.** For instance, where maybe somebody was busy with a
> research project. I hoped to watch how they did it. And I
> would develop myself in that way. Number one, **there was
> no research happening in that department!** I had quite a
> low opinion of what was happening here. There were **only
> certain people doing things in their own offices.** And it
> certainly **wasn't a collective** - us dealing with research
> inquiry. So, there was **nothing for me to hook into. There
> was certainly no one to mentor me.** There was a **senior
> professor, he was well-known, but he was just not
> available.** (Int,5).

Participants particularly referred to the roles of senior staff and professors at institutions. They spoke about the ways in which professors and departmental chairpersons appeared not to be concerned with creating situations that assist women academics in their publication endeavours, nor do they motivate colleagues, especially those in junior positions, to publish

> ... These guys work at the institution. They are now 'chairs' or heads of departments, but don't really do the role as they may do overseas or other places. **They don't give you the academic support. They won't call you in as a junior member of staff** and say 'How is your research going? How far are you really now? Maybe you should try this, try and work out. Once a year at least one paper, this is the way you should go about it.' **It is not seen as one of the jobs of the head**, which it should be. (Int, 3).

> ....Our **priority is undergraduate teaching**. The other **sad thing is that the Head of Department will, every semester** or every two months, **whenever he feels like it**, will ask us to give him a timetable. This shows exactly when we have contact with students. So **he sees exactly where we are free**. And **if there's any activity that comes up, he tries and fills up our spaces**. But when we say, **we need to be allocated time for research, he says** 'there is lot of time for research, you have all these spaces free. Why don't you do it?' And it's not as if one can use a period here and a period there, for research. (Int.1).

As was previously mentioned in an earlier quotation, participants referred to the absence and lack of availability of senior staff. When considering the earlier discussions on gendered and socialized identities, it is clear that academic women who are 'new' to academia require guidance in publishing. This is often an activity which takes them away from their 'natural state of being', because it often requires solitary time away from their families and their socialized role of nurturers.

Participants perceived the absence of senior staff as non-supportive of junior staff members who required assistance and development in publishing skills. These sentiments allude to a lack of developmental initiatives to enable them to commence a publication track record. The following excerpt illustrates another way in which participants constructed the lack of support related to the absence and disengagement of senior staff:

> ... I was **very conscious of the fact that I was always starting committees and things and that professors were not there.** Around the table with me were mostly women. But these were mostly **women who were at the lecturer level.** And **it was we who come to these meetings and the few professors! When they come meetings, it is clear that they haven't actually worked through the minutes** and stuff. Or when task teams are established, **they don't volunteer their services.** ... And then, something else that I also became very conscious of, was the **number of hours they spend on campus. I used to get here, early in the morning and leave when almost all the cars are out of the parking lot.** But when one tries to reach professors on campus, **they're often at home for** the day. (Int,6).

In these excerpts, participants expressed their need for support from senior members of staff. Senior staff members are perceived to impede academic women's publishing by not assisting and by not providing academic leadership. Participants also referred to the lack of accountability and availability of senior staff. Although staff development is often regarded as a line function of senior staff, participants felt that these functions were often not fulfilled by senior staff, as it was not an activity that senior staff were expected to report on. It was felt that senior staff, because of their seniority had lower and lighter teaching loads than junior staff. This often resulted in junior staff having to carry heavier workloads. Participants perceived that, ultimately, heavy teaching loads undermined their ability to publish

Many participants reflected on ways in which women, who are often in junior positions, were compromised by having higher workloads than senior staff

members. They noticed how workloads of junior staff beleaguered their publishing endeavours:

> ...I was at lecturer level **for 15 years**. And, **because of that,** one gets lumped with all sorts of things. (Int,6)

> We get **even heavier workloads than the people at the top. Instead of the people at the top actually getting more work**, they just get less. Men at the top get smaller classes and we are left with bigger classes. (FG, 1).

> **Workload is major. Workload becomes major because the lower the level, the higher the workload.** The lower the level, the higher the admin. The lower the level, the more students you have. (FG,2).

From these excerpts it is apparent that participants view academic women who are in junior positions, as having higher workloads and thus having less time to engage in publishing than senior staff members. These sentiments indicate the perception that senior colleagues are more supported or that seniority allows for access to more resources which may disaggregate to more opportunities to engage in research and publications. Junior staff seem to be making a plea for developmental programs which would facilitate their progress from junior positions to allow them to enjoy the 'benefits' and access to resources, of senior positions.

Referring to another level of expected support, participants frequently mentioned the role of the research office in their institutions. Many participants felt that more skills development and training programmes should be located in this unit. They believed that better co-ordination of research activities driven from this office would enhance their publication rates. Sentiments expressed in the following quotations are indicative of some of the negative perceptions and experiences that participants have of the research offices at their respective institutions.

> ...They seem to be performing an **administrative** kind of role. **Not** a kind of academic **mentoring** at all. (Int,2).

..I must admit, I was **not pleasantly surprised when I experienced our research faculty, the Research office.** When I started here, I was very enthusiastic. It **took me about six months, to find out the procedure to apply for funds for research projects,** how to register research projects, how to apply for funds, the rules of the game. I even **went to the research office with seven questions.** To one of the questions I was given a **straight forward 'No!** They can't help me with that one'. And for six of the others, **I was pointed to other people.** Either pointed to a Prof. in a neighbouring department saying, 'He's the one that does a lot of NRF stuff, go and find out from him'. I wanted to find out about getting ethics clearance about projects, and was **told to go to MRC** for their booklet on ethics. You know, **things like that put me off.** (Int,8).

Clearly, the participants' expectations from this office were not being fulfilled Participants felt that the research office was not providing a mentoring and supportive environment, but that this office was more involved in administrative duties. Some participants reported that this unit did not assist, but rather seemed to be channeling issues of research development to elsewhere in that institution, or to other institutions. The excerpt below captures the sentiments of some of the participants who felt that the research office tended to shift the responsibility of research development to other sectors of the institution

A couple of years ago we **tried to establish a black women's research forum, to develop a support system. We went to the Dean of Research, and wanted to know what support his office could give to such a process.** Whether it was admin support, seminars or the like. He said that it was **an issue we should take to the Gender Equity Office.** Once again I found that this was **complete misrepresentation** and distortion of **how gender issues are dealt with at this institution and at many other universities. It's marginalized! It's** not infused! Each Dean, and whoever has a particular portfolio, should be taking gender issues on board. The **primary concern was research development. It was the research that he [the dean of research] should be looking** at, and whether the

target group happens to be black women, was secondary.
(Int, 6).

Responses indicate participants' expectations that the research offices should be much more involved and play a more active and supportive role in the research and publication projects in institutions. Local literature suggests that the development and training in publication skills would assist academic women in their publication ventures (Shefer, van Niekerk, Duncan & de la Rey, 1997). Participants believe that support from the research office would assist in the development of positive attitudes towards publications and research.

Institutional assistance was not always readily available to assist staff with their submissions to external reviewers. Some participants reported that the comments on their submissions from review panels were often harsh and demotivating

> ... On the **occasion that I sent something to a journal, and got back a kind of negative review, I never re-submitted** it. (FG, 3).

> ... It's **intimidating when you send the paper out and it comes back**. For the **first time publishers, the reviewer's comments are harsh. You [feel you] can just put it away and forget about** it. ....But it also depends on whom you know. If you know somebody and **you are good friends with them. And they're on the editorial board, then they just make it easier for you.** (Int,1).

These quotations highlight the way in which negative feedback may serve to obstruct and discourage publishing by new authors. As has been argued elsewhere, support for new writers to deal with such feedback is required (Duncan, de la Rey, Seedat & van Niekerk, 2001). Overall, participants were critical of their institution's lack of support, which they believe, began from their initial employment. Some participants expressed a lack of orientation in institutions which

rendered them unaware of their obligation to publish or the relevance of publications to academic credibility; for example:

> ... when I **started I was not conscious of my research role at all.** I was told about it, about five years or six years down the line. I resented that I was expected to publish. I felt I was working so hard. And then, **only when I realised afterwards, how some of the colleagues were benefiting** from the choices that they had made, and I was penalised for the choices I had made. Then I got involved with so many other things, that took me further and further away from a research focus. **(Int,6),**

> .. **Suddenly you hear from all over, 'But you have to start publishing'** and 'You haven't published'. Then, when you hear about the promotional criteria, **the first thing that comes up, is your publication record!** For **funding purposes, 'How many publications do you have?'** Then suddenly you realize. (Int,9).

> ... When you come to the university, **nobody teaches you how to publish. You are on your own and reading what other people have published. That won't** give you much confidence. (FG,1).

These quotations illustrate that participants clearly had no orientation with regard to the significance and relevance of publishing to their academic careers. Participants clearly feel that senior staff and the institutional research units could play a more supportive role in assisting them in their publishing endeavours.

Summary

The findings highlight many of the particular challenges experienced by the participants at the selected HBUs. Many of the participants reported barriers that linked to the historical-political legacy of the perceived inadequacies inherent in HBUs. Challenges experienced by the participants at these institutions were frequently perceived to be compounded by deeply ingrained patriarchal values

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that continue to exist in the governance structures of many HBUs (Subotzky, 2001). The subjective reports of the participants allude to the cumulative effects of obstacles at personal, departmental and institutional level that have a negative impact on their publishing endeavours.

Participants' reports indicate that they felt that their publishing ventures were not supported institutionally. Furthermore, many of the participants made reference to the ways in which their socialized identities impeded negatively on their ability to publish more frequently.

Chapter Seven presents the interventions that participants recommended to assist them in their publishing endeavours.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CREATING A SUPPORTIVE PUBLISHING ENVIRONMENT

This chapter focuses on the strategies that were proposed by the participants to assist them in their publishing endeavours. As with Chapter Six, this chapter utilizes the qualitative data that was generated by the interviews and focus groups as by well the open-ended question on the questionnaire.

The chapter presents the strategic interventions that were proposed by the participants to support their publishing activities. The key themes that emerged from the participants' subjective reports related to institutionalized initiatives such as:

- The availability of institutional orientation and induction programmes
- Institutionalized staff development programmes
  Co-ordination of institutional research and publication activities
- The need for networks and mentors to assist their publishing efforts
- Incentives to improve publication records.

The participants believed that the introduction of such interventions would assist them in their publishing endeavours, as many of them felt that their relationship with publishing would be enhanced by institutionalized development and training. The findings presented in Chapter Six alluded to many participants' lack of confidence with publishing; participants reported that development and training in publication skills may contribute to their ability to publish more regularly.

As was the case in Chapter Six, many of the themes that emerged from these proposals, overlapped each other.

Interventions at institutional level

Development of institutional orientation or induction programmes

As emerged in Chapter Six, many participants proposed that induction periods for new and junior staff, be offered at institutions. Participants reported that it was often assumed that newly appointed staff were familiar with the expectations of academic careers. The participants proposed that formal induction periods be offered, to allow new staff opportunities to familiarize themselves with the academic environment and the expectations of their academic positions.

Although, the orientation of new and junior staff is often regarded as the function and responsibility of deans, professors and departmental chairpersons, this orientation is often informal and not as intensive as a formal induction period. Participants felt that a formal, structured induction period would be beneficial to new staff. Orientation periods were considered to be especially beneficial to academic women because of their late entry into academia, they are often baffled by policies and procedures that are (covertly), communicated within the 'old boys' networks' (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Bagilhole, 2000; Lorber, 1994; Evans, 1996; Halsey, 1992; Kaufman, 1978; Subotzky, 2001). It was felt that academic women's unfamiliarity with the academic environment, may also contribute to the perception of women as 'other' academics, since they seldom have overt access to the 'centers of knowledge' and governance of academies (Acker, 1992; Henry, 1990; Toren, 1999; Welch, 1990). The excerpts cited below indicate the participants' opinions in this regard:

> ...I think it's a **great shame** that there **is no induction programme for staff. (Int, 5)**

> ... An **induction programme would definitely help.**
> Because that will already **explain how things are done,**
> **how [things] work, the expectations.** The horror story, [is
> that] my probation period was done in reverse. (Int,8).

The following quotation highlights a participant's proposal for the orientation of newly appointed staff members. Although not a formalized induction period, this proposal suggests a form of individual and specific orientation with regard to the academic expectations:

> ....A little bit of development would help. But **it would**
> **probably work if it [development] is de-routed to the**
> **Deans.** But, I **definitely feel** that, if a lecturer starts here, it
> doesn't matter at what level, especially if it's a junior lecturer,
> **they should be taken aside** and [told], 'This is what your
> **priorities are, this is what your responsibilities are,**
> **here's Five Thousand Rand! We want a publication out**
> **of that, or a conference, or an abstract out of that'.**
> Something to play with, to start off with. Because **many**
> **junior staff don't have funds of** their own, in any case.
> (Int,8).

It is apparent that the participants believed that induction periods would provide women with an orientation towards the various aspects of academic careers and especially with regard to the institutional expectations of publications and research. The participants felt that such induction periods would eliminate the reality that some women did not realize that they were expected to publish, as was cited in Chapter Six.

Development of institutionalized staff development programmes

The participants indicated that there is a dire need for staff development programmes that included the training and development of publishing skills for academic women. The need for the development of publication skills was regarded as important by many academic women, particularly for black South African academic women, as presented in Chapters Five and Six.

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Many of the participants were aware and acknowledged the importance of publications for their academic credibility as well as for progression in their academic careers. They thus proposed that staff development programmes be introduced to support them in achieving the goals set out in the NPHE (CHE report, 2000/2001,p. 72). The participants believed that institutionalized staff development plans were needed eradicate some of the covert barriers which continue to render women as 'outsiders' in academia. These sentiments, are succinctly asserted by Subotzky (2001,p. 67):

> The change process must become properly institutionalized. In order to avoid continued marginalization, it should come from the periphery and insert itself at the center of the institutional process: within academic and strategic planning activities and quality assurance processes. In order to do this, several simultaneous and co-ordinated transformative and planning initiatives at institutional level are necessary: curriculum development; addressing the micro-politics of the academy; updating practices around promotion, rewards, recruitment and retention and most importantly, staff development.

Although some participants felt that development in publishing skills may be 'piggy-backed' into other staff development initiatives, the majority of participants expressed the need for institutionalized staff programmes. The following quotation highlights the urgency of staff development for academic women as expressed by a participant:

> ...Each Dean, each person whoever has a particular portfolio should be taking gender issues on board, I think what is needed is collaborative writing initiatives and projects, where black women develop confidence in their writing style and in their writing skills. I'm proposing that Gender Equity should be mainstreamed. It should be part of a bigger equity forum. At the moment our construction of equity is very much gender bound. It's very much limited to women staff members. There isn't enough visibility and shared ownership and responsibility for equity. And it needs to go beyond just having equity targets. The Employment Equity Plan does challenge people

to report on what they're doing for mentoring and those kinds of things of women, amongst others, to advance women in research or women's research in the black women. The other thing that needs to happen, is that **our data needs to be equity sensitive**. At the moment it **is not**. We need to **zoom in on how many women get** stuck in a particular role. How long does it take for them to complete their degrees? **These needs should be put on the tables of Deans. And they must provide answers :** 'This is what is happening, but what are you doing about it? It **should be dealt with at committee** level. It should be dealt with **at faculty level**. So, **if it's faculty based, then at least it's more inclusive and gives everyone a chance to engage**. But **faculties must be challenged** to find ways of to ensure that there's more balance in terms of **who is doing research** and **who is involved in other activities** in the faculty. (Int,6).

The following excerpt illustrates a proposal for staff development initiatives such as workshops, with a specific focus on training in publication skills:

> .... **Workshops for people who never publish**. Maybe, if one can have **half a morning** of workshop, **especially explaining how to go about it**; and **pointers** like: 'it's not only your research that you can publish'. I think that would be **helpful for the new academics** coming in. (Int, 9).

These proposals reflect the participants' perceptions of the urgency of instutionalized programmes that are designed to assist and support academic women to publish. Although these programmes may be targeted at new staff, the existing staff would also benefit from attending these sessions. Participants believe that such interventions would contribute to improve their confidence with publishing.

Co-ordination of institutional research and publishing activities

Participants felt that the co-ordination of institutional research and publication activities would assist them in their publications. They expressed the need for access to information relating to institutional publication activities which they felt would assist them in doing collaborative research. Participants also felt that an

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accessible and available data base of colleagues who were involved in research that was being conducted, would serve a two-fold purpose. Firstly, it would provide information on staff members currently involved in research and topics that are currently being researched. Secondly, the data base may also serve as a forum for the acknowledgement of researchers and authors at an institutional level. Public and institutional acknowledgement may also be regarded as an incentive to imminent authors.

The following quotations illustrate some proposals that participants felt would assist and encourage new and aspirant authors:

> ....If the [people] at Research Office could send out a one **page or two page brief on research and publications** in the institution. Maybe, just a two page document from the Research Office with **'Congratulations!' to whoever**, this project is now complete!. (Int, 9).

> ...There **should be** a data base that one could log into **just to see if who has published. Who's published what? in what?** There should be something that you can tap onto somebody's name and see all the publications that they've completed. So that somebody **who is new** comes into the system and **clicks onto that data base and sees the type of research in the field and the researcher.** (Int,2).

As was discussed in Chapter Six, many participants felt that institutional Research Offices could provide more of a developmental and mentoring role than was currently being done. The following quotation illustrates a participant's proposal for the role of the Research Office:

> ... **there should also be a lot more** done in terms of the facilitation of research **from the office of the Dean of Research. Not just reporting** on where there's funding and whatever, **but actually having workshops.** [For example] a meeting for **confidence building** emphasizing the fact that

other women are doing it, **gender training where a woman researcher** comes to speak to us about publishing. (Int, 6).

Some participants also felt that the Research Office should take more responsibility for monitoring publication records at an institutional level, to alleviate the barriers that staff may be experiencing with regard to publishing. The quotation below highlights this point:

> ... When one wants to do a publication or if one wants to go to a conference, that's **where[research office] one is supposed to get answers.** If you want to find a mentor for a specific topic and you have **an idea** of who the mentor should be, the **Research Office should guide the process, because they're supposed to know who is active in that field.** Someone in the research office **must be able to track** publications to identify that someone is not publishing. They must **do something** [about it], like **looking at the workload,** looking at the many [other academic] **obligations** and things like that. (Int, 8).

The majority of the participants were in strong agreement that better research co-ordination and facilitation of the development of research skills, driven from the Research Office, would go a long way to support academic women in their publishing endeavours. The proposals recommended by the participants provide simple, yet effective ways in which this office should assist women in strengthening their publication skills at an institutional level. These are the types of mechanisms that NPHE (CHE report, 2000/2001) envisages for the sustainability of research and publication activities, especially at HBUs.

Need for networks and mentoring to assist publications

Many of the participants referred to the need for mentors and networks within the institution. The participants felt that mentoring and support networks would assist them in publishing. This concurs with the literature that academic women need mentors and not role models (Fester, 2000; Henry, 1990; Park, 1996; Williams,

2000). Many participants regarded networks and mentors as facilitating factors that may provide a basis for the development of a conducive environment that would support and assist academic women in their publishing ventures.

The following excerpts illustrate the participants' views relating to their needs for mentoring and support groups at an institutional level:

> ...I'm sure **any kind of mentorship**, mentoring helps. Definitely. (Int,2).

> ... If you get people **available to read and assist you with the writing, I think that will help.** Perhaps within their department or in their field of interest. (Int,9).

Some participants referred to outside networks that often played a mentoring and supportive role in their publishing endeavours. The following excerpts provide examples of participants' positive experiences as members of outside networks:

> ... if you have a little group that you can join, and work together. Like the Writing Centre, where you can take your work in progress to be read. When I think about it, it **sounds absolutely brilliant.** You just need somebody to give you feedback. It **will be great if you could go to somebody** and say, 'I've written this paper. I'm a bit worried, whether its acceptable, whether its readable. Won't you just read?'" **Even if it's not the field of study, I'm certain they can just read it for the English. Somebody else reads it for the content or the technical aspects.** (Int, 4).

> ... we had a **group of people with whom we are going to do some reading together. And we had some video conferencing links with Sweden.** So, it's wonderful! Because it's **just the sharing and talking about it, that makes you feel less isolated.** And you can actually share *some ideas. It makes you realize that your ideas are not so* bad. So, in general, it's good to have some networking going and I think we can do more of that. (Int, 4).

Clearly, the participants who were members of outside networks found these networks to have a positive impact on their publishing endeavours.

Furthermore, some participants referred to other processes of mentoring and networking in which academic women are often involved. These processes are frequently taken for granted and not regarded as acts of mentoring and networking as the following quotation illustrates:

> ... I think, **as women in academic departments, we need to be mentoring our women post graduate students** as well. Because it is also about introducing a culture of research. (Int,6).

Some of the participants referred to the establishment of 'women' committees and women's fora. It was strongly recommended that these committees be institutionalised. Participants felt that such committees would provide a platform for women to develop strategies to support each other in their academic careers. The following quotation illustrates the level of institutionalisation of a 'women's committee':

> ... I think we should have a **women's forum**, or a **monthly meeting** for interested women. And [there] we could discuss the problem and then **find a way of making the topic known to the university**. Maybe form a committee, **maybe to be linked to senate or something so that women and the structure have power.** (Int,1).

The following excerpts reflect the sentiments of participants with regard to the aim and role of such 'women committees':

> ... **Women researchers should be treated as a group**, in the sense of that they should be aware of each other. And they **should start their own network. But apart from that, not as an antagonistic network towards the Old Boys'**

network, but rather a supportive one. But if we don't help each other, we're not going to be helped. A publication network, I think, just the fact that women are aware of difficulties that others are experiencing will already help. Maybe you throw ideas together. There might not even be something very productive coming from it, but even if just on an emotional level, it will also help. But if the women's network does not get some or other degree of power behind it, it's not going to be of any use. (Int, 8).

form women committees, because most of the core research committees that we have in the institution now are male-oriented. There should be committees of female concerns, consisting of women, and these committees have to consider to women's problems and their positions in society. (FG,1).

Women academics clearly support the notion of supportive institutionalized networks. Responses indicate that many of the participants are in agreement that networks would facilitate the publishing ventures of academic women.

Furthermore, many participants felt that mentors would assist them in their publishing endeavours. But, as many participants reported, many of their institutions did not have induction periods, staff development programmes or mentoring programmes. With regard to mentoring, (although none of the selected institutions had institutionalized mentoring programmes), some participants were very positive about the prospect of women mentoring other women as is illustrated in the following quotations:

...I think probably it would be good if we had, but here we have very little contact with each other, over the campus. (Int, 4).

...I find it very valuable that I belong to a thesis writers' group, at another university. (Int,7).

Other participants were more wary and hesitant in their opinions of women mentors and were cautious in their support of women as mentors. This is reflected in the following quotation

> ... I think a **mentor is always a good thing.** I think it's quite an individual decision. **It all depends on the person.** I think it's quite a **difficult thing to say** can you rely on women. It all **depends on who it is. Some will and some won't!** (Int,2).

Another participant was very clear in her perception of support from women who had recently been promoted:

> she becomes a man.   (FG,1).

It is evident that participants had deliberated on the role of mentors and networks. Many participants, because of their positive experiences in outside networks, felt that institutionalized support groups would assist academic women to publish more frequently.

Increased funding allocated to publications

Participants acknowledged that institutions provided the author with an amount of money for research projects. Institutionally – determined monetary allocations are available to the author, when the article has been published in an accredited journal. The institutional funding allocations, however, differed between institutions and often participants reported that funding allocations to authors at HWUs were considereably higher than the funding received by authors at HBUs. This may be attributed to the fact that HBUs often experience financial constraints, usually generated by the historical-political origins of these institutions (Bunting, 1994; Cooper & Subotzky, 2001; Subotzky, 1997, Wolpe *et al*, 1997). Financial constraints continue to exist at these institutions and

therefore HBUs are often unable able to fund authors at the same high levels as HWUs

Participants proposed that institutional contributions be increased to serve as incentives for academics to improve their publication rates. Financial incentives in particular, were mentioned and one participant suggested more coercive disciplinary action as is illustrated in the following excerpt:

> ....**people really feel passionate about money**. That's the one thing that they do feel passionate about. I mean that's not to be sneezed at. As far as I'm concerned, **it should be enforced by the university:** if you **don't have a publication, say every two years, there should be a disciplinary hearing**. I mean, that sounds quite strong. But if you really want your **university staff to publish**, then that is one way to go. (Int, 2).

The following quotations are examples of some participants' views on the value of financial incentives with regard to publications:

> ... I **got about Five thousand Rand** and **that just started the ball rolling.** So, I suppose, for an initial search or researchers beginning to do research, they should be given **some incentive**. Or to have a little **start-up fund, that gets somebody, without a record of publishing, started**. They can actually start up. (Int,4)

> .... I think **money is a great motivator.** If we may just emphasize again, spell out, the positive balance. **To make the effort, is worth the while.** (Int,7).

Clearly, participants believe that funding for publications is a key incentive to publishing

Participants' proposals for interventions to assist academic women in their publishing endeavours at an institutional level, provide clear and practical ways for institutions to create academic environments that develop and support academic women in their publishing endeavours.

Interventions at departmental level

Assistance with regard to teaching loads at departmental level

Participants also proposed intervention strategies that may be used at departmental level to assist and support them in publishing. As has been observed frequently, because women are often in junior positions, they usually carry heavy teaching loads and teach courses that require intensive student involvement (Lorber, 1994; Harper *et al.*, 2001; Henry, 1990; Morley *et al.*, 2001; Park, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Welch, 1990; Williams, 2000). The following excerpts elucidate how the participants construct their lack of access to resources, because of their junior positions, as barriers to their publishing endeavours

> We **type our own notes. I type all** my letters. The **only thing** I ask the secretary to do, **is to maintain contact with the students.** But **everything else**, like typing up the **curriculum and evaluation forms, I do on my own.** I think that, **if there is more efficiency** and assistance in that respect, it will **save us time, to do our research. Job descriptions must be clarified** for non-academic staff. For instance, the secretary does her secretarial work. This will **decrease the load on the academic staff, making more time available.** The technician can be taught to record the marks. (Int, 2).

> ...**Professors could do their own admin** work, or organize their departments well **so that people in junior positions,**

have more free time. They would be able to **achieve their** s senior degrees and publish. (Int, 1).

The excerpts reflect the ways in which the participants experienced their workloads as extending beyond teaching, to include general secretarial duties. Participants felt that colleagues in junior positions more often experienced these 'extensions' of workloads. These same duties were seldom expected of colleagues in senior positions, as many of the senior colleagues often had more access to administrative assistance[28].

The participants also proposed strategies to decrease their teaching load for specified periods during an academic year. They felt that 'relief' from teaching duties, for these periods, would allow them time to engage in publishing and research more regularly, than when carrying their full teaching load throughout the year. Many participants felt that such arrangements should be departmentally co-ordinated so that they did not use their official study leave. The following quotations highlight the need for relief from teaching duties as expressed by some participants:

...It's an **internal arrangement!** You're still here and attend all your meetings. But for a **specific term,** you have a **lighter teaching load.** You go on with your supervision of postgraduate students, because now you can **just focus** on your research. But you **don't use any of your leave benefits.** Except when you go to another university. **With women, it's obviously not so easy,** because you can't take your family with you. So **this kind of leave helps** because can do your research at home. **(Int,4).**

... You **shouldn't be lecturing continuously** for the entire year. You **should have time off,** where you just focus on your writing. (Int, 3).

A participant also referred to another departmental strategy that may contribute academic women's publishing

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[28] This theme, relating to senior staff, will be presented later in this chapter.

> ... I had contact with the computer science department of another university, and at a certain time, **they meet, not for a meeting.** At **this institution departments just meet for meetings.** We **don't meet** occasionally. You can **only encourage** or you can **create the environment which is conducive**, an environment, a **context**, in which to do research. (Int,4).

The proposals presented by the participants illustrate their commitment to research and publishing, as well as the **extent** to which their workloads limit their time and thus their ability to engage in publishing. They also make some simple and accessible suggestions as to how their workloads may be shifted or re-arranged in order to create more time and space for publishing.

Assistance from senior staff

As emerged in Chapter Six, junior staff felt unsupported by senior staff. The participants made proposals relating to the support and assistance that senior staff could offer, to improve their publishing ventures. Many of the participants discussed the barriers that they experienced with their heavy teaching loads, which encompassed a wide range of duties and responsibilities. They felt that pressure could be alleviated by the assistance and support from their senior colleagues. The following quotation elucidates the opinion of a participant with regard to mentoring:

> ... **For professors and people who receive a lot of funding** for research, **one of the conditions for that funding**, should be that **they should involve someone from a designated group** [namely], a disabled person, or a black woman or a black person. (Int,6).

Many participants felt collaborative publishing and joint publishing with senior colleagues, who had experience in publishing, would be significant interventions that would assist them in developing confidence in publishing. Furthermore, such collaborative work may also contribute to synergy and mentoring between junior

and senior colleagues. Participants felt that collaborative ventures would assist in more frequent and regular publications resulting from the supportive environment established between junior and senior colleagues.

The following quotations illustrate the participants' proposals for collaborative work between junior and senior colleagues:

> ...if it were **possible to join up with seniors** to do research, **especially if you are not comfortable** with your own research skills. (FG, 1).

> ... the **HOD should do research profiles** within the department and **plan team research projects**, **even** if it is to do work regarding the **student marks or something** like that. It could even be some educational aspects of the course, where **we all have different fields**. Research in the department **will help** because then we **would have and may even give talks**. (Int, 3).

From these excerpts it is clear that participants experienced their junior positions and their attempts at publishing as being 'outside' of the academic centers in their institutions. There was a strong sense that participants wanted to be mentored and encouraged, by senior colleagues, in their publishing endeavours. This was especially evident among participants who were not very confident vis-à-vis their publication skills.

Interventions at personal levels

A significant feature of the participants' proposals was their 'silence' on interventions at their personal levels. None of the respondents proposed any strategies, in their personal lives, that would assist them in their publishing ventures. This finding may be attributed to the deeply embedded socialization of traditional values, where women are expected to take sole responsibility of homemaking and child-rearing and whereby women find it easier to challenge

institutional structures and policies than to challenge the 'infrastructure' of their private lives at home. Often women are able to articulate their difficulties that occur outside the home more readily than they are able to challenge traditional, patriarchal practices within family situations. This finding is also evident in the lack of a discourse on power by participants.

This indicates the strong antithesis on the emphasis on barriers outside the home, while the family situations and 'private lives' of women are more or less 'swept under the rug'. It is therefore apparent, that although women recognize that traditional, patriarchal values embedded in their socialization often create barriers to their publishing productivity, there is a general 'silence' on strategic interventions to assist them on this level. McDowell (2002) refers to this when she states that associations with power in the home are often ignored in analyses of the social meaning of the home.

Another interpretation of the 'silence' may be that the participants experienced their homes to be as supportive as homes could be. This notion is also elaborated by McDowell (2002) who highlights that the historical meaning of the home, in which the lives of middle-class women were secluded while their husbands went to make a living. Deeply entrenched socialization processes often underpin this uncritical stance of the nature of domestic sites. Domestic life is frequently taken for granted not only by a large sector of society, (reared in this value system), but also by women themselves, who are socialized to embody domestic virtues.

An aim of the current study is to assist women academics by allowing them to develop strategies for themselves that would 'create space' for publications. Some participants indicated that they were prepared to make concerted efforts to increase their publications. The following excerpts provide an indication of the participants' personal commitment to publishing:

> .....**Next year**, when my **children are all at university** and my **youngest one is going to boarding school**, maybe **I'll have a little bit more free time**. Then I can **up my rate** to two articles a year. (Int,2).

> .... **I'm going to make that sacrifice**. I'm **getting a paper together**, I need to publish it by June. (FG,2).

From these excerpts, it is clear that participants are committed to publishing and the promotion of their academic careers, as is evident in the following excerpt:

> ....I think for me at the moment, **I'll work on finishing my Masters** and definitely **after that I'll definitely identify which part of it would be good to publish**. So, Yes! I **must just organize myself** and **get down and do it.** Yes, if you use the time that is allocated, for research and publishing. And **I'll try not to think 'Oh, but I've got this exam to mark.** I've got this lecture to prepare'. Because I **realize that research** is important. My **emphasis on relevance**: what people are researching and publishing should be **relevant to the time; relevant to the profession and relevant to the university. (Int,9).**

From the proposals, it is apparent that the participants feel that these institutional interventions would assist them in their publishing endeavours. Clearly, participants believe that the introduction of such intervention would create supportive environments that would enhance their relationship with publishing.

Summary

The chapter described the interventions that were proposed by participants at institutional and departmental levels. Although there was a paucity of interventions on the personal level, the subjective reports allude to participants' personal commitment to publishing.

The following chapter, Chapter Eight, is the final chapter and presents the central findings of the study, recommendations for further studies and concluding comments to the study.

AUTHORSHIP AS A MEANS OF SHIFTING WOMEN FROM THE MARGINS TO THE CENTERS OF SOUTH AFRICAN HBUs

> Democracy is not just about who governs and how they are chosen. More important, it is about how they govern, the institutions through which they govern, and the institutional identities by and through which they organize different categories of citizens (Mamdani, 2001,p. 21 & 22).

Introduction

The concluding discussions and recommendations and interventions for further studies will be presented in this chapter. I will also attempt to advocate the urgency of publishing as a vehicle to subvert and challenge the status quo of women's 'voices' and their academic positions in South African universities. The primary aim of this study was to explore a group academic women's relationship with publishing at selected South African HBUs. This aim was articulated through two central objectives. The first of these objectives was to establish a descriptive profile of the publication records. The second objective was to explore the challenges that the participants experience with regard to publishing, through subjective reports on their perceptions of factors that influenced their publishing activities.

Although not a representative sample of all HBUs, the quantitative findings obtained from the completed questionnaires provided a descriptive picture of the respondents' publication records, the levels of influence played by personal and institutional factors as well as their subjective perceptions of their need for training in publication skills.

The interviews and focus group discussions provided qualitative findings of participants' reports of the personal and institutional barriers to their publishing endeavours. The participants also proposed interventions to create supportive environments for publishing at an institutional level.

Key findings

A key finding is that the participants felt that their publication endeavours are influenced by both their socialized, gendered identities as well as their positions in academia. The majority of the participants reported on the challenges in their personal lives that inhibit and undermine their publication endeavours. Many participants alluded to issues of self-confidence, 'juggling' and their socialized identities as factors that impede on their publishing abilities. Interestingly, though, no participants proposed interventions to assist them on the personal level.

The participants highlighted institutional difficulties but also tended to draw attention to the subtle and covert reproduction of patriarchal values which become evident in the gendered roles and responsibilities in these institutions, in which they, as women, often felt they were extensively engaged, (and were expected to be involved with), in academic activities that did not contribute to their promotion to the higher echelons in academia. Thus, for the participants it seemed as if power and decision-making continued to be male-dominated with women academics be retained in marginal and lower positions in these institutions.

The findings also illustrate that the effects of the historical socio-political inadequacies of HBUs, which were established on the basis of separatist education, are often constructed as barriers to the publishing endeavours of academic women. As stated previously, HBUs received lower levels of state funding than HWUs and although attempts have been made by the democratically elected government to redress the inequalities of the past, the

inadequacies of the historical origins of these institutions continue to disadvantage staff.

The effects of these inadequacies are evident in the publication rate as reported by the respondents: Univen had the lowest publication rate. This may also be attributed to its geographical location. This institution is situated in a rural area with the nearest university located some 600km away. This geographical isolation from any other universities may have an influence on availability of resources compared to advantaged institutions. Another reason for the low publication output at Univen, with regard to geographical location, may be attributed to their inability to establish networks with colleagues at other institutions. Because of the rural location of Univen, the staff reported that they spent extensive time in student counselling and academic development with their students who often came from very disadvantaged backgrounds.

UDW and UWC, on the other hand, were located in relatively close proximity to neighbouring HWUs and thus one could reason that the resources at the HWUs were more readily available to staff at these HBUs than was the case for women staff at Univen.

The key findings of the study fall into a number of central areas of required change. These may be categorized as follows: women (and men's) need for developing an awareness of their gendered identities and how these impact on their academic identities and experiences; women's need for publication skills and support; and the importance of institutional change, in particular, the challenging of the institutionalization of gender power relations and traditional gendered roles in the university. In order to adequately assist women in their publication endeavours, the study highlights how all three areas of intervention are required

Awareness of gendered identities

Participants reported on their recognition of the need to establish boundaries for themselves to 'undo' their deeply engrained socialization as women in particular of the role of nurturers. Nurturing activities by women are very prevalent in HBUs because of the socio-economic needs and educational disadvantagement of the majority of the students at these institutions. Participants, on the one hand, acknowledged the particular needs of their students with regard to special support, but on the other hand, recognized that these activities were time - consuming and detracting from their own career development. Furthermore, the participants were all committed to publishing. They realized that they would have to make definite attempts to demarcate and reduce their nurturing roles and stereotypically gendered activities in ways that would make more time available for them to engage in publishing. Participants also acknowledged the importance of publications in bringing women to the centers of research knowledge production which have historically been dominated by men and androcentric values

Skills and development

The participants recognized their own personal inadequacies with regard to publishing. Some participants indicated that they did not require training in publication skills and only required time to increase their publishing output. The intersection of race and gender was very apparent: black respondents expressed that along with heavy workloads and limited time, their lack of confidence played a major role in their lack of publishing. White respondents, on the other hand, attributed their difficulties in publishing more to time and heavy workloads and reported that the task of publishing was not an impediment to their publishing activities

Although race was not a specific 'variable' in this study, because of the stark differences in responses between black and white respondents, the analysis of the data generated was frequently presented to elucidate the differences in responses between racial groupings. The differences in responses between black and white respondents are evident in both the quantitative and the qualitative data. These differences are especially conspicuous with regard to numbers of publications and confidence in writing and publishing.

Another aspect where the racial difference was apparent was in the expressed need for training in research skills. It is noteworthy to mention that although a small percentage of black respondents reported that they were satisfied with their publication outputs, all those historically classified as African respondents indicated that they needed training to improve their publication skills. Furthermore, all the black participants reported on their lack of confidence in publishing.

These findings may be attributed, on the one hand, to black participants having experienced the cycle of disadvantagement in their tertiary and academic careers. Many may have come from HBUs where publications were a peripheral academic activity. On the other hand, the findings may also be attributed to the participants current positions, the lower rungs of the academic hierarchy, where they were more involved with teaching than in research and publications.

Participants, although they acknowledged their weaknesses with regard to publishing, were aware of what they required to assist them in their publishing endeavours. Many participants expressed the need for development in writing and publication skills. Programmes, such as those proposed by Duncan et al., (1998) that focus on enhancing the authorship and publication skills of black academics, were recommended for women.

Institutional Change

All the participants referred to the obstacles to publications created by the lack of institutional facilities and heavy workloads. This phenomenon was often perceived to be caused by the lack of resources that are inherent in HBUs, due to their historical roots in the apartheid regime. But, also appeared to relate to the subtle institutionalized gender inequality hinging around traditional stereotypes of male and female work. The participants referred to institutional change with regard to adapting values and criteria for promotion, given that women are involved in various other academic activities. Yet these activities, although they are integral to the academic enterprise, are not acknowledged as promotion criteria. This issue was salient to the academic careers of participants, because they recognized that women, who are often in the lowest positions, carried heavier workloads than people in more senior positions.

The participants were cognizant of the fact that men dominated the senior positions at departmental and institutional levels. With this consciousness, participants realized the importance of developing strategies to investigate and challenge the ways in which the cycle of reproducing men as authors and women as teachers, could be broken. They also acknowledged that entrenched socialization of gendered roles had a negative impact on their time to publish and realized that publishing could be a vehicle to promotion. In this way, more women would be represented in managerial positions, thus giving them more access to power and decision making in academia.

Given that women were often in junior positions, they also reported on the lack of support from senior staff members at departmental and faculty level. Some of the participants expressed their needs for institutionalized staff development programmes (which included mentoring), to assist them in their publishing ventures. Some participants also reported on the need for the establishment of institutionalized women's networks.

Recommendations

The central outcomes of the findings naturally lead into a number of areas namely, awareness raising at a personal and institutional level; intervention strategies geared at developing women's publication skills; and institutional support for women as well as challenging sexist practices within the broader view of engendering academies. These areas of intervention may be outlined as follows.

- **Awareness raising and working with internalized oppression:** Participants expressed a need for interventions at personal and institutional levels. At an individual level, this means women spending time exploring their gendered identities and how these impact on the way in which they spend their time and energies in the academy. At the institutional level, the awareness and investment in publication needs to be developed among women academics. The lack of awareness and/or ambivalence that women seem to have about publishing, as well as their lack of confidence in respect of authorship needs to be challenged. There is a need to develop an awareness of the value and significance of publishing, as well as address women's difficulties with this area of their academic work and development. In this respect, participants also suggested that in terms of raising such awareness at the institutional level, this component of employment must be moved from the margins to a more central position. Publication output is a vital component as outlined in recent documents from the Department of Education, namely, the National Plan for Higher Education, and the New Framework for Funding Public Higher Education. In these documents the pivotal role of institutional publication output and its impact on both institutional funding and the existence of institutions, is described. It therefore becomes imperative that institutions assist their staff in their publishing endeavours and, because women form a significant complement of academic staff,

albeit in junior positions, staff development programmes must be geared to assist them.

- **Intervention strategies geared at women:** It also becomes imperative to develop intervention strategies to assist women in juggling their personal and academic roles, in order to create space for publications. These interventions may consist of institutionalized staff development programmes with a specific focus on the development of academic women. These may take the form of mentoring programmes, workshops in time management and training in publication skills.

Institutional changes and support for women: At a broader level, it is evident that academic institutions need to interrogate their practices, not only how they subtly reproduce gender inequalities (through work loads, assumptions that women should do certain things, etc.) but also through their failure to directly intervene towards the development of women's authorship. There are multiple ways in which institutions may be able to intervene and support women's authorship. This means prioritizing women's academic development, and finding ways of directly supporting them through interventions. A number of suggestions in this respect include:

- o The development of supportive, networking structures for women, such as authorship development forums. Such networks may fulfill mentoring roles and may contribute to improved confidence with regard to publishing. With respect to the role of the institution, it is also strongly recommended that - It is strongly recommended Research Offices take on a more primary role in the assistance and mentoring of women in their academic endeavours. Research Offices are arguably well placed to provide workshops to encourage publications. It is further recommended that such

Research Offices develop monitoring processes to 'track' support staff who do not publish regularly, and to acknowledge and reward the publications of the staff who do publish.

o Another important support mechanism would be the introduction of induction programmes for new and junior staff, as well as institutional staff development programmes. These programmes would assist in the development of skills to meet the expectations of academic careers.

o Arguably, the provision of institutionalized staff development programmes will also assist institutions to comply with two recently introduced laws, namely the Workplace Skills Plan and the Employment Equity Act. These laws were developed by the Department of Labour as interventions aimed at redressing the inequities in skills development and employment opportunities, caused by the apartheid regime[29]. The Workplace Skills plan relates to the regulation whereby employers are encouraged to develop their staff by offering skills training. The Employment Equity Act is the law relating to the staff compositions whereby organizations are expected to have staff profiles which include staff from all the 'designated' groups. Appendix Four contains some of documentation from the Department of Labour, that comprehensively describes the purpose and the content of both these Acts[30].

o Institutionalized programmes that are aimed at the development of academic women will arguably help to retain staff to HBUs from at

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[29] These could be regarded as changes to the social order referred to in Chapter Two.
[30] These documents were downloaded from on-line documents available on the Department of Labour website.

least two of the designated groups[31], defined by the Department of Labour. The implementation of such programmes would enable institutions to 'grow their own timber' in order to attain equity targets and sustain high levels of competency of academic staff.

The provision of institutionalized training that focuses specifically on publication skills may contribute to improving academic women's relationship with publishing. The fostering of this relationship may contribute to more regular publishing. Importantly, training in publication skills will provide academic women with a resource to improve their publication records and thus be able to fulfill promotion criteria.

Limitations of the study and recommendations for further studies

Methodological considerations

The major difficulty that I experienced in the methodology of this study related to the co-ordination of the focus groups and interviews. Researchers conducting studies of this nature should consider the advantages of making use of fieldworkers at respective institutions to eliminate the dilemmas of co-ordinating meetings of participants for the study. For example, 'contact people' at selected institutions would have facilitated the process by their 'internal collegial networks'. Because I did not know a single staff member at UDW or at Univen, I had to rely on IT communication to establish these groupings. But the assistance of fieldworkers will not overcome all the hurdles as even at my own institution, the co-ordination of focus groups was a difficult one. It is difficult to make recommendations for the co-ordination process of focus groups with academics

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[31] The Department of Labour has identified designated groups to be 'black, women and disabled persons'. See Appendix Four- Employment Equity Act.

since time-schedules are difficult to co-ordinate and participants may not always want to be in groups that have been co-ordinated along departmental lines.

Another limitation of the study relates to the small sample size for both the qualitative and quantitative parts of the study. Researchers need to develop strategies that will encourage participation in such research projects. As mentioned earlier, only three out of the eleven HBUs were selected for the study and thus the findings are not representative of all academic women at HBUs. A braoder, more representative sample of all the institutions in South Africa would be an important next step in this research

There were clearly limitations related to the survey-questionnaire and its analysis. For this study, the database that was established and consequently, the way in which the data was entered, allowed for limited forms of statistical manipulation. In this respect it is recommended that when the quantitative data is collated, the database be established in a way that enables the data to be analyzed at a deeper level. This will ensure that the data is able to be subjected to regression analysis, anova and other more complex analyses.

Another weakness of the questionnaire used here is that it relies on composite categories such as 'family commitments' which might refer to a range of issues. I also propose that the factors which respondents report to influence their publishing abilities be analyzed and 'unpacked' further. For example, the factor 'family commitments', should be able to be deconstructed into its various components by participants and they should be able to articulate the relative influence of each these constituents on their publishing abilities. For this study, however, the quantitative data was not intended to be an analytical tool but to provide a descriptive profile. There was more concern with the analysis of the qualitative data in this respect.

Proposals for future studies

Because the response to this study was skewed, with 39% of respondents being white, recommend that a study needs to be done focusing more specifically on black women academics with regard to the challenges they experience in HBUs. This full audit should include: their tertiary careers (where and the type of institution where they studied); their mentoring experiences; length of time of their employment in the academy; period of time in various positions in the academy; composition of their academic workload (teaching load, administrative load and committee load); perceptions of the value and significance of publishing; how they report on their publishing endeavours (barriers and support systems)

In order to gain information about all academic women in South Africa, I also recommend that the proposed audit be conducted with black and white women academics at HWUs. These studies would provide insights into identifying interventions to assist academic women in their publishing endeavours. The intention of these interventions should be to foster a positive relationship for academics with publishing. This sentiment is succinctly stated by Potgieter and Moleko (2002), who believe that institutions need to foster and develop black women academics and ensure that working conditions are supportive for their particular needs.

In general more qualitative work looking at women's positions in academia and in particular their relationship to publishing is needed in South Africa. For example, a further study that would provide useful data with respect to the knowledge base for feminist inquiry is a study exploring how women assist or do not assist each other in an academic context. Such a study would provide insights on both the phenomenon of 'queen bee' as well as the mentoring of women by women.

Conclusions

Although a democratic dispensation now exists in South Africa, there have been few initiatives from national or provincial government structures to redress the inequalities and inadequacies which exist in HBUs when compared with HWUs. HBUs are often still characterized by inadequate infrastructures, lack of facilities and understaffing. The impact of such inadequacies causes heavy workloads, large amounts of administrative duties and high demands for academic development. There is a dire need for academic development at HBUs. Historically, these institutions were established for disenfranchised people from disadvantaged communities, yet student profiles at these institutions have not changed significantly. Currently the majority of student populations at HBUs are still from disadvantaged communities. This makes academic development a crucial component of the academic project at these institutions. The cumulative consequences of the responsibilities of academic women at HBUs, leave very little 'space' for research and publications. Thus it becomes important that we develop strategies to consciously create 'space' for women's publishing.

Women, especially black South African women, are often referred to as 'silent' This preconception must be examined in order contextualize the 'silence' by recognizing that silence is usually associated with power and powerlessness (Guzana, 2000). During the examinations of the concepts of silence, there must be a recognition that dominant social groups often control the channels of communication and that the notion of 'silence' may, in fact, result in women accepting subordination and/or submissiveness. It may also be argued that when academic women do not challenge androcentric cultures, which often dominate academies, they may, in fact be accepting their own subordinate status. It is therefore conceivable that academic women's 'silence' may contribute to their lack of confidence and vigor in claiming their full membership as academics who contribute to knowledge production in academia.

Mama (2000) maintains that women need to realize that writing and publishing offers them an opportunity to maintain their sense of identity by retaining self-respect. Through writing women may be able to challenge the paradigms of the patriarchal social order and dominant ideology. She continues to assert that

> Many voices are surfacing in these times of shifting boundaries and changing subjects. However, in contrast to the verbal cacophony, the written space remains exclusive, retaining boundaries that ensure writing is produced as unevenly as it is distributed... The printed word continues to be largely monopolized and mediated by a Western- and male dominated international intelligentsia... (Mama, 2000,p. 20)

For want of a suitable and emphatic closure to the study,   would like to use the following quotations as a conclusion to the current study:

> Writing is hard: it involves confrontations with critique (from others, and often more harsh, from oneself), ... co-operates with conventions, it requires engagements with public accountability, it demands a self (Bennett, 2000,p. 10).

> .... Writing is the end product of a long-term engagement with words and ideas..... women must emerge confident that their voices and ideas are   important and that they can contribute to knowledge production (Prinsloo, 2000,p. 56).

> Imagined communities of all kinds have relied on the written and published word: Commandments carved on stone tablets, Koranic codes of behaviour, and laws of all kinds are written....producing written texts has been an essential strategy for the exercise of power...Like the proverbial maid who must know her master well enough to anticipate his every whim, writers from the periphery are required to be versed in all the master texts ever produced in the belly of the beast that devours us (Mama, 2000,p. 20).

As academic women, and especially as black South African academic women, we are required to take stock of our own lives, view our circumstances and positions in the academy and in society, and go on to develop strategies to

enable us make use of our available resources in order to 'create' time for publications. These interventions should enable us, as academic women, to use our publications as a mechanism to enable us to shatter the 'glass ceilings' that curtail our full membership to the academy and our complete citizenship in society. We need to take seriously Mama's position that writing is a political, subversive and transformative act (Mama, 2000). We, as South African women, are thus urged to contribute to the global economy of knowledge production and our own empowerment by our publications. Furthermore, it is imperative that we, and not the interviewers or researchers, become the authors of our own life-stories and our own academic work.

My personal challenges in completing this dissertation

The writing of this thesis was one of my most humbling life experiences. For me, this was a mammoth academic endeavour that regularly eroded my self-confidence when I had to resubmit and re-work drafts because of the major difficulties I experienced in articulating and expressing myself in text. Although I have published a number of articles and presented internationally, my difficulties in writing this thesis may have been attributed to my inexperience with the writing genré of this discipline and the requirement of a substantial engagement in the 'world of words'. This type of writing was very different to the type of writing required in my former qualifications, which were mainly in a technical discipline.

Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, was more conversant with quantitative research methodologies, and therefore the paradigm and mind-shift to a qualitative methodology was a daunting one. Retrospectively, this aspect of the study proved to be less problematic than the 'writing up' phase. On very many occasions I was overwhelmed and grappled extensively with producing texts that were coherent and comprehensible. These were the occasions when the reasons

that motivated me to embark on this study, sustained my aspiration to complete the study.

I was also humbled, in another sense, in the interviews and focus group discussions. I was privileged and honored to be taken into the confidence of participants, even those whom I met for the first time, and who shared their personal life stories and problematic situations with me. Some of these participants acknowledged that they had not articulated some of their challenges and/or ideas with anyone else before.

I enjoyed the familiarity of the discussions because I, like some of the participants, studied and am employed at an HBU. This has provided me with 'first hand' experience of the barriers that often prevent women from publishing. This woman-centered research has created an opportunity for the development of interventions to assist academic women to convert the challenges they experience with regard to publishing, into strategies that enable them to publish more frequently.

With this thesis I pay tribute to and salute all academics, both male and female, who have contributed and continue to contribute to the development of academic women, and more especially black academic women, in South African HBUs.

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APPENDIX ONE: LETTER TO REGISTRARS

REQUEST FOR INFORMATION ON WOMEN ACADEMIC STAFF MEMBERS

Dear Madam / Sir

I am a doctoral candidate at the University of the Western Cape and the focus of the study is the challenges of women in academia with specific reference to publications.

hereby request the following information with regard to your institution:
the academic staff composition with regard to the number of male academic staff members and the number of female staff members (ratio in proportion will suffice)

- a list of names and the departmental addresses the women academic staff members.

Please be assured that the identity of staff members will be considered to be highly confidential when the data is analyzed. The information requested is vital to the success of the study and thus it would be highly appreciated if this information could be made available to me at your earliest convenience please.

Thanking you in anticipation for your positive response and urgent attention to this request.

Yours in education

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Anita Maürtin-Cairncross

APPENDIX TWO: COVERING LETTER AND QUESTIONNAIRE

PUBLICATIONS BY WOMEN ACADEMICS
in South African universities

Dear

I am researching the challenges of women academics in South African universities, with specific reference to publishing. The aims of this study include establishing a database on the publication profiles of women academics. This information will be used to develop strategies and policies as interventions for reported challenges. This research, therefore, strives to establish mechanisms to support women academics in their publication ventures.

Please complete and return the questionnaire below to me in the self addressed envelope which is included before 28 February 2001. Please be assured of the anonymity and confidentiality of your response.

As this is a topic that affects our academic careers and, ultimately, our relevance to the constituencies we serve, I trust that I may rely on your participation in completing this questionnaire.

Yours in education
Anita Maurtin-Cairncross

QUESTIONNAIRE

Challenges with regard to publications by women staff members in South African universities.

Reference (office use): ⊘ ☐☐☐☐☐☐

1. What is the name of your institution/university?

✎ ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

2. Would you classify your discipline as predominantly...

☑ **1** Social science   OR   **9** Natural science?

3. What position do you presently hold?

☑ **1** Professor **2** Associate Prof. **3** Snr lecturer **4** Lecturer **9** Other

4. Before 1994, what would you have been racially classified as?

☑ **1** Asian **2** Black **3** Coloured **4** White **9** Do not care to answer

5. How often have you published in an academic journal or text book in the past 5 years?

☑ **1** More than 10 times **2** 6-10 **3** 3-5 **4** 1-2 **0** None

6. Classification of publications

Please how many of these articles were:

6.1 In accredited journals	☑ **1** Only 1	**2** 2	**3** 3	**4** 4	**9** More than 4
6.2 In non-accredited journals	☑ **1** Only 1	**2** 2	**3** 3	**4** 4	**9** More than 4
6.3 In international journals	☑ **1** Only 1	**2** 2	**3** 3	**4** 4	**9** More than 4
6.4 Co-authored	☑ **1** Only 1	**2** 2	**3** 3	**4** 4	**9** More than 4

7. Satisfaction

Are you satisfied with your publication output?

☑ **1** Yes   **9** No

8. Training

Do you think that training in publications skills would improve your publication output?

☑ **1** Yes   **9** No

9. Importance of Factors

Please rank the importance of the following factors with regard to publication output:

9.1	Race/ethnicity	☑**1** Very important	**5** Important	**9** Not important
9.2	Work load	☑**1** Very important	**5** Important	**9** Not important
9.3	Position/rank	☑**1** Very important	**5** Important	**9** Not important
9.4	Time	☑**1** Very important	**5** Important	**9** Not important
9.5	Institutional atmosphere	☑**1** Very important	**5** Important	**9** Not important
9.6	Other factors	☑**1** Very important	**5** Important	**9** Not important

10. Influence of Factors
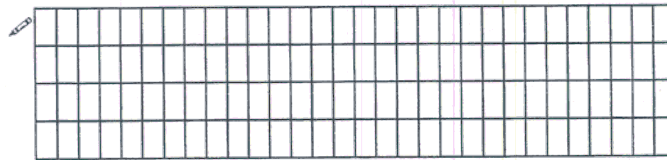
Please rank the influence of the following factors with regard to publication output:

		Greatly assisted	Assisted	No influence	Impeded	Greatly impeded	Not applicable
10.1	Available time	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**
10.2	Teaching duties	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**
10.3	Admin. duties	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**
10.4	Family commitments	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**
10.5	Peer motivation	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**
10.6	Outside networks	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**

Department:

10.7	Support	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**
10.8	Acknowledgment	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**

Faculty:

10.9	Support	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**
10.10	Acknowledgment	☑ **1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**0**

Institution:
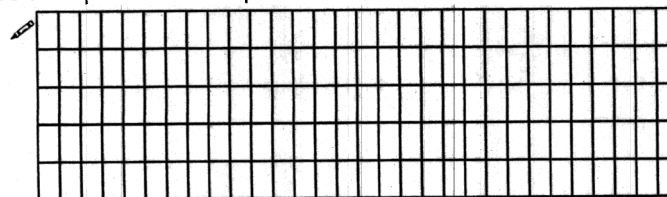
		1	2	3	4	5	0
10.11	Support	☑ 1	2	3	4	5	0
10.12	Acknowledgment	☑ 1	2	3	4	5	0
10.13	Research office	☑ 1	2	3	4	5	0
10.14	Gender equity unit	☑ 1	2	3	4	5	0
10.15	Career advancement	☑ 1	2	3	4	5	0

10.16　Please feel free to elaborate on any of the above factors

11. Suggestions

What support/assistance could the institution provide to assist and motivate women staff members to increase their publication output?

12. Focus Group

Would you be available for an interview/focus group discussion with regard to challenges and strategies to increase publication output of women academic staff members?

Please email me at:　**acairncross@uwc.ac.za**

Thank you for your cooperation, time and support !

APPENDIX THREE: CODING CONVENTIONS USED IN QUOTATIONS

The following conventions were used in the quotations in Chapters Six and Seven:

Int: refers to interview, for example, Int, 3 refers to interview three.

FG: refers to focus group discussion, for example, FG, 1, refers to focus group one.

Bold print : ....   Indicates emphasis by participant.

                        indicates a pause of more than 15 seconds and is sometimes used to indicate different points made by participant.

text]   Additional or replaced word that was probably meant by participant, or to make the excerpt read better and/or make grammatical sense, (sometimes includes what is assumed the speaker meant, rather than what was said due to grammatical error).

[*text*]:   explanatory text

APPENDIX FOUR: DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE SKILLS DEVELOPMENT AND EMPLOYMENT EQUITY ACTS

As mentioned in Chapter Eight, these documents were downloaded from the website of the Department of Labour. The documents are included to provide a broad overview relating to the recently-introduced laws that were developed as interventions for redress and equity in South Africa.

The documents are:

- **Appendix 4.1:** An overview of legislation I: (this document provides a backdrop to the laws).

- **Appendix 4.2:** An overview of legislation II: (this document outlines the Skills Development Levies Act and the Employment Equity Act.

- **Appendix 4.3**: A document relating to the Workplace Skills Plan, which is referred to in Appendix 4.1. and Appendix 4.2.

An overview of legislation I:

SAQA and the Skills Development Acts

The process of transforming the South Africa workplace to ensure equity and productivity began with the new Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1995, which promotes fair labour practices and simplifies dispute resolution procedures for business and labour. It was followed by the Basic Conditions of Employment (BCoE) Act of 1997, covering the day-to-day rights of people in the workplace.

From the mid 1990s, a range of Acts were passed which profoundly affected education and training in South Africa.

- The South African Qualifications Authority Act, Number 58 of 1995;
- The Skills Development Act, Number 97 of 1998;
- The Skills Development Levies Act, Number 9 of 1999; and
- The Employment Equity Act, Number 55 of 1998.

In simple terms, their functions are

to make training happen (Skills Development Act)
to make training affordable (Skills Development Levies Act)
to make training effective (SAQA Act)
to make training equitable (Employment Equity Act)

This information sheet deals with the SAQA and Skills Development Acts.
Another covers the Skills Development Levies Act and the Employment Equity Act.

The SAQA Act

The SAQA (South African Qualifications Authority) Act outlines a new education and training system for South Africa which is intended to help the country achieve political, social and economic transformation by unlocking the full potential of each learner through their participation in "outcomes-based education" which focuses on "competence".

Central to this is the National Qualification Framework, which locates all education and training on a grid in a way that integrates "formal education" with "vocational training". It also provides for the formalisation of previously non-formal learning programmes, by requiring that they meet certain design and quality specifications. The modules are called "unit standards" and the whole programme a "national qualification". The aim is to encourage the provision of all education and training in line with this framework, giving learners mobility and national recognition and employers a way of ensuring the quality of people they train and employ.

The other significant factor in this new system is the issues of "competence" which focuses on *what* a person can do and explain rather than *how* they acquired their skills / knowledge. This is the first time that learning achievements in both formal and non-formal learning environments are recognised, thus including a wide range of learning achievements in the workplace. This in turn facilitates further learning, career pathing and labour market mobility.

The Act stipulates that there be strong stakeholder involvement in determining standards of competence across all learning areas, and the new quality assurance measures to improve learning provision.

SAQA's work also includes
- registering the National Standards Bodies (which are 'bodies responsible for establishing education and training standards or qualifications') and
- accrediting Education and Training Quality Assurance Bodies (which are responsible for ensuring that the education and training provided is meeting the required standards).

The Skills Development Act

The Skills Development Act (SDA) introduces mechanisms to improve the relationship between the provision of education and the skills needs of workplaces. These include new learning programmes, new approaches to implementing workplace-based learning and financial incentives.

Like the SAQA Act, the SDA is completely changing workplace learning. The vision is of an integrated skills development system, which promotes economic growth, increased employment and social development by focussing on education, training and proper employment services.

A cornerstone of the Act is the introduction of new forms of learning – called learnerships and skills programmes. It also creates a framework and structures to support the implementation of the National Skills Development Strategy, including Sector Education and Training Authorities (SETAs); a skills development levy-grant scheme; the National Skills Authority (NSA); the National Skills Fund (NSF); the Skills Development Planning Unit (SDPU); and labour centres.

The Act aims to increase the amount of money spent on education and training in the workplace, and to make sure the money is well spent. While the Skills Development Levy Act of 1999 sets up the rules for the collection of levies, the SDA specifies that the money should be spent on education and training that is registered on the NQF and that meets real needs in the labour market.

One of the main changes in the way in which training is organised, is that the SETAs must promote and organise training *within a sector*, rather than within an *industry* as the old Industry Training Boards had done. This means that people who are not formally employed in an industry – but work or want to work within a sector (e.g. small business, the unemployed) - can gain access to the development opportunities where they could not do so beforehand.

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Appendix 4.2.: Legislation II

An overview of legislation II:
The Skills Development Levies Act and
the Employment Equity Act

The process of transforming the South Africa workplace to ensure equity and productivity began with the new Labour Relations (LRA) Act of 1995, which promotes fair labour practices and simplifies dispute resolution procedures for business and labour. It was followed by the Basic Conditions of Employment (BCoE) Act of 1997, covering the day-to-day rights of people in the workplace.

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In simple terms, their functions are
> to make training happen (Skills Development Act)
> to make training affordable (Skills Development Levies Act)
> to make training effective (SAQA Act)
> to make training equitable (Employment Equity Act)

> *The SAQA and Skills Development Acts are dealt with in another information sheet.*
> *The Skills Development Levies Act an the Employment Equity Act are explained here.*

Skills Development Levies Act

The Skills Development Levies Act provides the laws and regulations for funding for the development of the workforce, in line with the Skills Development Act. From 1 April 2001 it requires all organisations with an annual payroll of more than R250 000 to pay a skills development levy of 1% of their payroll. (While there are exemptions available for some organisations, all employers must register and then apply for exemption.)

The levy is payable monthly to the South African Revenue Service (SARS). When registering as a levy payer, organisations are asked to stipulate to which SETA they belong, so that the levy can be forwarded to that SETA.

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70% of the levy is refundable to organisations in the form of grants, once they meet the various requirements set out for each grant. For example a grant of 15% of their annual levy is payable once the SETA has approved the organisation's choice of a Skills Development Facilitator and the content of their annual Workplace Skills Plan.

A portion of each levy (18%) is sent to the National Skills Fund for national priorities – like schemes for the unemployed, while 10% is for the SETA's running costs. 2% is allocated to SARS for the collection of the levies.

Employment Equity Act

The right to equality is enshrined in the South African Bill of Rights. In line with this fundamental right, the Employment Equity Act (EEA) aims to promote equality in the workplace - to eliminate unfair discrimination and to ensure employment equity as a form of redress. The Act also aims to create a workforce which is representative of all South Africans.

The EEA affects almost every aspect of employment policy and practice:
- recruitment procedures, advertising and selection criteria;
- appointments and the appointment processes;
- job classification and grading;
- remuneration and employment benefits; and
- terms and conditions of service

The Act identifies a number of 'designated groups' (or special groups) which require special attention in order for equitable workplaces to be created. These groups are black people (that is, African, Coloured and Indian people), people with disabilities and women. Employers are required to report on these categories of people (gender, race and disability) in their Workplace Skills Plans and annual training reports. The Skills Development Act states that the Workplace Skills Plans must assist organisations to attain their employment equity targets.

The EEA also identifies 'designated employers' (that is, those who employ more than 50 people and make a particular level of profit) who will especially be held liable if they do not comply with the demands of the Act. Designated employers must implement affirmative action measures for people from designated groups to achieve employment equity. To do so, they must appoint a senior manager in charge of employment equity; consult with employees; analyse its employment policies, practices and procedures to identify barriers to employment; prepare an Employment Equity Plan jointly with its employees and report on progress.

The Act also provides for the establishment of a Commission of Employment Equity, which is a stakeholder body responsible for establishing Codes of Good Practice. The Act requires that these codes are monitored and enforced, and says how this should happen.

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Appendix 4.3. : The Workplace Skills Plan

Workplace Skills Plans

A Workplace Skills Plan is a plan - approved by THETA - which outlines the training and development for an organisation for one year. There is a prescribed format for the Plan which is available on the THETA website at www.theta.org.za.

A Workplace Skills Plan (WSP) requires information on, amongst other things:

- the number of people trained in the organisation by job type and race;
- the organisation's strategic priorities for skills development;
- the training and education needed to ensure the development of the business and employees;
- details of the education and training needed to achieve these priorities - including proposed training interventions, estimated costs, specific job types and whether interventions will be conducted by external training providers or the organisations themselves;
- information regarding employment equity in the organisation; and
- the specific sector's business plan.

Purpose of the Workplace Skills Plan

Workplace Skills Plans can impact positively on a number of areas within an organisation:

- management and employees start to discuss skills in the workplace;
- gaps and shortfalls in skills required are identified and positive ways of addressing them are devised;
- the organisation uncovers talents and skills they did not know they had; and
- management shares the organisation's goals with employees, who are then better able to understand them and commit to the process of achieving them.

Apart from these benefits, the Implementation Grant - which is a percentage of the levy paid by organisations to THETA - will be paid to organisations who show that they have implemented plans identified in their Workplace Skills Plan.

Compiling a Workplace Skills Plan

The Skills Development Facilitator is formally responsible for submitting the Workplace Skills Plan to THETA - and plays a major role in its compilation.

When compiling a Workplace Skills Plan, an organisation should

- o consider their goals and priorities for the year for which the WSP is being drafted and plan training to address these;
- o refer to their business plan;
- o incorporate information obtained from any career pathing exercises or processes in which individual training needs are identified; and
- o refer to their Employment Equity Plan, as many of the information fields

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are the same.

NOTE: Employers with more than 50 employees must complete the entire Workplace Skills Planning document in order to qualify for a grant. Employers with less than 50 employees must only complete sections A1, A2, B1, B3, C and E to qualify for a grant. This is applicable to independent organizations and/or franchisees, and not groups who wish to submit one plan for their group.

Implementing and reporting on the Workplace Skills Plan

Organisations should keep records of all the training, activities, assessment and/or development initiatives implemented according to the WSP in preparation for preparing implementation report(s) for the reporting period 1 April to 31 March each year. Organisations may submit either one or two implementation reports each year, depending on whether they would like to receive one full payment or two half payments of the grant allocated for this (50% of their levy paid).

The Skills Development Facilitator must prepare these reports, listing all the interventions implemented according to the WSP. Documents listed which must accompany the report are listed in the Guidelines on the website and include, e.g. attendance registers and copies of invoices from providers.

THETA will measure the achievements identified in the report(s) against the priorities outlined in the WSP, with a view to paying the employer this grant if they have implemented the Plan sufficiently.

Sector Skills Plan

THETA is required to complete and submit an annual Sector Skills Plan to the Department of Labour. The quality of THETA's Sector Skills Plan can be vastly enhanced if information received from industry WSPs is incorporated.

For the 2000-2001 period, THETA received only 330 WSPs from an estimated 13 000 leviable employers (9 000 of whom are currently paying levies) - a return rate of 2,5% (or 3,%).

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