Cultures of Inequality

Exploring Gender and Race in a South African University

By

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the nature and intersection of gender and racial inequality within a South African University culture during a period of transition in the higher education system in South Africa. The research draws on Alvesson's (2002) emancipatory approach to culture and on Acker's (2006) inequality regimes framework to explore the ways in which gender, class and race operate as organising principles of work and within organisations. This study explore in particular, the role and impact of social and historic inequalities embedded within South Africa's national culture, a legacy of the previous "apartheid" era, on the nature of gender and race relations within a University setting. It also examines the ways in which gender and race form the bases of inequality through a range of gender and race relations- that being the division of labour, symbols, social relations and self-identities and examines the visibility, legitimacy, control and compliance of inequalities including how the processes and practices of the University produce an ideal worker norm. The findings suggest that the University's structures, processes and practices reflect nationally embedded divisions and have reinforced and strengthened the pre-existing patriarchal and racialised University culture. Through the adoption of Acker's inequality regimes framework and intersectionality approach (Crenshaw 1991; Acker 2006b; Knudsen 2006) to the analysis of University cultures, this research has enabled participants to have a voice concerning the shape and degree of inequalities in the workplace. In doing so, the research makes an important contribution to academic knowledge and understanding of the gendered and racialised nature of the University culture and the constitution of individual subjectivities, as well as in the wider context, the gendered and racialised nature of the organisations and organisational theory.

Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my family, Jerome, Sihle, Nompumelelo, Nolwazi and my beloved grandsons, Njabulo and Ntobeko, for their constant support and unconditional love. I love you all dearly.

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Chapter 1

1. Setting the Scene

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to explore and advance knowledge and understanding on the extent, nature and intersections of gender and racial inequalities within the workplace. This chapter is divided into five main sections. Firstly it provides a brief overview of the theoretical background and rationale for the current study. Following this, the study's methodology and aims and objectives are outlined. Subsequently, a brief summary of the contribution of this study is presented. Finally the chapter concludes with a description of the content and structure of the thesis.

1.2 Theoretical Background and Rationale for the Study

Since the early 1980s, there has been a significant increase in interest in the study of organisational culture and its important role in achieving improved organisational effectiveness. Studies of organisational culture suggest that organisations should be viewed less as machines, and more as social entities which serve to bring about the process of socialisation, thereby creating social norms and structures (Smircich 1983a; Alvesson 2002; Martin 2002). Organisational shared cultural meanings, norms, beliefs and values are considered to be one of the most important aspects for an organisation's survival. Shared cultural values and meanings are seen as an investment by organisational shareholders and are expected to be provide a positive return on organisational effectiveness (Deal and Kennedy 1982; Peters and Waterman 1982; Schein 1985).

Research on organisational culture suggests that culture enables its members to work through the basic challenges of survival and adaptation to the external environment, as well as to develop and maintain internal processes that perpetuate adaptability and promote the organisation's effectiveness and continued existence (Schein 1985; Martin 1992). Research also suggests that culture is influenced by a variety of social processes that develop gradually over time and in response to environmental uncertainties and

conditions (Smircich 1983a; Alvesson 2002). It is argued that these social processes give rise to cultural differences which can be viewed as having manifested by interrelated and differential levels (Martin 1992, 2002). However, in work organisations it is argued that employees are intimately involved with the everyday organisational social processes, norms, values and ideologies of organisational life that guide their behaviour in context-specific ways (Kilmann et al. 1985; Trice and Beyer 1993). In contrast, other researchers suggest that, within these shared cultural meanings, norms and beliefs there lies a cauldron of hidden frustrations, conflicts, marginalisation and domination. It is argued that the very organisational culture that creates harmony among organisational members, as well as creating strong and effective organisations can also be seen to create and even entrench power relations among and between organisational members (Alvesson 2002). It is the failure to recognise this latter such facets that leaves organisational studies open to the criticism that it ignore the negative and harmful side of organisational culture in its analysis (Hearn and Parkin 1983; Calás and Smircich 1996; Alvesson 2002).

The negative impact of organisational culture are brought to particular attention is derived from feminist analysis of organisations, commonly termed gendered organisation theory. Gendered organisational culture theory identifies the process through which organisations become gendered (see Mills 1988; Acker 1990, 1992; Gherardi 1995; Mills 2002). Although gendered analysis (see Mills 1988; Gherardi 1994), discourse analysis (see Mills 1994; Mumby 1998) and deconstruction of texts (see Martin 1990; Calás and Smircich 1991; Mumby and Putnam 1992) suggests a significant male dominance within organisations and identifies the dominant forms of masculinity underlying organisational meanings, little empirical academic work has been conducted exploring how gender, race and class relations interact and the extent to which gender, race and class discrimination have become embedded within the cultural values that form the basis of organisational cultures.

In light of the above, this study does not focus solely on the positive portrayal of organisational culture, nor on the effectiveness and performance of organisations. Instead it seeks to advance existing knowledge on *the culture of inequality* within the workplace, particularly from the point of view of employees' experiences within the workplace. To achieve this, it adopts and develops the inequality regime theoretical

framework of Joan Acker (2006b) to explore the role of organisational culture in the production and maintenance of gender, race and class inequality within the workplace.

Despite the body of research on organisational culture, there remains a relative paucity of empirical research that specifically illustrates the ways in which gender, race and class relations and organisational culture are connected. The main purpose of this research is to contribute to these emerging discussions about the gendered, classed and racialised nature of organisational culture and to explore how this in turn seems to create and sustain radicalised cultures within organisation settings. Clearly, culture can be viewed as having both positive and negative characteristics, on the one hand creating a stimulating, supportive and encouraging environment for organisational employees, and on the other something that harms, marginalises and exploits members at the expense of achieving a common goal or organisational effectiveness. This study draws on the emancipatory analysis of culture (Alvesson 2002), with its focus on the hidden and negative aspects of cultural phenomena in organisational life, to reveal and focus on the hidden agendas in a case study University and examine how organisational structures and processes create and sustain gender, class, and racial equality/inequality.

As a starting point, this research builds on the extensive work of Joan Acker (1990, 1992, 2006a, b, 2009) who forcefully argued for the recognition of the influential role that culture plays in producing and reproducing gendered structures and processes. Acker (1990) argues that the construction of gendered divisions in work organisations and social institutions occur through at least five interacting processes: the division of labour, the specification of allowed behaviours, the location in physical space, the power relations within an organisation and the institutionalised maintenance of divisions in the structures of the labour market. Recognising that this perspective (and gendered organisational theory) has been criticised for neglecting other social categories, this study uses and applies this framework to explore not only gender but the nature of race and class inequality within a case study University. Furthermore, it also adopts the concept of intersectionality developed by feminist theorists (King 1989; Crenshaw 1991; Collins 1998b) which focuses on how gender, race, and class interact and combine to form the basis of inequality within the workplace. This theoretical perspective helps to explore and understand how organisational culture produces and/or maintains gendered, racialised and classed structures, processes and practices.

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1.3 Research Methodology: Aims and Objectives

Drawing on the emancipatory approach to organisational culture and gendered organisation theory, the overall aim of this study is to explore the role of the organisational culture in the production and maintenance of gender, race and class inequality within the workplace. To explore this, an in-depth case study was conducted of a higher education organisation in South Africa. To achieve a greater depth of understanding, this study adopts an interpretive and qualitative approach and focuses on employees' experiences of gender, race and class relations within the workplace. Three research methods are deployed to gather empirical material, that of semi-structured interviews with employees of the University, observation of practices, and content analysis of University documents. Whilst the interview data represented the study's main data source, observations were used at various stages to support or provide a contextual understanding to the interviews, as well as University documentation which provided greater understanding of the structures, hierarchies and staff profile of the University.

1.3.1 Aims and Objectives

The overall aim of this study is to explore the role of organisational culture in maintaining gender, race and class equality and in the production of gender, race and class inequality within the workplace. By doing so it extends our current understanding of organisational culture as developed in academic literature by adopting the inequality regimes framework developed by Joan Acker (2006b). Drawing on research from organisational culture, gendered organisational culture and intersectionality literatures, the specific objectives of this study are presented below, each of which reflecting an individual component of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3.

- To examine the extent to which the processes and practices of a South African higher education institution promotes equality and/or perpetuates gender, race and class inequalities.
- To investigate the ways in which University hierarchies shape the degree and patterns of gender, race and class inequalities.

- To explore the extent to which gender, race and class operate as organising principles of work in terms of, recruitment and, selection and promotion, as well as an interactional mechanism among employees within the University context.
- To explore the level of visibility and awareness in relation to gender, race and class of inequality within the University processes and practices.
- To understand employees' perception and understanding of University control systems and power relations, and its effects on their day-to-day work life.
- To examine how gender, class and race interact to construct the culture of equality and/or inequality within a University setting.

1.4 Contribution and Significance of Doctoral Study

This thesis offers a number of contributions, not least to develop and extend theory that has considered the gendered nature of organisational culture and to include inequalities based on race and class and the intersections thereof. This study also contributes to existing literature on organisational culture through the empirical study of the intersection of inequalities that produce a culture of inequality and, by analysing how these different forms of inequality interact in specific institutional settings. Further key contributions of this study include;

- Bringing together the intersectionality theory with the work of Joan Acker's inequality regime framework (1990, 1992, 2006b) to offer a more sophisticated interrogating lens for critically analysing cultures of inequality. It thus offers insights into the complex, multiple and *differentiated* ways in which different genders, races and classes intersect in the (re)production of cultures of inequality.
- Providing a more direct focus on the study of race and organisational culture to highlight the importance of critically interrogating racial structures of organisations. In doing so, it recognises that all organisational members are 'raced', and is thus better able to access and understand different individuals' attitudes and perceptions of other organisational members with regards to race.
- Focusing on the discourses of discrimination to consider the different attitudes and perceptions towards employment equity, and to analyse why equality initiatives can fail to achieve their objectives. Thus by exploring organisational

members' subjective attitudes, experiences, and interpretations towards employment equity policies, the research offers an insight into how discourses on discrimination are mobilised by different groups within an organisation.

- Highlighting the role of trade unions in addressing and/or perpetuating discrimination within organisations.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into 8 Chapters. *Chapter 2* outlines the different philosophical frameworks of organisational culture in academic literature. It does so in order to identify the most appropriate theoretical framing for analysing gender, race and class inequalities within the culture of a specific work setting. Three key models of organisational culture are identified and discussed in detail, namely Linda Smircich's (1983) two cultural paradigms (culture as a variable and as a root metaphor), Joan Martin's (1992, 2002) three cultural perspective examining integration, differentiation and fragmentation, and, finally, Alvesson's (2002) three cognitive interests which draws on Habermas' (1972) work (technical, hermeneutic-practical, and emancipatory). Each of these theoretical approaches to culture is discussed in the light of its contribution to organisational theory.

Chapter 3 focuses on the gendered nature of organisational culture and illustrates the ways in which gender relations and organisational culture are connected. The chapter then focuses on the intersectionality perspective and describes how gender, class and race interact to form the basis of inequalities within the structures, processes and practices of organisations. It also asks how these social categories operate as organising principles of work, organisation and professional disciplines. Lastly, Chapter 3 sets out the theoretical framework of this study and outlines how Acker's (2006b) inequality regimes framework and intersectionality perspective was adopted and amended to explore the ways in which individuals have sought to understand and deal with their marginalised and subordinate status in work organisations.

Chapter 4 outlines the study's underlying philosophical approach and details the research methodology and methods adopted. Firstly, a reflexive account of the researcher's biography is outlined and the participants of the study are introduced. The

chapter then provides details of the specific research tools used for the data collection process. It is argued that semi-structured interviews are the most appropriate method to explore the aim and objectives of this study. Given the lack of focus on marginalised and underrepresented groups (most notably South African women), it is important to use research methods that enable them to have a voice and recall their experiences in their own words and stories of their organisational realities.

Following the methodology chapter, *Chapter 5* provides a detailed discussion and description of the research setting and background of the study. This information provides the necessary context to the case study as well as the study's findings, which, it is argued, can only be fully appreciated in light of the broader developments nationally and within South Africa's higher education system. The chapter firstly presents key information on South Africa, notably its population and labour market structure in relation to gender and race. It then describes the background of the higher education sector in South Africa followed by the historical background to the case study University, including its structure, strategy and staff profile.

Chapters 6 and 7 comprises the empirical part of this study and outlines the understanding and experiences of participants regarding the relations of gender, race and class within the cultures of the case study University. It does this by focusing on the six components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3, based on Acker's (2006b) inequality regimes, which helps to investigate interviewees' experiences of the recent transformation in higher education in South Africa in terms of equality and its impact on their perceptions, values, beliefs and identities.

Chapter 8 provides an in-depth discussion of the study's main findings and is structured into four main sections. Firstly, a brief overview of the background of the case study is discussed to remind readers of the context within which participants' experiences and perceptions were understood. Secondly, an overview is provided of the study's key findings, shaped through the six components of the analytical framework this study adopted. Thirdly, the study's key contributions to academic literature, knowledge and existing research is discussed in relation to the key findings and the extant literature. It also outlines some of the study's limitations and makes recommendations for future

research. It then finishes with a brief reflexive account of the author's research 'journey' and key lessons learnt.

Chapter 2

2. Culture and Organisations

2.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to explore the role of the organisational culture in the production and maintenance of gender, race and class inequality within the workplace.

In this chapter I aim to explore the different philosophical frameworks of organisational culture literature in order to identify the most appropriate theoretical framing for analysing gender, race and class inequalities within the culture of a specific work organisation setting.

This study focuses on a deep analysis of the culture of an organisation. Accordingly, this chapter considers the extensive literature on organisational culture, considering the underlying and contrasting assumptions taken with different treatments of the concept. These discussions need to be considered in light of the wider postcolonial context within which the study takes place and how organisational cultures are both reflective of, and created by, the wider cultural milieu. Postcolonial analysis draws attention to disruptions and complex oppositions to social change, such as national liberation movement, and how this is not only reflective of race but also of gender. For example, Mohanty (1991a) draws attention to how such movements tend to be dominated by men and masculinist agendas (Mohanty 1991b, 2003). In addition, writers have drawn attention to have gender agendas – particularly underpinning feminist movements have been dominated by white western women, rendering invisible and silencing women of colour and non-western women (Holvino 2010). In this way, postcolonial analysis recognises the intersections of class, race, gender and how these intersect with histories and cultures, to theorise difference.

Particularly resonant among feminist postcolonial theorising on social movement (Spivak 1988, 1990, 1999; Mohanty 2003) is the need to recognise historically and contextually specific power relations and how these configure cultures of inequality. Thus this study, despite taking an organisationally specific focus on culture, reflects this wider cultural setting in its analysis of cultures of inequality. The next section

presents a critical analysis of the different philosophical frameworks of organisational culture

In the context of organisation studies, a rising interest in the concept of culture cannot be denied. The concept of culture has become a popular frame which organisation scholars use to investigate a wide array of social phenomena. However, most organisational culture scholars are concerned with organisational effectiveness and performance, managerial agendas and professional identities (Deal and Kennedy 1982; Peters and Waterman 1982). The insights emerging from this approach are dominated by a limited set of meanings, symbols, values and beliefs that are presumed to be manageable and which are directly related to organisational goals (Pemberton 1995; Halford and Leonard 2001). Ouchi and Wilkins (1985, p. 462) note that:

> *"The contemporary organisational culture scholars often take the organisation not as a natural solution to deep and universal forces but rather as a rational instrument designed by top management to shape the behaviour of the employees in purposive ways."*

Some organisational studies have considered the subjectivity of organisational life but these works have not yet received much attention. Instead, emphasis continues to be placed primarily on the cultural and symbolic aspects that are relevant in an instrumental or pragmatic context (Alvesson 1993, 2002). Thus, organisational culture studies disregard many of the other aspects of organisational life which are an intrinsic and important part of culture, such as the unequal distribution of privileges and rewards, male domination, bureaucratic hierarchy, exploitation, power relations and discrimination in relation to gender, race and class (Alvesson 1993, 2002). This process of excluding inconvenient elements of culture greatly reduces its usefulness and, thereby, adversely affects the analyses arrived at. Only a more holistic application of this complex phenomenon (i.e. culture) will be capable of moving it beyond those aspects that are perceived to be directly related to organisational effectiveness and competitive advantage (e.g. Kilmann 1985; Barney 1986).

Some organisational culture scholars even appeal to top management and practitioners to focus on highly positive-sounding virtues, attitudes and behaviours which are held to be useful to the achievement of organisational goals (e.g. Trice and Beyer 1985;

Hartel and Ashkanasy 2011). These overly-prescriptive and instrumental perspectives of culture exclude those aspects of culture that are not easily or directly seen as instrumentally relevant (Alvesson 2002). Thus, these values and beliefs are not tangible and instrumental enough to become visible.

For the purposes of this study, I will adopt Alvesson's (2002) cultural perspectives on organisations, which draws on Habermas (1972) cognitive or knowledge-constitutive interests must underlie human inquiry (technical, practical-hermeneutic and emancipation) in order for it to yield a rich understanding of culture. This framework suggests that culture has both positive and negative impacts on an organisation's life. It also helps to counteract the taken-for-granted beliefs and values that limit personal autonomy.

When applying this revealing approach it becomes imperative to discuss the background of the concept of culture as well as the key models of culture in organisations. This chapter includes definitions and a brief discussion of how culture has become part of organisation theory. This will be followed by a discussion of the key cultural perspectives existing within organisations, their strengths and their weaknesses. Thereafter, I will discuss the relationship between culture and power in work organisations in order to understand how power relations are embedded in cultural values and beliefs. Then, in the next chapter I will explore in more detail the nature of inequalities within organisational culture. I will adopt gendered organisational culture theory with the aim of explaining how the invisible values and beliefs, or those which are not seen as instrumentally relevant within the structures of organisations, might produce or reproduce inequalities among an organisation's members.

2.2 The concept of culture in organisations

Organisational culture is a contested concept, whose very definition depends on the assumptions made and the particular interest one has in the components of the concept. The literature on organisational culture shows an enormous variation in the conceptualisations, definitions and approaches taken by a wide variety of researchers and commentators due to the influence of various disciplines and schools of thought (Rousseau 1990; Alvesson 2002; Martin et al. 2004). Some scholars see the utility of

culture as an explanatory variable (e.g. Ajiferuke and Boddewyn 1970; Kotter and Heskett 1992; Schein 1992; Denison and Mishra 1995). Others see culture as a metaphor, influencing the development of beliefs (Smircich 1983b; Hatch 1993). Partly because of the multiplicity of perspectives from which organisational culture has been studied, the concept has held a variety of meanings and definitions for academics and practitioners (Palmer and Hardy 2000). The following section seeks to distinguish these different perspectives and highlight some of the approaches that have dominated the modern conceptualisation of culture in organisations.

2.2.1 Defining organisational culture

Complicating the cultural framing of organisations is the fact that a single, widely accepted definition of culture does not exist. Also, the characteristics of culture have not yet been consistently agreed upon. As Ogbonna and Wilkinson (1990) asserted, the term organisational culture means different things to different people. Despite this lack of agreement, consistent efforts have been made in recent years to transcend the intellectual debate through a broad conceptualisation of culture.

Most scholars of organisational culture (e.g. Geertz 1973, Mills 1988, Schein 1992, and Smircich 1983) believe that there are certain characteristics that define the concept and that these are generally accepted.

These characteristics include shared patterns of informal social behaviour (such as communication, decision-making and interpersonal relationships) which are evidence of deeply held and largely unconscious values, assumptions and behavioural norms (Martin 1992; Shafritz and Ott 1996).

In table 2.1, culture is assigned a myriad of qualities. It is not surprising that a common definition remains elusive (Smircich 1983). Based on the below selected definitions, culture is characterised as shared values, assumptions, beliefs or ideologies that participants have about their organisation (e.g. Becher 1984; Kilmann et al. 1985). While this definition is parsimonious, it does not explicitly acknowledge the influence culture has on the behaviour of members within work organisations. However, there is much less agreement on where such shared cultural meanings reside. As a result of this debate, some of the key definitions in Table 2.1 treat culture

as a cognitive (functional) phenomena, while some explore cultural meanings as symbolic (interpretive) phenomena, and a third group of organisational researchers tends to adopt a combination of both (cognitive and symbolic) approaches.

Organisational researchers who view culture as cognitive phenomena theorise that the most important location of cultural meaning is in the minds of the organisational members. Those who take this view tend to ignore or accord less importance to observables like behaviour, symbols, or artefacts. Hence, organisational researchers in their studies of culture commonly centre their definitions on cognitions, which are variously labelled as values, shared meanings, mental schemas, patterns of interpretations, basic assumptions and knowledge systems (Hofstede 1980; Siehl and Martin 1984; Martin 1992; Schein 1992). The emphasis on cognitive functional facts gives the appearance that culture is explicit, that it is "highly visible and feelable" (Schein 1984, p. 24).

Unlike cognitivist researchers, symbolists are not searching for a precise definition of culture. Indeed, a central assumption of the symbolic approach is that organisational reality is far too obscure for a precise definition. Instead, the symbolists' aim is to bring the researcher "in touch with the lives of the participants, and in some extended sense of the terms to converse with them" (Geertz 1973, p. 24).

Table 2.1 1 Selected Definitions of Organisational Culture

Scholar	Definitions
Jaques, (1952, p. 251)	"Culture is the customary and traditional way of thinking and doing things, which is shared to a greater or lesser extent by all its members and all new members, must learn, and at least partially accept, in order to be accepted into service in the firm."
Becher, (1984, p.167)	The traditional and social heritage of a people; their customs and practices; their transmitted knowledge, beliefs, law, and morals; their linguistic and symbolic forms of communication, and the meanings they share.
Siehl and Martin	"Organisational culture can be thought of as the glue that holds an organisation together through sharing of patterns of meaning. The culture focuses on the values, beliefs and expectations that members come to share."
Van Maanen (1988, p.3)	"Culture refers to the knowledge members of a given group are thought to more or less share; knowledge of the sort that is said to inform, embed, shape, and account for the routine and not-so-routine activities of the members of the culture…A culture is expressed or constituted only through the actions and words of its members and must be interpreted by, not given to, a fieldworker…Culture is not itself visible, but is made visible only through its representation."

(Derived from Kuh and Whitt 1988; Hatch and Cunliffe 2006)

The symbolic phenomena focuses on exploring how culture is enacted and made real through behaviour, language, myths and artefacts. Gagliardi argued that "symbols enable us to take aim directly at the heart of culture" (1996, p. 568) because they represent what is known but cannot be easily articulated by organisational members.

The third group of organisational researchers define culture as comprising both cognitive and symbolic elements, and give them equal prominence (Van Maanen 1991; Kunda 1992; Trice and Beyer 1993; Hatch 2000). This research adopts the latter approach because both cognitive and symbolic dimensions have a significant role in examining and understanding the culture (and cultures) at the centre of this case study. In particular, the cognitive and symbolic dimensions are both significant as a way of understanding organisational life in all of its richness and variations.

For the purposes of this study, I would draw on Van Maanen (1988) definition and the subsequent analysis of Alvesson (2002, p. 3) to define culture as:

"The system of common symbols and meanings, culture provides the shared rules governing cognitive and affective aspects of membership in an organisation, and the mean whereby they are shaped and expressed."

This definition emphasises normative influences on behaviour as well as the underlying system of assumptions and beliefs shared by culture bearers. Therefore, sharing is an interesting absurdity: being at once universal and particular, tangible and intangible, integrated-technical, differentiated-practical and fragmented-emancipatory, and relying upon both community and diversity (Martin 1992, 2002; Alvesson 2002).

Tierney (1988), using Geertz's (1973) metaphor, describes organisational culture as an "interconnected web" and notes that its presence is most apparent when a member violates a group's codes and standards. Other scholars have suggested nuances to this broad definition. For example, some view it as a variable (such as corporate culture), while others see it as a fundamental metaphor for a specific type of organisation (see Morgan 1986). Some researchers have conceptualised culture as strong and congruent, or weak and incongruent (see Tierney, 1988). Meanwhile, others merely note that cultures vary, without assigning a value to different cultures (see Bergquist 1992; Martin 1992). With these nuances in mind, culture is conceptualised within this study as a fundamental metaphor, emerging as a composite of many different levels: enterprise, institutional, sub-groups and individual levels (Martin, 1992; Alvesson 2002). Meanwhile, other researchers have assumed that cultures differ and that they are not necessarily negative or positive, nor are multiple cultures or fragmented cultures necessarily to be avoided.

In summary, it is evident from the different definitions of culture that culture is a contested concept whose definition depends on the assumptions taken and the particular interest one has in the components of the concept. The following section provides brief information about the rise of culture in management and organisational theory.

2.2.2 A Brief Overview of Organisational Culture and Organisational Theory

In this section I aim to provide a brief history of the development of organisational culture, particularly how the concept became part of organisation theory. Furthermore,

this section aims to present culture strength as a powerful framework for detailed analysis of the issues that arise in organisations and management.

The concept of culture originates from anthropology. Early cultural scholars, such as Edward Burnett Taylor (1871-1958), cited in Alvesson (1993), and Herskowitz (1948) were primarily concerned with explaining the differences between humans and other animals. Their aim was to provide a foundation for the social sciences that was distinguishable from that of the natural sciences on which they were modelled (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006). For instance, social anthropologists, such as Herskowitz (1948, p. 625), described culture as "the total body of belief, behaviour knowledge, sanctions, values and goals that make up the way of life of people". Thus, culture is a complex phenomenon. Since organisations are regarded as groups, the shift of attention onto the cultures of groups opened the door to organisational culture research (Alvesson 1993; Hatch and Yanow 2003; Hatch and Cunliffe 2006).

Jaques (1952) said that early organisational scholars were mainly focused on the structure of the organisation, excluding other intangible aspects from their analysis. Therefore, Jaques (1952) argues that focusing on structure has led organisational scholars to ignore the human and emotional elements of organisational life. With the publication of his book in 1952, Jaques intended to rectify this by applying the concept of culture to organisations. His work inspired some of the organisational scholars who followed in his steps, such as (Turner 1971; Pettigrew 1979; Pondy et al. 1983). These scholars began by making a case for studying organisational symbolism (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006). The research of organisational culture and symbolism provided the broadest initial exploration of the interpretive perspectives within organisational studies (Alvesson 1993).

Turner (1971) and Jaques (1952) anticipated the development of organisational culture studies. Inspired by structural-functionalist anthropology, Turner (1971) approached organisations from a perspective that was informed by involvement in their cultural processes and with their situated actors. Turner (1971, pp. vii-viii) asserted that "I believe the sociology of industrial organisations ought to concern itself with discovering the way in which people in industry define their life-positions, with

learning the sets of symbolism which they adopt or organisational consequences of these views which they hold of themselves."

During the 1980s and 1990s, the concept of culture became prominent because organisations were in search of new ways to manage and organise due to changes in technology, economics and other aspects of organisational life. Consequently, there was a need to seek different styles and new methods to study organisations, and to find a subjective concept to replace the old objective concepts in order to understand organisational essence (Alvesson and Berg 1992). Turner's insight of organisational culture led him to develop qualitative research methods, particularly grounded theory (Turner 1983). Since then, a broader and more consistent interest in this topic has emerged. The reasons for this interest in organisational culture vary. Some organisational scholars needed a theoretical framework to analyse organisations (see Frost et al. 1985). Other scholars have felt that the traditional objectivist research method has proved incapable of providing deep, rich and realistic pictures of the objects of their studies (Alvesson and Berg 1992). This has driven culture to become a theoretical tool to cross over the traditional micro- and macro-levels of organisational analysis, and to cross between organisational behaviour and strategic management (Smircich 1983a; Morey and Luthans 1985).

Organisational symbolism scholars were joined by other, more interpretively-oriented scholars who explored the role in the meaning-making of linguistic artefacts (e.g. stories, myths), acts (e.g. rituals, ceremonies) and objects (e.g. products, logo, signs). Interpretive scholars emphasise the context's specific meaning, such as values, beliefs and feelings held by organisational members (Smircich 1983a; Gagliardi 1990; Turner 1990; Frost et al. 1991). In this view, culture becomes significant as a glue holding organisations together (Siehl and Martin 1984). Unlike those who view culture as unitary and as a control tool for top management (Hofstede 1980; Ouchi 1981; Deal and Kennedy 1982; Peters and Waterman 1982), interpretivist-oriented researchers reject the unitary view of culture. Instead, they view cultural artefacts as varied and differently rooted in the organisational settings, growing out of their specific values, beliefs, and feelings (e.g. Van Maanen 1991; Kunda 1992; Schultz 1995; Rosen 2000). Moreover, the focus on meaning-making has led critically-oriented interpretive scholars to examine how power domination are socially constructed.

As organisational research matured, it developed into several subfields. For instance, one group of researchers focused on tacit knowledge in the communication of meaning (e.g. Berg and Kreiner 1990; Hatch 1990). Meanwhile, another group of researchers have focused on the role of silence in organisational discourse (e.g. Martin 1990; Calás and Smircich 1991). Therefore, the rise of new forms of organisational analysis has also helped to make the cultural dimension more salient. However, other researchers have explored the ways in which symbols express meaning, both emotionally and aesthetically (Hatch and Yanow 2003). These developments within organisational culture led many interpretive organisational culture scholars beyond interpretive perspectives.

In summary, the interest in organisational culture may be understood as a response to frustration over the dominance of positivistic approaches in organisation theory, a strategy for confronting top management problems, social, and organisational change. A recent general interest in organisational culture issues has accompanied the growing importance of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, disability and age. As cultural patterns become more diverse and less stable, the relative character of culture becomes more obvious and has probably affected the interest in management and organisational or working life (Alvesson and Billing 2002). The concept of culture has been developed in a number of ways in organisational literature, reflecting different theoretical orientations and cognitive interests. As a starting point in this theory chapter, I will outline some of the key influences on conceptualising culture in organisations.

2.3 The Key Models of Organisational Culture

In this section I aim to explore different cultural perspectives in order to understand how the concept of culture has been applied in organisation studies. The concept of culture within organisation studies has appealed to scholars working from different philosophical frameworks. One might say that functionalist, interpretivist and radical/poststructuralist scholars have all been drawn to the theoretical promise of the concept. One way of capturing these different approaches is to adopt Alvesson's (2002) cultural perspectives on organisations, drawing from Habermars's (1972) cognitive or knowledge-constitutive interests that underlie human inquiry. These are: technical, practical-hermeneutic and emancipatory. Cognitive interests will assist in

explaining culture as a variable approach and root metaphor. Before discussing these three cognitive interests, I will briefly describe Linda Smircich's (1983) landmark early piece and more recent extended versions by Joanne Martin (1992, 2002) and Mats Alvesson (2002). See categorises the different approaches and their assumptions in appendix A.

2.3.1 Smircich's Two Cultural Paradigms

2.3.1.1 The Functionalist Paradigm: Culture as a Variable

Researchers and organisational practitioners from the functionalist paradigm view culture as a variable because it is possible to manage culture and to link culture to organisational performance by implying a causal relationship. Researchers here rely on a traditional functionalist framing of social reality, approaching culture as one variable among many others in an organisation. Viewing culture as a variable subject to conscious manipulation provides a simplified and functional approach to cultural understanding in work organisations. This approach also asserts that organisational operations are embedded in cultural symbols (e.g. rituals, values and norms). They also argue that changes in organisational outcomes can be achieved through the modification of the members' behaviours. Thus, instrumental reasons dominate the discussion of culture, with the emphasis on economic growth, the advancement of technology and the exploitation of nature (Ouchi 1981; Deal and Kennedy 1982; Wilkins and Ouchi 1983; Ouchi and Wilkins 1985). According to Alvesson (2002) this has led to research of corporate culture which focuses on values that directly relate to the organisation's effectiveness and state of success.

Therefore, studies of culture that adopt this view have proposed that culture is linked to organisational performance. Moreover, from this perspective positive virtues, attitudes and behaviours are regarded as useful means for achieving corporate goals and as relevant dynamics which can, and should, be manipulated for corporate performance (Ouchi 1981; Deal and Kennedy 1982).

2.3.1.2 The Interpretivist Paradigm: Culture as a Root Metaphor

Contrary to the view that culture is something that an organisation can possess and command, researchers who favour the root metaphor view stress that an organisation

is itself a culture or a collection of cultures. This paradigm has its roots in anthropology and sociology (Geertz 1973). The advocates of the root metaphor approach argue that cultures are organisations, whereby culture is a context in which social events and behaviours are materialised. For example, Smircich (1983, p. 348) argued that "culture as a root metaphor promotes a view of organisation as expressive forms, manifestations of human consciousness". Therefore, organisations are understood and analysed not mainly in economic or material items, but in terms of their expressive, ideational, and symbolic aspects. Thus, they see the social world as constructed by people and reproduced by the networks of symbols and meanings that people share (Burrell 1993). However, the root metaphor's conceptualisation of culture emphasises a more general understanding of, and reflection upon, cultural settings. Advocates of the root metaphor approach oppose the view that organisational effectiveness can be attained through direct cultural manipulation since this fails to address the negative features of people's behaviour, such as resistance to change.

In addition to the functionalist and interpretivist paradigms of culture, a range of other cultural perspectives have emerged. These perspectives can be clustered into three paradigms (namely, integration, differentiation and fragmentation) as proposed by Martin (1992, 2002). The key aspects that distinguish the three cultural paradigms are: how culture is shared, how boundaries are conceived and how ambiguity is a feature of work organisations. Moreover, the literature also discusses three types of cultural orientation to demonstrate these approaches, namely: technical, practical and emancipatory, which organisations employ to intervene in and change culture. These three cultural orientations distinguish interventionist approaches. For example: control to manipulate culture or emancipate to transform cultures based on the assumptions of how cultural manifestations should be shared among the organisation members (Alvesson 2002).

Shifting from technical and practical aspects of culture to emancipatory orientation also relates to the move from culture as a controllable or tool for top management to the concept of culture as something that is not controllable (Alvesson and Willmott 1992).

Based on the above discussion, it is clear that culture is a set of deeply held beliefs or underlying assumptions possessed by the individuals that make up groups in organisations, which provide a means to understanding the values, behaviours and artefacts exhibited by the group. Appendix A presents philosophical positions from cultural studies, which are: Martin's (1992, 2002) three cultural perspectives, Smircich's (1983) two cultural paradigms and Alvesson's (2002) three cultural orientations. Martin's (1992, 2002) three cultural perspectives (namely, integration, differentiation and fragmentation) are used to explain how culture is conceptualised and how culture in organisations is described. The alignment of Smircich's (1983) paradigms with Martin's concept of cultural perspectives may be useful in interpreting the culture of organisations and the outcomes of cultural analysis. Three types of cognitive interests outlined by Alvesson (2002) are aligned with Martin's (1992, 2002) three perspectives of culture. The three cognitive interests (namely, technical, practical and emancipatory) may be useful to explain how to understand and analyse the culture of organisations. The following section describes Martin's (1992, 2002) three cultural perspectives, which is followed by Alvesson's (2002) three cognitive interests.

2.3.2 Martin's Three Cultural Perspectives

2.3.2.1 The Integration Perspective

The integration perspective is linked to the functionalist paradigm. It seeks to understand the shared cultural manifestations within work organisations that hold the organisation together. Therefore, an integrative perspective favours a definition of culture that views cultural manifestations as shared across an organisation in a context within which   ambiguity is ignored. Scholars who support an integrative perspective see culture as associated with people's behaviour and their habitual ways of seeing the world (Wilkins 1983; Schein 2004). In addition, most of the advocates of the integration perspective propose that culture can be used as a tool to improve the performance of organisations. For example, Deal and Kennedy (1982) focus on interpreting the shared espoused values of top management and Ouchi (1981) focuses on studying the shared formal and informal practices, such as communication or decision-making.

The integration view, in essence, focuses upon the consistency of cultural manifestations and the consensus about the basic beliefs among the organisational members. There is also a tendency for this view to focus on top management as the creators and interpreters of the organisational culture (Schein 1983; Meyerson and Martin 1987). Alvesson (2002) argues that the integration perspective has a bias towards the positive functions of culture, a conviction that culture is controllable and that it has causal links to organisational performance.

2.3.2.2 The Differentiation Perspective

Unlike the integration perspective, the differentiation perspective accepts some level of diversity in the membership of an organisation. Thus, cultural manifestations are shared within the sections of an organisation. Consequently, differentiated perspectives favour definitions in which cultural manifestations are shared within parts of an organisation and are unitary within those units. In this perspective, ambiguity is acknowledged but confined to the subgroups (e.g. Smircich 1983b; Mills 1988; Martin 2002). Mills (1988) supports this view and suggests that culture in an organisation is based on defined conditions which could foster contradictions and conflict among segments. Each segment develops a shared understanding of cultural manifestations. Smircich (1983b, p. 56) suggests that "culture is shared within a group based on how they develop a worldview". However, it is difficult to establish whether this perspective falls directly under the functional or non-functional paradigm since research from both the integration (functional) and fragmentation (non-functional) paradigms acknowledge aspects of the differentiation with some restrictions. The differentiation perspective offers a pragmatic position in enabling researchers to position their study between the extreme ideological views of integration and fragmentation.

2.3.2.3 The Fragmentation Perspective

The third perspective of organisational culture studies is fragmentation. This approach views culture as a disorder that contributes to dysfunctional aspects of organisational life (Feldman 1991; Meyerson 1991a; Meyerson 1991b; Alvesson 1993). The fragmentation perspective accepts ambiguity. Here relationships between manifestations are characterised by a lack of clarity, which is caused by ignorance or

complexity. Fragmentation studies see ambiguity as the defining feature of cultures in organisations. Advocates of this perspective argue that understanding ambiguities should be the central component of any study of culture (Martin 2004). However, the fragmentation approach to the study of culture in organisations has provoked opposition. For example Schein (1992) rejects any suggestion that ambiguity reflects or is part of culture. Alvesson (2002) acknowledges that a careful study of organisational events might elicit elements of ambiguity or confusion. Alvesson (2002) questions the utility of a fragmentation framework for cultural analysis and argues that adopting a fragmentation approach ensures that the researcher will focus on seeking out ambiguity, which might affect the course of the research. Moreover, advocates of this perspective maintain that the advantage of this approach is to alert researchers to be wary of the assumption that culture, or subculture, may be defined by strong shared values or a coherent, predictable set of norms and behaviours (Martin and Meyerson 1988).

2.3.3 Alvesson's Cultural Perspectives: Three Cognitive Interests

2.3.3.1 The Technical Interest of Efficiency and Performance

Organisation studies guided by the technical interest approach are interested in how culture may hold an important key to a variety of managerial outcomes and, therefore, may uncover the means to improve organisational effectiveness. Organisational scholars proceed from the assumption that culture is in some way related to organisational performance (Alvesson 2002). A technical interest approach to culture may be aligned with functionalist research, which "aims at developing knowledge of cause-and effect relations through which control over natural and social conditions can be achieved" (Alvesson et al. 2008, p. 8).

Advocates of this view believe that it is essential to uncover the causal relationships between forms of organisational culture and performance and to produce knowledge that increases the chance of affecting specific cultural phenomena (e.g. symbols, rituals, values) or cultural systems in their totality, so that outcomes that are considered beneficial can be attained (Sackmann 2011). Therefore, this suggests that culture can be used as an instrument or guiding concept for achieving organisational effectiveness and performance. This culture effectiveness-performance link sees

culture as an obstacle to economic rationality. In this perspective, culture becomes a means for controlling, which can be managed and has predictable outcomes. The culture effectiveness-performance link posits that embedded within culture is a desire to avoid and reduce difficulties within organisations which may arise from any negative features of culture, such as resistance to change and cultural conflict. Alvesson (2002) describe this offensive view as a tool view of culture.

Most organisation culture scholars who are technically-oriented are optimistic and they tend to use culture as a resource for effective managerial action (Alvesson 2002). This is achieved through controlling the values of an organisation and also by assuming that values are neutral. Stablein and Nord (1985) reviewed a broad spectrum of cultural research using Habermas (1972) three cognitive interests. They concluded that almost all of the cultural research at that time was written from the technical interest perspective, often with an explicitly functionalist and managerial orientation. Similarly, Smircich and Calas (1987) reviewed organisational culture literature and concluded that most of studies of organisations are dominated by managerial interests. Barley et al. (1988) reviewed both academic and practitioner-oriented cultural research and came to similar conclusions about the predominance of managerial research. Alvesson (2002) argued that these insights may make it easier for top management to avoid any forms of communication, behaviour, attitudes or actions that are likely to fail and to lead to frustration and opposition. In summary, the technical interest perspective represents the world as a complex set of interdependent variables.

 2.3.3.2 The Practical-Hermeneutic Interest of Understanding

The practical-hermeneutic interest is associated with interpretivist scholarship. It seeks to attain mutual understanding of human cultural experiences and to understand how actors and organisations communicate so as to generate and transform meanings. Organisation culture scholars guided by this interest are not concerned about what culture might accomplish or how this accomplishment might be improved but, instead, they concentrate on the creation of meaning in organisation settings (Alvesson 2002). Contrasting with the technical interest and associated functionalist studies, there is

little concern for the instrumental utility of such knowledge for organisational effectiveness and performance (Alvesson et al. 2008).

Practical-hermeneutic interest advocates are motivated by the desire to understand meanings in a specific situation so that a decision can be made and action taken (Stablein and Nord 1985). For example, when addressing the issue of employee participation, researchers guided by the practical-hermeneutic approach "begin with the question of how employees currently make sense of their work, and then explore how meanings are historically and culturally embedded within a wider set of social norms and values" (Willmott 1997, pp. 318-319). Willmott (1997) argued that increasing employee participation in many different ways within organisations might be regarded as a way of removing niggling rules or as a more subtle form of management control.

The practical-hermeneutic interest is not primarily concerned with identifying or removing the barriers in order to achieve greater productivity or effectiveness. Rather, it is animated by a concern to appreciate how different people or parties in work organisations define their situations and, thereby, facilitate a better understanding of their respective orientations (Willmott 1997). The principal interest is in understanding the meanings, symbolism and ideas of the organisational members being studied, "in other words, to find what the natives think they are up to" (Alvesson 2013, p. 11). Thus, this may lead to enriched and deeper understandings, providing a better view of others and also for ourselves.

2.3.3.3 The Emancipatory Interest of Critical Exploration

The third cognitive interest is emancipatory, which comes from a more radical orientation. In this view, technical and practical interests are regarded as endemic to human existence because they "arise from the cultural break with nature" (Willmott 1997, p. 319). Before briefly exploring the concept of emancipation, I draw on Alvesson and Willmott (1992, p. 432) who define emancipation as "the process through which individuals and groups become freed from repressive social and ideological conditions, in particular those that place socially unnecessary restrictions upon the development and articulation of human consciousness." In contrast, this is stimulated by undesirable consequences flowing from ideas and actions that are

guided by the other cognitive knowledge interests, such as the employee's response to techniques and ideologies that are perceived by them to promote an intensification of their work (Willmott 1997). Thus, this interest is concerned with increasing the level of human autonomy and responsibility in work organisations. In elucidating the emancipatory interest, Habermas (1986, p. 198) explains that:

What is an attitude which is formed in the experience of suffering from something man-made, which can be abolished and should be abolished? This is not just a contingent value-postulate: that people want to get rid of certain sufferings. No it is something so proudly ingrained in the structure of human societies, the calling into question, and deep-seated wish to throw reproduction of human life that I don't think it can be regarded as just a subjective attitude which may or may not guide this or that piece of scientific research".

 Here, Habermas is pointing to the experience of frustration and suffering that stimulates a desire to throw off relations. His attention is also focused on power relations and in revealing ways that can liberate humans from the various repressive relations that tend to constrain agency (Stablein and Nord 1985; Willmott 1997; Alvesson et al. 2008). For example, instead of seeking to identify covariance between the tangible and observable events (technical interest) or striving to interpret the development of particular meanings (practical-hermeneutic interest), emancipatory interest seeks to reveal how patterns of behaviour and meaning are conditional upon the reproduction of structures of domination (e.g. gender, race, class, disability, age) that, potentially, are open to challenge and change (Willmott 1997; Alvesson 2002; Alvesson and Willmott 2002).

It is argued that organisational cultures often bear strong imprints of masculine domination, leading to ideas of what is natural and valuable in work organisations, and to an emphasis on instrumentality, hierarchy and to downplaying emotions, intuition and social relations (Itzin 1995; Alvesson and Billing 2009; Ely and Meyerson 2010; Alvesson 2013).

Advocates of emancipatory interest do acknowledge that culture facilitates, indeed, co-ordinates human life, and organisations. Moreover, organisational culture can play a vital positive function, such as providing the group members with a shared

understanding, feelings of clarity, direction, meaning and purpose. However, culture has also, at times, had a bad influence in human life and organisations; there is a dark side of culture. When a dominant group or top management in an organisation influences culture or acts based on a set of understanding and meanings that are taken-for-granted by all organisational members, a subtle and frequently penetrating form of power is being exercised. An emancipatory approach to organisational culture is concerned with the power aspect of socially-dominating ideas. It is argued that organisational members or work groups can share certain ideas, beliefs and values, but that this does not imply an expression of consensus or harmony. Therefore, before concluding that there is consensus, one should consider the possibility of powerful actors or ideologies being central to the development and reproduction of these orientations (Alvesson 2002). It is argued that asymmetrical relations of power and dominant ideologies representing the dominant group may lead subordinate groups to adapt to certain orientations unconsciously.

However, these discourses subordinate the powerless. These forms of power relations and subordinations are scarcely revealed in organisational culture studies, yet they may be counterproductive if not carefully grounded in critical reflection.

Ultimately, all three philosophical positions indicate a wide spectrum of ways to approach organisational culture, as well as other phenomena. It is important to note that technical and practical-hermeneutic interests do not exist in isolation of each other. On the contrary, they are inherently interdependent. Practical-hermeneutics assume the foregrounding of socially-constructed reality in a material base as in, for example, the organisation of productive activities. Meaning can only be understood within the confines of a given set of material conditions, the character of which is of technical interest.

Similarly, the technical interest can only operate within a given consensual or unitary understanding, which defines the nature of acceptable problems and evidence (Habermas 1970). In this way, this relationship leads the researcher to address the functionalist perspective. Thus, the criteria for technical interest are secured within the boundaries of any given consensual understanding. Alvesson (2002) argued that an understanding of cultural management (not as a technocratic project where managerial

agents engineer the minds of their subordinate objects but as an interactive, interpretive enterprise) may reduce, but not overcome, the gap between a technical, practical-hermeneutic, and emancipatory approach to organisational culture. Perceiving the boundaries between technical and emancipatory cognitive interest requires a technical approach in work organisation that treats people autonomously and helps them to fit into organisational requirements in order to improve organisational performance. In contrast, the emancipatory approach to culture focuses on the repressive ideas of gender and other forms of discrimination. Thus, in order to facilitate liberation from ideational and normative constraints, emancipation is less concerned with harmony than with the goal of improving organisational performance (Alvesson 2002).

However, from the three cognitive interests discussed above, practical-hermeneutic and emancipatory interests are more appropriate for the analysis of inequality in work organisations. These two interests complement each other since the practical-hermeneutic approach is concerned with significations and meanings. On the other hand, the emancipatory interest approach is concerned about the hidden agendas within those meanings. In this way, the practical-hermeneutic approach will assist in identifying, interpreting and understanding meanings from the subjective view and an emancipatory interest approach will serve to explore the power relations embedded with cultural meanings, values and beliefs within a specific organisation setting. Power relations are an important factor for emancipatory interest; therefore, it is important to understand how this concept relates to cultural concepts. The following section will explore how power relations are embedded within organisational culture.

2.4 Power and Culture in Organisations

The literature reviewed on organisational culture in the preceding sections, especially that pertaining to the technical cognitive interest, proceeds from the assumption that the ideas, values, beliefs and meanings which are shared in common by a group are a central feature of organisations. These common shared values, beliefs and meanings constitute the core of structures, which denote relative stability in an organisation. However, they have their roots in, and are influenced by, various social conditions and material practices (Smircich 1983). These social conditions and material practices are

not stable, but are recreated and reinforced in a multitude of different situations, in actions and in material structures, and in a multifaceted network of symbols, meanings and significations (Frost et al. 1985; Alvesson and Berg 1992; Martin 1992; Hatch 1993). These structures include hierarchies, relationships and an acceptance of objectives, rules and various frameworks for operations that are based on the absence of questioning of existing social conditions. The basic social conditions tend to be taken-for-granted and regarded as natural, neutral and legitimate (Frost 1987; Deetz 1996). Emancipatory cognitive interest is concerned with the absence of questioning within these structures, as well as the existing social conditions which are accepted and regarded as natural, neutral and legitimate. It is argued that power relations are constructed and reconstructed within these unquestioned structures, which are taken-for-granted.

In work organisations, the top management or dominant group are mostly powerful agents who make a difference to how meanings are developed and how subordinates relate to the social world. Thus, power relations matter because they shape the culture of the organisation. Power relations give privileges to the dominant group at the expense of the rest of society (Lukes 1978). For example, Trice and Beyer (1985) appear to assume that top management is the legitimate interpreter of the appropriate ideologies and values in an organisation, and various means for controlling the ideas of subordinates are suggested. Thus, the realisation and utilisation of existing, as well as novel, ideologies and symbolic means of control are crucial features of management and leadership (Barley and Kunda 1992; Kunda 1992; Willmott 1993; Alvesson and Karreman 2004; Gabriel 2005).

Connecting power to culture challenges a common orientation within organisational culture studies, especially those studies guided by technical cognitive interest in which culture is viewed as incorporating consensus and harmony and as being founded upon shared values (e.g. Schein 1985; Hofstede 1990; Schein 2004). Other organisational culture scholars reject the explanation of culture as shared values, harmony and consensus; rather, they view culture as social conflict and contradiction, dominant ideologies, gender, race and class bias.

Organisation studies have probably paid more attention to the power phenomenon, such as power structures, the distribution of corporate authority, leadership and management hierarchy. Most of these studies have focused on the formal positions and competencies. There is a scarcity of organisation studies that have focused on power relations and how these relations are often used in a subtle power-play in organisational life. Alvesson (2002) uses the classic definition of power, whereby A makes B act in a certain way despite resistance on B's part. Mostly, within work organisations, the principal emblems of power are organisational hierarchies or charts, where all of those who possess power are listed. However, these hierarchies or charts do not tell us about the real life exercise of power in everyday organisational life. To assess the relative playing strength of the organisational actors, we need alternative ways of analysing power. Therefore, power as the capacity to influence the behaviour and actions of others suffices for the purpose because it permits and provides a way to take into account all human behaviour in work organisations, including the decisions of the top management, as well as their subordinates.

2.5 Conclusions

In this chapter I have detailed the key definitions of organisational culture research and examined their importance to the understanding of organisational culture. The examination and evaluation of the definitions of culture has highlighted that culture may be viewed in three ways: as cognitive phenomena, as symbolic phenomena, or as a combination of both. I concluded that cognition and symbolism are essential to the understanding of culture and propose a definition of culture that will guide this study. I also explored in brief the historical background of the concept of culture in order to understand the development of culture and how it became part of organisational theory.

Thereafter, I provided a detailed review of the three philosophical positions and variants; that is, technical cognitive interest-functionalist, practical-hermeneutic cognitive interest-interpretivist, and emancipatory cognitive interest-radical/poststructuralist. All three philosophical positions have conceptualised culture in organisation differently. For instance, the technical interest-functionalist conception views culture as cause-and-effect relations through which control over organisation

resources can be achieved. This philosophical position tends to dominate studies of culture in organisations, where culture is seen as a potential tool to improve organisational effectiveness.

The practical-hermeneutic-interpretive scholarship focuses on understanding human cultural experiences and how meanings are transformed. In contrast with the technical interest-functionalist approach, there is little concern for the instrumental utility of culture for organisational effectiveness and performance.

The third philosophical position is emancipatory-radical/poststructuralist, which is focused on power relations and on revealing ways that can free humans from the various repressive relations in work organisations.

Ultimately, all three philosophical positions are predicated on some link between culture and actions, although the precise nature of that link, the degree to which it is made explicit, the purpose and means of studying it, and the vested stance from which one might intervene in it look quite different. I find that the assumptions of harmony and consensus made within the technical interest-functionalist approaches remain latent or peripheral to most of the organisational culture studies in ways that suppress meaningful differences and minimise the development of exploring inequalities within organisational culture theory. I believe that theorists would do well to explicate more fully how these perspectives and interests are at play in extant inequalities in work organisations. However, I note that practical-hermeneutic-interpretive and emancipatory-resistant interest-radical/poststructuralist approaches, especially the latter, are more subtly represented in organisational culture studies.

Therefore, I will utilise practical-hermeneutic (interpretive) and emancipatory cognitive interests as a theoretical framework for this study, especially because an emancipatory approach focuses on revealing hidden agendas within cultural meanings, beliefs and values that produce and reproduce power relations among organisational members.

The next chapter will explore the inequalities in work organisations based on gendered culture theory. The reason for exploring gendered organisational culture theory is because it has been used to explore male domination and power relations which are

embedded within structures and processes which can be seen to produce or reproduce inequalities in work organisations. Gendered organisational culture studies have played an important role in revealing inequalities between men and women in work organisations, although they have failed to consider other forms of discrimination, such as race, class, and age (Acker 2006b; Holvino 2010). Therefore, I will adopt the concept of intersectionality in order to explore how gender and race are simultaneously embedded within the structures, processes and cultures of work organisations.

Chapter 3

3. Cultures of Inequality in Work Organisations

3.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to explore the role of the organisational culture in the production and maintenance of gender, race and class inequality within the workplace.

In the preceding chapter, I explored different perspectives of organisational theories. Then I focused more on Alvesson's three cognitive approaches to culture; namely, technical, practical-hermeneutic and emancipatory interests. I suggested that the emancipatory understanding of culture was more ideally suited to the exploration of inequality within the cultures of organisation settings because it focuses on revealing the hidden agendas, silent suffering, subordination and power relations embedded within the cultural beliefs and values of organisations.

Most organisation studies have used the metaphor of culture (e.g. processes, symbols, images, feelings, shared meanings, values, beliefs and ideas) to understand inequality in work organisations. By far the most well developed theorising of this aspect has taken place within the area of gender. However, this study is not about gender per se. The point of the literature that I want to communicate is its capacity to help us to perceive how people have used the metaphor of culture to understand inequality in work organisations.

I will first briefly explore the context for the emergence of a theory of gendered organisations and then define the basic features of this approach in order to understand how organisations and occupations are gendered at the level of culture. Although the theory of gendered organisations has a longstanding presence in organisation studies, it has been criticised for excluding other forms of inequality, such as race and class (see Britton and Logan 2008; Holvino 2010).After a brief exploration of the issue of gender within organisations, I will discuss the study of intersectionality as an

emerging area in research on gendered organisations in order to understand how gender, race and class simultaneously interact to form the basis of inequality in work organisations. Finally, I will discuss in detail a theoretical framework for this study, drawing from Acker's (2006b) work on inequality regimes. Acker's theory as to how inequality regimes work is compatible with emancipatory cognitive interest (discussed in detail in chapter 2) that is the understanding of power relations within the cultures of organisations. Acker's concept of inequality regimes assists in providing a theoretical base drawn from the concept of intersectionality and it enables us to perceive and develop ways of understanding as to how gender, race and class inequalities are produced and how class relations evolve and are shaped within the hierarchies of work organisations.

3.2 Organisation as Gendered Cultures

In the preceding chapter, culture was defined in terms of shared symbols and meanings deeply embedded within the beliefs and values of an organisation. It was also argued that, within these cultural beliefs and values, there are hidden agendas which maintain and perpetuate inequality, such as gender inequality within organisational cultures (Alvesson 2002).

Organisational culture literature may be criticised on the same basis as that of organisational theory in general, in that it is gender-blind and, therefore, perpetuates the gender division of labour (Mills 1988; Harlow and Hearn 1995). In common with the mainstream organisational theory, much of this literature comes from the technical cognitive interest or functionalist perspective, which is laden with positivistic assumptions, seeing culture as having a strong unifying force within organisation settings. This view sees any deviations as abnormal, deviant and in need of corrective measures to make the individual fit into the organisation's culture (Mills 1988; Mills and Tancred 1992; Mills 2002) . However, it is argued that the absence of gender in organisational culture and organisational theory is an element that both obscures and helps to reproduce the underlying gender relations (Connell 1987; Acker 1990). In the following section, I aim to briefly explore the context for the emergence of a theory of gendered organisations and define the basic features of such an approach.

Mostly, "gender is seen or defined as something that people possess or the way they behave or should behave; masculinity and femininity are characteristics of individuals" (Britton and Logan 2008, p. 108). However, Acker's (1990) work on gendered organisations suggests that the structures of organisations themselves are gendered. She argues that organisations are built on and reproduce gendered inequalities. A vast literature has examined the ways in which gender operates as an organising principle in work, organisation and professions (Cockburn 1985; Knights and Willmott 1985; Acker 1988; Barrett 1996; Benschop and Doorewaard 1998; Collinson 1998; Witz et al. 2003; Dick and Hyde 2006; Hancock and Tyler 2007).

Notwithstanding their distinct accents, all of these arguments show that inequality results from general, informal and material practices systematically associating high status and top management positions with male identities, and, consequently, constructing male as being suitable senior positions and high status jobs. Thus, organisations and social identities are seen as being composed of prescriptive masculine features. Furthermore, social identities are re-defined through social relations in ways that ensure women acquire new context-specific identities which are freighted with connotations that reflect their adversely-structured relations in work organisation settings (Janssens and Zanoni 2005; Zanoni 2011).

After investigating these views, in this study I will review Acker's (1990, 1992) early work on the theory of gendered cultures to show how one might understand organisational cultures as being gendered. I shall do this with a view to showing how this framework might equally be applied to other forms of inequality, such as race and class, within a work organisation.

Acker (1990, p. 85) argues that to say that an organisation is gendered is to say "that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between female and male, masculine and feminine". Thus, gender is not an addition to ongoing processes, conceived as gender-neutral; rather, gender is an integral part of those processes and structures, which cannot be understood without analysis of gender (Connell 1987; West and Zimmerman 1987; Acker 1992). Acker's (1990) theoretical position implies that work organisations and other social institutions are inherently gendered in that

they have been conceptualised, designed, and controlled by men and reflect their interests.

Ferguson (1984) was one of the first to make this argument in a systematic way. Her analysis, in contrast to the gendered organisation approach, maintains a clear analytical separation between "bureaucratic and technical power, and male power" (p. 92). The argument that work organisations are inherently gendered appears in the form of her contention that bureaucracies inevitably, in terms of their structure and mode of operation, produce a gendered effect. Ferguson contends that bureaucratic organisations "feminise all with whom they come into contact, from administrators to workers" (1984, p.92). Ferguson (1984) argues that the traits and skills inculcated in women are required of any subordinate and that all organisations are dominated by bureaucracy in one way or another. However, it is argued that Ferguson's analysis failed to identify who is in charge of these apparently faceless organs of domination and who benefits from their perpetuation (Britton 2000). By envisioning even administrators as feminised victims, Ferguson is unable to provide an analysis of the avenues through which hegemonic defined masculinity shapes the form and the content of bureaucratic domination and of how this benefits the interests of men more generally (Britton 2000).

Acker (1990, 1992) pointed out that gender is a "constitutive element in organisational logic, or the underlying assumptions and practices that construct most contemporary work organisations, (1990, p. 85), and that "rational-technical, ostensibly gender-neutral, control systems in work organisation are built upon and conceal a gendered substructure" (1990, p. 88). Acker (1990) argues that gendering in work organisations and social institutions occurs in at least five interacting process: the construction of divisions along lines of gender, that is, division of labour, of allowed behaviours, of location in physical space, of power, and the institutionalised means of maintaining the divisions in the structures of labour market. First, the gendered division of labour can be seen in terms of hierarchy, sex-role stereotyping, rewards structures, authority and power, and extra-organisational rules are embodied within sex-segregation of work (Gherardi 1994). Kanter (1977) and Ferguson (1984) have illustrated how this process of organisation results in a lowering of ambitions on the part of females and a lessening of their commitment, which provides a self-fulfilling prophesy regarding

their role. This results in behaviour which portrays women as being less ambitious and committed than men (Acker 1990).

It is argued that, regardless of the variations in the patterns and extent of gender division, men are almost always in the highest positions of organisational power (Acker 1990, 1992). Similarly, Cohn (1985) argued that managers' decisions often initiate gender divisions and organisational practices maintain them, although they also take new forms with changes in technology and labour processes (Reskin 1988). For example, Cockburn (1983, 1985) has shown how the introduction of new technology in work organisations was accompanied by a reorganisation of the gendered division of labour that left technology in men's control. Ferguson (1984) argues that the traits and skills attributed to women are required of any subordinate and that organisations are all dominated by male power in one way or another. Furthermore, she notes that, in general, femininity equals powerlessness and that this is a characteristic required for the survival of increasingly gendered organisations. Thus, "women are not powerless because they are feminine; they are feminine because they are powerless, because it is the way of dealing with the requirements of subordination in macho masculinity organisations" (Ferguson 1984).

However, Ferguson's (1984) analysis may be criticised for reifying bureaucracy. Her work presents bureaucracies as gender-neutral and disembodied oppressors and, therefore, she is forced to use gender merely as an analogy to describe behaviour rather than seeing it as a complex system of control and discrimination (Acker 1990). This is brought about because the analysis is still caught within the gender-neutral framework of organisation theory and management studies, the 'women in borrowed clothes' approach as (Jacobson and Jacques 1990) term it. Furthermore, Ferguson's argument is internally flawed in that she argues that in order to deal with bureaucratic control workers become 'feminised', which enables them to manage their sense of powerlessness, but in doing so they perpetuated their dependence.

Ferguson argues that both men and women act in this way and, in making this argument, she denies the uniqueness of women's experiences and conceals the links between men and power (Acker 1990). Linked to this criticism is Acker's (1990) critique of Ferguson (1984), where she argues that by working from an essentialist

notion of femininity, Ferguson tends to stereotype women as victims, weak, passive and the victims of discrimination. In addition, this approach may be criticised for its universalising tendencies in the way it refers to women and their differences to men in the generic sense, thereby playing down the differences between women themselves. As a result of this failure, women are presented as a clear-cut homogenous group hooks (1989) and this crude view reduces both masculinity and femininity to a dualism (Alvesson and Billing 1992, 2002).

Secondly, the construction of symbols and images can explain, express, reinforce or sometimes oppose those divisions (Acker 1990). The creation of gendered symbols and images mostly justify and legitimise gendered divisions in work organisations. For example Kanter (1975) has noted that the commonly-held image of the top management often sees them as thrusting, ruthless, rational and sexual, all characteristics embodied in notions of macho management (Acker 1992; Calás 1992). For example, in Cockburn's studies (1983, 1985), male workers' images of masculinity linked their gender with their technical skills. The possibility that women might also obtain such skills represented a threat to that masculinity (Acker 1990).

The third set of processes that produce gendered social structures and organisations are "interactions between women and men, men and men, including all those patterns that enact dominance and submission" (Acker 1990, p. 86). For example, West and Zimmerman's (1983) study of conversational analysis shows how gender differences in interruptions, turn-taking, and setting the topic of discussion recreate gender inequality in a flow of ordinary talk. However, regardless of distinct accents, all of these studies show men as the actors and women as their emotional support (Hochschild 1993).

Fourth, Acker (1990) argues that these processes help to produce gendered components of individual identity. These components may include consciousness of the existence of the three aspects of gender discussed above, such as, in organisations, the choice of appropriate work, language used, clothing and presentation of self as a gendered member of an organisation (Reskin and Roos 1987; Reskin 1988). Hochschild (1993) notes there are often jobs through which women serve men, such as secretaries and administrators, which render women subordinate in macho

management structures within work organisations. As Acker (1990, p. 89) argued, "the ranking of women's jobs is often justified on the basis of women's identification with childbearing and domestic life". Thus, women are devalued because they are assumed to be unable to conform to the demands of an abstract job.

Finally, Acker (1990, 1992) notes that gendered processes impact on the individual's self-identity in circumstances where individual identity is constituted from notions of self-arrived at through understandings of the organisation's opportunities and structures of work and its demands in terms of gender-appropriate behaviour. Thus, gender is implicated in the fundamental ongoing processes of creating and conceptualising social and organisation structures (Acker 1990; Alvesson and Billing 2002, 2009).

In summary, we can see how, emerging from the interactions and power relationships of gendered processes, a culture comes to reflect, transform and reproduce the symbolic orders and ways of thinking and doing within work organisations. Such a perspective reflects a number of theories of the role of masculinity in organisational cultures where masculinity is seen as constituting a web of socially-constructed assumptions and associations about the relative characteristics and practices of women and men (see Kerfoot and Knights 1993).

In the following section I will explore how organisation and management studies have used the metaphor of culture to understand inequality in work organisations.

3.3 Organisation as Racialised Cultures

While organisation and management studies have used the metaphor of culture to understand gender inequalities in work organisation, they have paid less attention to how race relations are constructed and reconstructed within organisational cultures (see Britton and Logan 2008). In the previous section it was argued that gender is a basic organising principle of work or social organisation, almost always involving unequal economic and social power in which men dominate. Gender was seen as socially constructed and diverse and it has varied historically and cross-culturally. However, race is also socially, politically and historically constructed around definitions of skin colour and other physical characteristics (e.g. hooks 1981, 1984;

Collins 2000; Bhavnani 2001; Glen 2002; Acker 2006a). However, regardless of distinct accents, insights from the theory of gendered organisations might very well inform insights into race relations in work organisations. In addition, race almost always involves inequalities of power and material resources, resulting from and continuing relations of domination, exclusion and exploitations (Acker 2006a). Thus, race is routinely constructed and deployed in the everyday life of organisations to achieve specific organisational goals. To date, few empirical micro-analyses have examined materially-embedded racial inequalities within organisational cultures, showing how the specific construction of racial identities are instrumental in producing and reproducing unequal power relations (Nkomo 1992; Ferdman 1995, 1999; Holvino et al. 2004).

In contrast, research on the relationships between inequality and racial identities, and on the role of productive processes and practices in creating and reinforcing inequality, has a longstanding presence in organisation studies. A vast literature has examined the way that race/ethnicity, or both (Cox and Nkomo 1986), operate as organising principles for work and within organisations and professions. (e.g. Alderfer et al. 1980; Omi and Winant 1986; Cox and Nkomo 1990; Bell et al. 1993; Wright 2001; Bell and Nkomo 2003; Ogbonna and Harris 2006; Proudford and Nkomo 2006). Regardless of their distinctive emphases, all of these studies show that inequality results from discursive and material practices which systematically associate high-rank, high-status jobs with white people and, consequently, constructing white males as being suitable for high-tank, high-status jobs that is, organisations and social identities are seen as mutually constitutive (Zanoni et al. 2010; Zanoni 2011). On the one hand, social identities are re-defined through social relations in work organisations, so that categories such as 'black' acquire new context-specific meanings and connotations reflecting such relations (Zanoni and Janssens 2004).

On the other hand, social identities are themselves seen as structuring principles of organisations (Nkomo 1992). However, these analyses have paid more attention to substantiating the discursive rather than material (Zanoni 2011). However, through the theory of how organisations become gendered, we have an advanced understanding of the processes through which gender is infused with specific meaning and of how this plays a functional role in maintaining unequal relations between women and men both

at work and within other organisations and social institutions. We have, however, a less sophisticated understanding of the processes through which other social identities are deployed to materially reproduce unequal power relations. This paucity applies particularly to our understanding of the role of race in the culture of work organisations.

It has been observed that, in organisation and management studies, race does not always make its way into the discussion of inequality in work organisations' structures and processes. It is argued that most organisation studies either exclude race as a factor or include samples that lack diversity. Consequently, race is often relegated to the status of an unexplained variance (e.g. Nkomo 1992; Weber 2010). This exclusion inevitably leads to organisation generalisation or incomplete models and theories (Minnich 1991; Ferdman 1999; Reskin 2003; Vallas 2003; Holvino et al. 2004).

It is believed that the meanings acquired by racial identities in organisation settings are shaped by the specific positions occupied by racially different groups of workers. Thus, such meanings in turn inform management practices that produce unequal race relations (Weber 1998, 2010).

In the following section, I aim to explore how organisation studies have used the metaphor of culture to understand class relations in work organisations.

3.4 Class Relations in Work Organisations

Class differences generally arise from the economic and power inequalities that are structured by production, market and occupational systems (Acker 2006a). In capitalism it is the market that determines the life chances enjoyed by individuals. There are few studies that have examined the ways in which organisations' structures, processes and practices produce class relations in work organisations (e.g. Giddens 1973; Burawoy 1979; Connell 2000). Life chances can be understood as, in Giddens's terms, "the chances an individual has for sharing in the socially created economic or cultural goods that typically exist in any given society"(1973, p. 130-1) or, more simply, as the chances that individuals have of gaining access to scarce and valued resources and outcomes. (Weber 1978, p. 302) notes that "a class situation is one in which there is a shared typical probability of procuring goods, gaining a position in

life, and finding inner satisfaction" thus, members of a class share common life chances. Weber's view of class is that the market distributes life chances according to the resources that individuals bring to it, and he recognised that these resources could vary in a number of ways. Aside from the distinction between property owners and non-owners, there is also a variation according to particular skills and other assets. However, the important point is that all of these assets only have value in the context of a market. Consequently, a class situation is identified with a given market situation. Thus, Weber saw class as only one aspect of the distribution of power in society.

Marxist class theory asserts that an individual's position within a class hierarchy is determined by his or her role in the production process and argues that political and ideological consciousness is determined by class position (Parkin 1979). Thus, within Marxist class theory, the structure of the production process forms the basis of class construction. Marxist class theory, as noted by Elster (1985) is primarily concerned with class formation and, in particular, with explaining the incidence and forms of collective class action. Such action is based on the history of class struggle and focuses upon how revolutionary activity changes the outcomes of such struggle (Elster 1985). For Marxists all history is the history of the development of the forces of production. In this way, Marxist class theory confirms that inequality is rooted in the relations of capitalist production (Elster 1985; Acker 2006a).

Marxist and Weberian approaches, regardless of their distinction in theoretical accents in regard to class dynamics and conflict, see classes as groups situated differently in relation to each other in terms of access to valued resources, especially the means of production, markets, power and wealth (Parkin 1979; Elster 1985). For the purpose of this study, the approach taken to class is to view it as intimately related with gender and race. Drawing principally on the work of Joan Acker (2006a), this approach views class as "socially constructed and processual, the outcome or effect of practices and relations that constitute the production and distribution of the means of survival (Acker 2006a, p. 7).

However, organisation and management studies continue to pay less attention to the understanding of the processes through which class identities are deployed to materially reproduce unequal power relations, that is, class relations in work

organisations (Zanoni 2011). As observed by Scully and Blake-Beard (2006), class does not always make its way into the discussion of inequality in work organisations studies. It is argued that this neglect might reflect the more general demise of class as an explanatory variable category within the social sciences (Wills 2008), as well as the difficulty of drawing on a notion which has been approached in a wide variety of ways (Resnick and Wolf 2003; Scully and Blake-Beard 2006). Zanoni (2011) grouped the understanding of class inequalities into two main types: first, class is understood as the exploitative relationship between capital and labour resulting from their distinct positions in the capital mode of production. If we were to apply a Marxist approach, this would construe that in capitalism one group of individuals, that is, labour, is forced to sell its labour for a wage for its subsistence as it does not own any of the other means of production (land and capital). Such a Marxist analysis also holds that another group of individuals, that is the bourgeoisie, owns the means of production and hires labour to produce goods and services.

Zanoni's (2011) second type of understanding conceives class in a broader sense, that is, at the macro-level of society. Here, "individuals are classified as working class and the bourgeoisie" (p. 107). Such classification is based on individual's and groups' access to property and power (Wright 1997), consciousness (Thompson 1983), style (Scully and Blake-Beard 2006), or various permutations of these (Resnick and Wolf 2003). The question for all forms and types of class analysis is how, and on what basis, we should distinguish these positions, since class positions exist independently of individual occupants of these positions (Sørensen 1991).

However, there is a long tradition of scholarly work attempting to theorise the relationship between socio-demographic identities, such as gender, race and class, regardless of how the latter might be conceptualised. Positions vary on whether there are separate systems of discrimination and how they interlock (i.e. Young 1980; Hartmann 1981; Collins 1986; Acker 2006a). There is often debate around the question of which system should be given theoretical primacy (Zanoni 2011). For instance, unsatisfied with classical Marxist interpretations of patriarchal relations as an ancillary to class relations (Engels 1972), radical feminists see patriarchal sexual relations as the main sources of women's oppression (Eisenstein 1977). Others conceive patriarchy as a specific mode of class relations (Gimenez 1978). Regardless

of the distinctions made in various theoretical approaches and the emphases these throw up, the underlying different positions give rise to more fundamental debates regarding the relationship between economic and cultural factors and/or their material and ideological basis (Delphy 1997; Butler 1998; Fraser 1998; Bernans 2002).

In summary, a vast literature positing Marxist, Weberian, feminist and other interpretations of the role of class in organisation present numerous and various versions and analyses. Each approach indicates a way out of the limitations of previous theorising, but none of these theories pays substantial attention to the role of race and gender in the structuring of inequalities. Nor do they pay attention to the organisational and economic processes that underlie status inequalities (see Acker 2006a, p. 35). More recent work from the black feminist standpoint (Collins 2000; Harding 2004), and from writers who favour intersectionality theory (e.g. Crenshaw et al. 1995; Crenshaw 1997; McCall 2005; Yuval-Davis 2006; McDowell 2008) have been advanced as new ways to conceptualise power relations as emerging from individuals' simultaneous position at the cross road of different social identities, such as gender, race and class, in a variety of contexts, including the workplace (i.e. Adib and Guerrier 2003; Boogaard and Roggeband 2010; Holvino 2010). In the following section, I will briefly review the literature on intersectionality theory in order to understand how gender, race and class intersect to form the basis of inequality in work organisations.

3.5 Intersectionality and Gendered Organisations

Intersectionality is an analysis claiming that "systems of gender, race and class, sexuality, ethnicity and age form mutually constructing features of social organisation" (Collins 1998a, p. 278). The intersectionality approach to inequality maintains that gender, race and culture are not independent analytical categories that can be simply added together (see King 1989; Weber 2001). Instead, race is gendered and gender is racialised. The vast amount of research on gender in work organisations makes clear that the processes of gender are often intertwined with other categories like race, class or sexuality (Acker 1990; Adib and Guerrier 2003; Britton and Logan 2008). Similarly, studies that focus on race show that race cannot be studied in

isolation from other categories (Cox and Nkomo 1986; Essed 1991; Nkomo 1992; Nkomo and Cox 1996; Ferdman 1999).

Empirical and theoretical work in organisational studies has focused almost exclusively on gendered patterns of organising (see Calás and Smircich 1996). Most research conducted in the gendered organisations tradition has highlighted the role of gender while paying less attention to the ways that work or the structure of organisations may also be racialised or classed. However, as theorists of intersectionality have argued that gender is only separable from these other dimensions of inequality in an analytic sense, most studies choose to focus on gender, but the story they tell in doing so is always incomplete (Spelman 1998; Collins 1999, 2000). The central theme of intersectionality is the invisibility of black women in studies of gender. On the link of oppression, Collins (1986) argues that minimising one form of inequality may still leave black women oppressed in other, equally dehumanising ways. Intersectionality is defined "as a theory to analyse how social and cultural categories intertwine" (Knudsen 2006, p. 61). The relationships between gender, race, class, ethnicity, disability, etc. are examined on multiple levels to explicate various inequalities that exist in society or in work organisations (Lanechart 2009). However, given the complexity of human experience, it is hardly surprising that social categories often do not have the capacity to account for or to capture it (Crenshaw 2000). Intersectionality is then invoked to fill in the gaps within social categories, such as gender, race, class and age, establishing links between them (Yuval-Davis 2006).

More recently, the impulse of black feminist and standpoint theory (Collins 2000; Harding 2004) has argued that it is difficult to separate gender, from race or from class oppression because in the lives of women these are most often experienced simultaneously. This ideology resulted in the formation of the concept of intersectionality as a way of examining how various socially and culturally constructed categories of discrimination interact on multiple and often simultaneous levels, contributing to the development and maintenance of systematic social inequality (Ritzer 2007). The standpoint approach involves viewing social knowledge as being located within an individual's specific geographic location (Mann and Kelley 1997). Thus, this relates to the "specific experiences to which people are subjected as

they move from common cultural world to that of the modern society" (Ritzer 2007, p. 207).

A vast literature has used intersectionality to encompass the relationships among multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations and subject formations (Adib and Guerrier 2003; McCall 2005). Others have constructed intersectionality in more general terms, thereby making it more applicable to various groups of individuals (Maynard 1994; Yuval-Davis 1994; Anthias 2001). In addition, others have brought to the forefront various distinctions, such as systematic and constructionist interpretations of intersectionality (Prins 2006), and strategic intersectionality (Ramirez et al. 2006). Browne and Misra (2003) conducted a study based on wage inequality, discrimination and stereotyping in immigration and domestic labour to demonstrate how race and gender intersect in the US labour market. Their study revealed that race and gender are mutually constructed and dependent and serve to limit and restrict some people while privileging others. Newman and Williams (1995) in their study of Britain's social welfare system used the concept of intersectionality to analyse the relationship between race, gender, and class. They concluded that these three components are separate but interconnected and that there are certain innumerable forms of identity, differences and inequality whose significance changes over time. Newman and Williams's (1995) study reflects various and changing experiences, and suggests that social divisions affect people, either singly or in groups, and in various ways, at different times and in different situations. Adib and Guerrier (2003) drew on the narratives of women who described their experiences of working in hotels. Their study provides an empirical example of the process by which gender interacts with other categories in specific detail. They show how individuals as subjects position themselves within institutional power arrangements. Their findings indicate that gender and other representations at work are not constructed as a process of adding differences onto differences, where categories are considered as separate and fixed. Instead, what emerges is a negotiation of many categories shaping the identities at work and which shift according to context (Adib and Guerrier 2003).

Regardless of their distinct emphases, in all of these arguments single identities do not have ontological primacy over one another, but rather are seen as interlocking in specific ways depending on the historical context and the specific situation in which

relations take place. It has been noted that a vast literature on intersectionality has focused on the interaction of gender, race and class, but has paid less attention to the relationship between the metaphor of cultures and gender, race and class in work organisations, with the notable exception of (Maboleka and Mawila 2004), who explored the impact of race and gender on professional black women within the cultures of the organisation.

Maboleka and Mawila (2004) examined the obstacles of race, gender and culture to the professional advancement of black female scholars and administrators in South African institutions of higher education. A total of 20 women were interviewed using semi-structured interviews. Themes that emerged from these interviews highlighted the continuing significance of race and culture on the professional experiences of South African women scholars. Four themes emerged: mentoring, impact of culture, continuing significance of race and understanding the academic game.

Mentoring proved a significant factor. According to Maboleka and Mawila (2004) the majority of the participants shared their concern about their lack of experience in research, writing for scholarly journals and presenting papers at professional conferences. Most participants felt that their senior colleagues (potential mentors) did not care much about the development of junior scholars. As far as the impact of culture was concerned, Maboleka and Mawila (2004) noted that participants discussed this in three contexts: 1) the broader societal norms and values that influence male and female relations; 2) organisational practices and policies, which are still male-dominated and marginalise women's ways of knowing and doing; and 3) its relation to interethnic and interracial relationships and interaction on campus. According to Maboleka and Mawila (2004) a number of women acknowledged that their colleagues, especially, their male counterparts, frequently challenged their authority and expertise.

The continuing significance of race was also noteworthy. According to Maboleka and Mawila (2004) the issue of race pervaded many conversations that they had with the women. African women felt that both male and female Indians colluded against Africans to keep their position of privilege. They indicated that there was a lot of fear from Indian staff members about Africanisation. The continuing significance of race

was further highlighted by the frequently disrespectful, sometimes rude and completely unprofessional treatment of African lecturers. Maboleka and Mawila (2004) argued that there were many ways in which women scholars suspicion that their professionalism was being undermined could be confirmed, along with their conviction that they were forced to constantly justify their presence in higher education.

Maboleka and Mawila argued that higher education institutions in South Africa face the challenge of addressing deep-seated racial and gender attitudes since the employment equity and other statutes seems not to have brought, or will not bring, any meaningful change until individual attitudes are addressed.

A commonly-mentioned problem was that of understanding the academic game: according to Maboleka and Mawila (2004) many of the participants in their study reported that understanding the newly implemented promotions requirements is comparable to walking through a maze. Maboleka and Mawila's findings suggests that there is a lack of professional mentorship and they argued that women were constantly engaged in the struggle to maintain a balance between these sometimes conflicting identities and roles, with race adding another layer of complexity to these dynamics.

From the findings of Maboleka and Mawila (2004), it is evident that their focus was mainly on professional black women. Although they did include administrators in their sample, nothing specific was reported for their experiences compared to those of women professional scholars, which were reported clearly. Furthermore, they focused only on black women's work experiences, leaving the work experiences of men and other women of other racial groups unexplained.

In this study I argue that a more inclusive approach of different racial groups [men and women] is needed, based on the fact that it is organisations, not black women, who have the problems. This requires a significant shift in the perception of gendered organisational culture and intersectionality scholars to enable them to see inequality practices centred on women and one race group. Such a shift, it is argued, will not be achieved by focusing on black women professionals or scholars, professional mentoring or networking. Although this study is similar to that of Maboleka and Mawila (2004), it differs in several ways. Firstly, instead of focusing on the work

experiences of black women professionals and administrators, it focuses on how the metaphors of cultures influence the work life experiences of both men and women from different racial and class groups in an organisation. Secondly, Maboleka and Mawila (2004), focus on the impact of organisational culture on professional women and administrators. This approach suggests that culture is a 'given' within which people operate. I will take a different perspective, investigating the interlocking of gender and class inequalities with race within an organisation.

In the following section I will present a theoretical framework for this, drawing on Acker's (2006b) inequality regimes, which adopts intersectionality perspectives.

3.6 Theoretical Framework

In Chapter 2, I explored different cultural perspectives, such as technical cognitive interest and functionalist, which see culture as designed to integrate and unify the workforce, as well as to ensure their commitment to maintaining and improving organisational performance (Smircich 1983a; Alvesson 2002). I argue that this cultural perspective mobilises hierarchical power and is a means through which top management can deliberately attempt to achieve unitary organisation through developing a collective consensus.

Secondly, I have explored the practical-hermeneutic cognitive interest/interpretive perspective which sees culture emerging through the social interactions and negotiation of organisational members to produce a system of norms and behavioural arrangements that are continually constructed and reconstructed (Smircich 1983a; Alvesson 2002; Martin 2002). Regardless of their distinct accents, both technical and practical interests tend to understand culture as unitary, as a consensus (Legge 1995), or as a more subtle form of management control (Willmott 1997).

Radical/emancipatory cognitive interest focuses on revealing the hidden power relations that are embedded within the cultural beliefs and values of organisations (Alvesson 2002). It has been argued that these cultural beliefs and values may have a gender bias, either in the broader organisations as a whole or within the subcultures of an organisation (Alvesson 2002). This argument stimulates interest in ways to explore

how gender operates as an organising principle of work, organisations and professions.

Acknowledging the key role context, and drawing on the insights from theory of gendered organisational cultures and intersectionality theory discussed in this chapter, I argue that in work settings race relations operate as a master matrix of power onto which other social identities become anchored. As discussed above, race here is conceptualised as the social identity that defines individuals in an organisation by virtue of their skin colour within the white capitalist relations of production. Gender, race, and class relations operate as a master matrix of power because organisations are fundamentally structured by labour processes which use individuals from certain race groups as either labour or resources to be deployed for the generation of economic value and profit-making. These resources can be used as capital by those race groups entitled to that profit because of their ownership of the means of production or because they hold top positions and influence decision-making in an organisation.

Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organisation provides one of the most comprehensive models upon which to base this approach (Kanter 1977; Marshall 1993). Acker's framework draws attention to the everyday social processes in which advantage and disadvantage, exploitation, control, action and emotions, meaning and identity are patterned through and in terms of gender (1990, p. 167). The sole focus on gender, however, masks the fundamental influences of race and other systems of domination in women's work experiences (Essed 1991, 1994; Amott and Matthaei 1996; Spelman 1998; Rowe 2000). Thus, for a more complete picture of how factors influence each other, the focus should be on the ways multiple systems of domination intersect in everyday interactions.

In this study, I will use interpretive-emancipatory and feminist theory to advance an inclusive framework for envisioning gender, culture and race. Taking an interpretive-emancipatory perspective directs attention to the organisation as an intersubjective structure of meaning where identity and power relationships are produced, maintained and reproduced through the ongoing processes and practices of its members (Alvesson 1998, 2002). Connections linking power, ideology and hegemony are central to this view of organisational cultures. Power is viewed as a dialectical process of

domination (control) and resistance that is manifested in everyday organisational life. Hegemonic control functions not simply as the ideological domination of one group by another but as a dynamic conception of the lived relations of social groups and the various struggles that are constantly unfolding between and among these groups (Alvesson 2002). From the feminist perspective, gender and race are not neutral elements but can be seen as key constituents of organisations and as primary ways of signifying power in social systems (Scott 1986; Acker 1990). Power and control are manifested in the hidden micro-processes and micro-practices that produce and reproduce unequal gender and race patterns in everyday intersections (Parker 2003).

However, to facilitate analysis in this study I will adopt Acker's (2006b) framework of interrelated processes that create and maintain a culture of inequality which draws from an intersectionality perspective to investigate how gender, race and class intersect to produce inequality, as well as to examine how gender, race and class operate as organising principles of work, organisations and professions. This study applies Acker's theoretical framework because it is compatible with an interpretive-emancipatory understanding of culture, which sees power relations hidden in the cultural beliefs and values of an organisation, while Acker's inequality regimes focuses on power relations in the organisation as whole.

Acker developed the concept of inequality regimes "as a way of understanding the dynamics of gendered, racialised and class relations in specific organisations" (2006a, p. 132). Drawing on an extensive literature, Acker (2006a) developed the concept of regimes of inequality as a way of understanding the dynamics of gendered, racialised, class relations in work organisations. Acker (2006b, p. 443) defines inequality regimes as interrelated practices, processes, actions and meanings that result in and maintain gender, race and class inequalities. These are linked to the inequality in the surrounding society, its politics, history and culture. Acker (2006b, p. 443) conceptualises inequality in organisations widely as: "the systematic disparities between participants in power and control over goals, resources and outcomes, workplace decisions, such as how to organise work, opportunities for promotion and interesting work, security in employment and benefits, pay and other monetary rewards, respect and pleasure in work and work relations". Thus, inequality is built into organisational dynamics at all levels. To understand intersectionality in

organisations Acker (2006b) uses the concept of inequality regimes to simultaneously address the conceptualisation of intersectionality (the mutual reproduction of gender, race and class inequality) and the identification of barriers to creating equality in work organisations.

The first component of inequality regimes is the bases of inequality. Acker argued that inequalities in organisations vary, although gender, race and class processes are usually present in all organisations. She refers to class as the systematic differences in access to, and control over, resources. Gender is conceptualised as the socially constructed difference between men and women, and the beliefs and identities that support differences with regard to inequality are present in all organisations (Acker 2006). It is argued that gender is almost completely integrated with class in many organisations. Class relations in the workplace, such as supervisory practices or wage-setting processes, are shaped by gendered and sexualised attitudes and assumptions (Acker 2006b).

The second component of inequality regimes is the shape and degree of inequality. For Acker (2006b), the steepness of hierarchy is one dimension of variation in the shape and degree of inequality. She argues that hierarchies are usually gendered and racialised, especially at the top. Thus, the degree and pattern of segregation by race and gender is another aspect of inequality that varies considerably between organisations. The segregation of gender and race in jobs is complex because segregation is hierarchical across jobs at different levels of an organisation, across jobs at the same level and even within jobs (Charles and Grusky 2004). It is argued that the power differences are fundamental to class and are linked to hierarchy and that gender and race are important in determining power differences within an organisational class level (Acker 2006b). Acker in her early work argued that the maintenance of gendered hierarchy is achieved partly through tacit controls based on arguments about women's production, emotionality, and sexuality, helping to legitimise the organisational structures and processes created through abstract intellectualised techniques (1990). Similarly, race and class hierarchies might be achieved through tacit control based on arguments about a particular racial group's production and emotionality, which helps to legitimise the structures and organising processes of an organisation.

The third component is the organising processes that produce inequality. Acker (2006b) argues that the processes and practices that produce gender, race and class inequalities vary by organisation and she identifies six key elements of the organising processes. These include: the requirements of the work associated with human resource management; recruitment and selection; training; promotion; wage setting and the informal interactions that occur while doing work. This will enable the discussion in the data chapter.

The fourth component is the visibility of inequalities. For Acker (2006b), visibility is the degree of awareness of inequalities in organisations. She states that the "lack of awareness may be intentional or unintentional" (Acker 2006b, p. 452) and relates how practices that generate gender inequality may be fleeting and difficult to see, and how class is hidden in talk by managers and that race is visible, but segregated, denied and avoided. However, for the present study, these elements of visibility of inequality identified by Acker will help in unpacking the visibility of inequality within organisation structures and processes, and the issue of awareness of inequalities more generally.

The fifth component is the legitimacy of inequalities. The legitimacy of inequalities varies between organisations. Acker (2006) argues that all, or most, organisations are bound by laws that outlaw discrimination on the grounds of race, sex, age, religion, sexual orientation and disability. However, the literature has indicated that gender and race inequalities are legitimised in practice through rationalisations built around different capabilities and negative stereotyping. If equality strategies are not championed by the powerful stakeholders in an organisation, then their legitimacy will be undermined (Healy et al. 2011). However, the legitimacy of inequalities may be reproduced at different levels in the organisations.

The final component of inequality regimes is control and compliance. This refers to class-based organisation controls, which may be obvious or unobtrusive, direct or indirect (Acker 2006b). She argues that they can also be derived from hierarchical gender and race relations. She further argues that the perceived legitimacy of the subordination, fear and intimidation or processes of calculated self-interest serve to maintain a conscious compliance with inequality regimes (Acker 2006b).

In reporting the findings of this study, my discussion focuses on the bases of inequality, the shape and degree of inequality, the organising processes that produce inequality, the visibility and the legitimacy of inequalities and the control and compliance as the factors highlighted most markedly by the interviewees in the study.

3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored how people have used the theory of gendered organisation to analyse gender inequality in work organisations. Secondly, I have explored the literature on intersectionality theory and posited a way in which to understand how gender, race and class simultaneously interact to form the basis of inequality in work organisations.

I have also discussed in detail a theoretical framework upon which to base this study drawing from Acker's (2006b) work on inequality regimes. I have argued that Acker's (2006b) inequality regimes work is compatible with emancipatory cognitive interest understanding of power relations within the cultures of organisations. This is because Acker's concept of inequality regimes provides us with ways of understanding how gender, race and class inequalities are produced and of how class relations are produced and shaped within the hierarchies of work organisation drawing on the concept of intersectionality.

In the next chapter I will detail the methodology used to analyse the data used in this study. Thereafter, a brief detail of the case study background will be provided.

Chapter 4

4. Research Design and Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The overall aim of this study is to explore the role of organisational culture in maintaining gender, race and class equality and in the production of gender, race and class inequality within the workplace. The aim of this chapter is to describe the research design and methodological approach taken in order to investigate and analyse the experiences of employees, as well as the influence of cultures in constructing gender, race and class inequalities among different groups of organisational members. In the process of describing and analysing these cultures we will be able to observe the effects that they have in shaping individual identities in a university setting in South Africa.

Previously, Chapters 2 and 3 set out the theoretical background to this study. It was argued that this research is grounded on organisational culture theory, which starts with a unifying culture, shared meanings and contradictory views from the emancipatory understanding of culture. The emancipatory approach to culture theory sees power relations within metaphor cultures.

Secondly, this study is grounded on both the theory of gendered organisations, which sees organisations as masculine-dominated environments and, finally, on the intersectionality perspective, which sees gender, race and class as intersecting to form gendered, racialised and classed inequalities in work organisations.

The research questions arising from this literature focus on the nature of inequality regimes emerging from the shares beliefs and values of cultures, examining, in particular, the normalising and subjectivising role of culture in constructing gendered, racial and class-oriented organisational norms.

In this chapter, the interpretive and emancipatory ontological-epistemological and qualitative methodological approaches have been adopted to address the research aims and questions. Before setting out a detailed account of the ontological-epistemological

stance and methodological approach to this research, I will first outline a reflexive account of my biography together with a brief overview of the participants in the study as well as the issues which made me feel uncomfortable during the data collection process and in transcribing the empirical material data.

4.2 Reflexivity

This section is based on my retrospective reflections of my engagement in this research. In the processes of writing this reflective piece of work, I have adopted a "radical reflexivity" approach, which involves turning the reflexive gaze onto ourselves as researchers and questioning the claims to truth that we make and the ways we have constructed reality (Rhodes and Brown 2005; Thomas et al. 2009)

Pollner's (1991, p. 370) definition of radical reflexivity offers a starting point for understanding this: "an 'unsettling', that is, an insecurity regarding the basic assumptions [of] discourse and practices used in describing reality". This involves questioning the distinctions researchers make between what is fact or fiction, the nature of knowledge and ultimately the researchers' purpose and practices as researchers(Cunliffe 2009). In this way, forms of radical reflexivity are viewed as an important and valuable practice in management research (see Thomas et al. 2009). As Rhodes and Brown (2005, p. 483) noted that, "as researchers we are entreated to take responsibility for what we write, how we write, and who we are".

My aim in this study has been to investigate how the metaphor of cultures influences, maintains and perpetuates gender, race and class equality/inequality within a university setting. In the research process of this study I have found that there is a tension between being a researcher and being a staff member of the university. As a Black woman, born and raised in South Africa, educated in the existing education system, which prior to 1994 was officially segregated by race, ethnicity and language, I have a personal and professional interest in the topic, given that there is no better point of entry into a critique or reflection than one's own experience (Bannerji 1992). Thus, my own background and experiences as a Black woman are part of the framework of this research because there is no work or organisation, particularly in South Africa, where women or men can enter without being aware of the intersection of gender, race and class (Giddings 1984).

As a Black woman, I want to see a change in the patriarchal and racial relations between men and women from different race and cultural background, in particular in the country that is in transition like South Africa. I also want to see a change in racial imbalances within the university hierarchy, processes and structures. I would like this change to extend to my relationships with the research participants from different gender, race and class communities but have found it difficult to meet directly the challenge that this would involve.

As a researcher, I was careful to nurture relationships in order to avoid overstepping non-literal lines in which these relationships might be jeopardised, and to enter "systematically into… possibly repugnant perspectives of rival thinkers" (Willott 1998).

Most reflexive critiques focus on the social dimension which arises out of the social constructionist and other theoretical persuasions (Cunliffe 2003). My own research on the employees' perceptions regards the university's cultures and their day-to-day work experiences in this case study as a case in point. Here, I was confronted with macro-social dimensions influencing my personal interactions. For example, with one of my male African interviewees I found myself feeling frustrated and irritated with what I saw as a cold answer. The response being one that I felt was inappropriate for the topic we were discussing at that particular moment. I found myself being uncharacteristically challenging with him. I pushed him to get the kind of response I was expecting from him. However, towards the end of the interview session he gave me an answer during which he spoke painfully about how difficult it was to be a Black African man, how difficult it was to handle certain emotions, and how he had to cut himself off from them to keep focused in his job. I then felt guilty about having been so pushy and forced such disclosures.

As a Black woman, I know and understand that when a man shows tears in his eyes, that means he is faced with a difficult and painful situation and it is beyond his control. Therefore, seeing this particular man with tears in his eyes, I ended up very emotional myself and reflected on my experiences as a Black woman working in the same university.

Although I did not reflect verbally on my experiences, which resonate with some of his admissions translated to a coded form, in my mind there seemed to be a recording device which was playing back similar experiences to those which my subject had described. Reflecting on this, I wondered about the extent to which I had been responsible for these results, taking into account my initial assumptions. To what extent did he produce this behaviour and these emotions because I had invited it?

Another experience, which confronted me and influenced my personal interaction, happened during the interview session with one of my White female interviewees. She said,

I see myself as a White middle aged South African. I grew up in an apartheid South Africa with my boyfriend going to "war". The army was a dominating influence in my teenage life. In my adult life I lived through sanctions, bomb blasts such as "Magoos"[The 1986 Magoos bar car bomb which killed three people and wounded 73 others on the Durban beachfront in 1986 was intended for apartheid security force personnel who frequented the establishments;] and an indescribable tension during the 'State of Emergency'. Fear in those days was a Black man's face. I was not actively part of the struggle. I was a student during the 'state of emergency'. I remained blissfully ignorant of what was going on around me. On reflection I have personal issues with violence and shunned the thought that violent atrocities were being committed against other human beings. On reflection and many years of counselling, I now know and understand I did not have the emotional capacity to take on board what was really happening in our country. I wore the 'Free Nelson Mandela' T-shirts. I voted in that referendum for inclusion for all. The country changed. I felt relief tinged with fear when the first democratic elections were held. I idolise Mandela for being an incredible human being. At that time, I believed in the struggle heroes as I learned more about them but I could not listen to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings as they were too painful for my fragile emotions. I embraced the Rainbow Nation. I believed in my heart that as rainbow people we would be united. In the words of the National anthem "Simunye", I believed we are one...

What I noted during interview sessions was that, when I raised the issue about equity and equality in relation to gender, race and class, most of the White interviewees

would refer back to our history and tried to justify their stance in terms of claiming to have not been a part the previous system. I found this need for retrospective political justification incredible because the country's politics were not the focus of this research. I then had to find a way of drawing them back to the issues of university life.

Having engaged in the conversation cited above with my interviewee, I realised that in an encoded manner, her reply resonates with my own experiences of the past outside university life. Her transmitted message, being based on emotions and fear of the unknown and my own personal experience, being based on fear, terror, emotions, physical abuse and brutal attacks by those who were in power during the particular time she referred to. These factors and traumas impacted upon the lives of the majority of the people of South Africa. What I learnt here is that each person views the world through their own lens, which has been moulded by their particular life experiences.

Having engaged in this type of reflexivity analysis, I concluded that I had probably influenced my interviewees. In addition, I came to understand that the multiple contradictory ideologies around in our culture also had a considerable influence and that emotions reflect our ideologies. For instance, I suspect the two interviewees already cited have internalised the same messages I have about acceptable gender, race and class behaviour but I also saw that both these interviewees have been exposed to other ideologies. For example, with the African male interviewee, there was a dualism which enabled him to embrace the contradictory idea that, as professionals we should be emotional yet able to control our feelings and to continue with the pretence that everything is fine. With my White female interviewee, for her sharing with me her past emotions was a reflection that our behaviour and attitudes towards one another is historically based.

4.2.1 My role as an insider-researcher

In this section I will focus on the influence of my role as an insider-researcher and my own identity within the research process and the effect of this on the product of that research.

I have been working in the university at the centre of this study for nearly 11 years. Since the research setting was my working environment, I collected data as an insider-researcher. Being a staff member as well as a researcher is considered the most important and challenging instrument in qualitative research (Unluer 2012). For instance, there are many advantages and disadvantages of being in a staff member-researchers' position (Tedlock 2000; Coghlan 2003; Mercer 2007). The advantage came from the fact that I was already an insider, an accepted member of the university under study who is currently on study leave and probably a respected member of staff in the institution. I had a great understanding of the culture being studied. I also had the advantage of not altering the flow of social interaction unnaturally and having an established intimacy which promoted both the telling and judging of truth (see Bonner and Tolhurst 2002).

As an insider-researcher I had a general knowledge of the internal politics of the institution, not only the formal hierarchy but also how it really works in day-to-day practice. I also had an advantage in knowing how to approach different people from different race and cultural backgrounds. In summary, I had a great deal of knowledge, which takes an outsider-researcher a long time to acquire (Smyth and Holian 2008).

However, I should point out that, although I maintained close social contact with many members of staff, I did not have much professional contact with them except for the staff of the postgraduate office where I was given an office to carry on my research work. Therefore, I carried out the research from within in the sense that I was on site yet professionally was not an integral part of the university.

My experience as an insider-researcher suggests that the complexities around the researcher-identity-knowledge relationship are heightened when research is conducted within familiar environment. In this sense, the role of being an insider-researcher is also associated with some problems. For instance, having greater familiarity can lead to a loss of subjectivity, unconsciously making wrong assumptions about the research process based on the prior knowledge and this can be considered as likely to inject bias into research content and the approach to gathering it (see DeLyser 2001; Hewitt-Taylor 2002).

However, qualitative research is concerned with human beings, their feelings, experiences and their behaviour. This inevitably involves interaction with a great number of players, each of whom brings to the research process a wide range of perspectives, including the researcher's own perspective (Patton 2002). I had to be alert to the possibility that my previous tenure within the university under study might have some influence on the interview process, both positive and negative. For this reason, I had to create a distance for myself and for the participants between my research and my previous experience at the university. This was particularly important during the data collection and data analysis stages. For example, during data collection, over a period of five months comprising of observation, document analysis and several narrative accounts, I developed a habit of regularly writing notes and recording conversations. Before I would attend a meeting which I thought could be important, my attitude and alertness would change in that I was present in "two minds".

Firstly, as a manager of one of the university's departments and someone who needed to achieve a particular result and secondly, as a researcher, interested to see how things would develop and how the interactions between people would play out. I now retrospectively look back and realise this was an intense experience, which contributed to a heightened awareness of my actions as well as those of others. An intensity that grew further as I would later analyse and work with employees' narratives. For example, when listening back to the voice recordings, where these were taken, I would pay particular attention to the words people would use, the utterances, the emphasis and the pauses.

During the interview phase participants constantly made allusions to my affiliation with the university. For example, I noticed that it was quite common for participants to summarise their responses with such phrases as "you know all that as you have been and still [are] one of us and you know this university" or: "I guess I do not need to elaborate as you are still part of this University, you know." In order to counter this common mind-set, I reminded the interviewees that even though I was an employee, it was their experiences and views that were important rather than my own. I would try, therefore, to ask more searching questions in order to tease out their own

understandings of the issues under discussion, occasionally employing more direct questions as a result.

I recall that after few interviews I sent an email to Professor Robyn Thomas, one of my supervisors, telling her that it seemed that my participants were not telling me what I wanted to hear and were going off-topic. However afterwards, when I was carefully listening and transcribing their narratives, I realised that they were really telling me about the topic I raised except in their own way and not the way I expected them to, which is what qualitative research is all about.

The limitation of being an insider-outsider researcher was, therefore, apparent but it was also beneficial in that it helped put my participants at ease and allowed us to explore some complex relationship dynamics. For example, one of the participants named Rahul was extremely reticent and reserved in that he did not initially disclose much, which in turn prompted me to be much more assertive. I reluctantly felt pushed to ask more questions and became much more direct. Specifically, during the process I ended up asking a large number of closed questions, which was rare in terms of the other interviews I had conducted as part of this study. I sensed vulnerability in him and by asking closed questions I was attempting to put him at ease and protect him from disclosing too much information. Interestingly, I found myself disclosing more information to him than other participants. He took the initiative to ask me questions and I obliged. I did this partly because of my desire to share some of my experiences with him, feeling a need to confide in him. At the same time I could see that his general politeness, combined with his controlling quality (with regards him asking me questions) and lack of self-disclosure were all effective defence mechanisms to prevent me from pushing or challenging him too far (Finlay 1998). Together, Rahul and I seemed to be engaged in an exercise to stop me probing too much.

Through the use of reflexive practice this thesis has demonstrated two key principles. The first is that being a research insider is not inherently advantageous or disadvantageous. In many respects, my background as an employee of the university acted as an important resource in my research on organisational culture and gender, race and class inequality and the university itself. It facilitated my entry to a field that is typically difficult to access and assisted the development of research questions, data

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collection and data analysis. It enabled me to have an office in the vicinity of the research area in the university. However, at the same time, this insider status was "not a panacea" in conducting the research (Farnsworth 1996 p.401) as it also led to problems in accessing participants, developing research questions and data collection and analysis. For example, my status as an employee meant that a colleague with whom I had previously had some misunderstanding would not participate in the research.

The second principle that has been demonstrated through this reflexivity journey is that the dualistic characteristics of insider/outsider positioning are not static. Nor are they mutually exclusive. In this study my identity as an employee of the university rendered me as an insider to some and an outsider to others. In certain instances the importance of this identity was superseded by other social characteristics such as ethnic and race group and current occupation and it was this that shaped my positioning as an insider or outsider. At other times my ethnic and racial identity and status was a barrier to the participation of particular racial groups in this study.

In summary, the position of research insider and outsider are relative and fluid concepts, moving across a continuum throughout a research project (Plesner 2011). In undertaking such an endeavour I demonstrated the fluid and shifting nature of the identities of a research insider and outsider.

4.2.2 Challenges Experienced During Data Collection and Transcribing Data

As an insider it was easy for me to generate "real questions" to which I did not know the answer. However, I had difficulties in developing questions to which I already knew the answers. Real questions meant that I discover their answers organically. For instance, as an insider, I knew some of the domination and marginalisation that takes place within the structures, processes and practices of the university. However, for the research aim I had to ask questions of participants seeking to elicit whether such a structure and pattern of behaviour existed.

I was afraid of giving participants the impression that they were being interrogated. In fact, the purpose of asking questions about their gender, race and class experiences was not to interrogate but to understand the participants' knowledge about the gender,

race and class inequalities within the structures, processes and practices of the university as well as in their everyday experiences.

The second challenge was that there was also a need to adapt the tone of the interviews, especially when interviewing male participants and participants from different race groups to mine. This necessitated weaving the gender or race questions into the later parts of the interview. In most of the participants' experience, conducting race-related research in the South African context would be regarded as a sensitive issue. Consequently, the dynamics of the interview can change quite markedly if the participant perceives race to be the subtext of the questions asked.

The third practical challenge that led to quite profound consequences was the interpreting of the empirical material. During interview sessions, most of the participants who spoke the same native language as mine, were expressing themselves using both English and isiZulu. While I understand and speak English more clearly, it was a challenge to translate empirical material that was given in isiZulu into English. It was also a challenge to listen to and translate the empirical material that was provided by native English speakers whose accents were often difficult to interpret from the audio recordings.

The translation and decontextualisation of a language such as English, which is in use globally but rendered very differently in a local context, is often achieved at the expense of a loss of meaning for those aspects of untranslatability found in localised voices (Thomas et al. 2009). Thomas et al. argues that "the tendency of the native users of the English language to assume that its structures and rules reflect some natural and objective reality results in a lack of recognition, or playing down of, the different realities afforded by different languages (2009, p. 318)". Thus, the more practical constraints involved the translation of texts and accessing empirical material that is not in my native tongue (isiZulu). Therefore, I find myself in accord with the ontological reservations raised by Thomas et al. (2009) when they suggests that we tend to be constrained by our languages in terms of what we can see and know.

In order to provide the basis for this reflexive exploration I now provide a brief overview of the ontological and epistemological stance of this research.

4.3 Ontological and Epistemological Assumptions

In Chapter 2, it was argued that most of what is understood about cultures and organisations is derived from the functionalist perspective of organisations, which sees culture as a variable that can be managed, with the aim of improving organisational effectiveness, engendering worker commitment and improving organisational performance by implying causal relationships between these variables. Most of the writing on culture that has gained popularity in the management literature over the past 30 plus years has, in the main, come from a functionalist perspective. However, there are significant strands that have also taken an interpretivist approach and also, from the Critical Management Studies and Labour Process schools of thought, a number of studies that have pointed to more fundamental power-sensitive critiques of culture, drawing from more radical, poststructuralist and Marxist roots (Burrell and Morgan 1979; Alvesson and Willmott 1992; Alvesson 1993; Gagliardi 1996; Willmott 1997; Alvesson and Willmott 2002). Whilst some of the radical emancipatory orientation writers have argued that power relations are constructed and perpetuated within the structures, processes and cultures of the organisation (Alvesson 2002), there is still the need for this work to be taken further within the organisational theory. This research, then, adopts interpretive-emancipatory approach to understand and examine how power relations are produced and to recognise and highlight the "dark side" of cultural control and the influence it has in human and organisational life. Such an approach to organisational culture would replace what is currently the dominant view with its assertion of a unitary and integrated body of knowledge with a more adequate, inclusive and critical body of knowledge about organisations.

4.3.1 Interpretive-Emancipatory Approach

This study adopts an interpretive-emancipatory approach. It is realist ontology but is a subjectivist epistemology. Reality, in this view, is not seen as a hard and objective entity to be broken down and measured through positivist methods but as an intersubjective and socially constructed reality to be explored and interpreted inductively (Berger and Luckmann 1966). In other words, there is a world out there but we filter our understanding of it through our perceptions, cultural and political experiences and historical and situated assumptions. Thus, knowledge generated from

this perspective is perceived through socially constructed and subjective interpretations (Hudson and Ozanne 1988; Carson et al. 2001). Therefore, understanding and studying culture through this perspective means viewing culture as a socially constructed phenomenon through the interaction between meanings and aspects of an independent world. It is believed that the interpretive-emancipatory epistemological stance will enable this research to focus on the role of power in influencing the construction of realities in human interaction. This approach on studying organisational culture takes the view that cultural values and beliefs, and shared meanings contain power relations through which those values and beliefs are used to empower or weaken (Frowe 2001).

Emancipatory orientation has emerged during the last ten-plus years as a significant contributor to the understanding of organisational culture phenomena (Clegg 1975; Frost 1980; Deetz and Kersten 1983; Alvesson 1985; Mumby 1987, 1988; Clegg 1989; Deetz and Mumby 1990; Alvesson and Willmott 1992; Habermas 1993; Alvesson and Willmott 1996; Alvesson 2002). Emancipatory orientation is mostly based on an interpretive stance. Emancipation is triggered by the assertion of equality in the face of institutionalised patterns of inequality. This process works through a process of articulating dissonance, and it creates a redistribution of what is considered to be sensible (Huault et al. 2012).

This significantly extends how we conceptualise emancipation in organisations and allows us to address some of the shortcomings of existing theories. In this research the emancipatory paradigm is concerned with the systematic demystification of the structures and processes which create gender, racial and class inequalities and the establishment of a workable dialogue between the metaphors of culture and gender, race and class inequality in order to facilitate the latter. An emancipatory approach analyses how inequalities based on gender, race and class are reflected in imbalanced power relationships. An interpretive paradigm analyses multiple socially constructed realities based on interactive links between the researcher and participants.

However, mostly organisational culture research informed by an interpretive paradigm perspective often assumes that there is a social consensus and that individuals voluntarily develop meaning and, in doing so, create existential understanding. The

interpretive research starts from a premise that it is crucial to understand the way in which the members of an organisation or society relate to the world around them without any wish to critically interfere with established meanings and ideas. Alvesson and Willmott (1996, p. 18) referred to this as "the actor-orientation perspective, according to which the researcher seeks to understand the world from the subject's point of view".

Emancipatory research on the other hand starts from the premise that ideas about socially-created reality are regarded as being part of the result of various kinds of dominance relationships and the role of the emancipatory orientation is to reveal dominance within the cultures of the organisations which this approach assumes serves to block awareness and understanding of the possibilities for action. In this way, emancipatory orientation gives the interpretive paradigm a shaper edge as it aims to inspire critical reflection and rethinking of conventional, dominating ideas and understanding (Alvesson and Willmott 1992). Thus, interpretation, especially if is guided by emancipatory ambition to liberate humans from suffering, enables both a clarification and a challenge to socially perceived reality and to the individual's existence within this reality (Deetz and Kersten 1983).

Therefore, adopting emancipatory epistemology in this research means recognising that organisations as social constructions are neither neutral nor value-free. Instead they reflect asymmetrical power relations and partisan interests. It is argued that ways of interpreting and acting that offer alternatives to the hegemony of dominating ideas and concepts open the way to emancipation on the individual or collective level. Therefore, this research adopts and is linked to the interpretive paradigm with its emancipatory epistemological position. Emancipatory orientation extends the research of the interpretive paradigm into the realm of the critique and evaluation, with the aim of freeing human beings from power domination and unequal treatment. However, while the emancipatory orientation to organisational culture yields a richer view of the organisation as a complex entity, it does not offer guidelines or prescriptions for the researcher as to how they might identify and uncover the existence of suffering, frustration, domination, unequal treatment and other hidden agendas within organisational cultures. As discussed in chapter 3, it is the work of Acker which is

seen to have offered the most potential for theorising cultures of inequality, such as gender, race and class domination in work organisations.

Based on the theory of gendered organisations, Acker's work marked a fundamental paradigm shift in the study of gender, work and organisations (see Acker 1990; Acker 1992). Acker's work was the first to synthesise these insights into a coherent whole and for this research it offers a systematic framework for understanding and revealing the hidden agendas within the cultures of the organisation. The premise behind Acker's theory of gendered organisations argues that focusing on aspects of structures, particularly the power relations within the multilevel structures and processes, will reveal disparities of gender, race and class inequality within an organisation. This view complements the emancipatory orientation perspective which is interested in revealing the negative influence of culture and the dark side of the organisational culture and power relations hidden within the shared meanings of the organisational culture. However, Acker's gendered organisation perspective does not provide ways or processes capable of showing how the desired revelations can be achieved.

This research, then, adopts Acker's (2006b) inequality regimes epistemology. It is argued that such an approach enables a moving away from macrostructures and transformative change to question how and why people discriminate against each other. It also enables the development of a theory of subjectivity, of conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions, which can account for the dynamic and reciprocal nature of these relationships between individuals and the social world. This epistemological approach then informs the methodology adopted which, in turn, is translated into particular methods used to understand the experiences of the participants in this research and of how gendered and racialised university culture is constructed.

The third section of this chapter sets out the particular methodological approach adopted in this research. Following this, is a detailed account of the research method used in this study is presented. In order to provide the basis for this epistemological stance, I now provide a brief overview of the research design and methodology which complements the ontological-epistemological stance of this research.

4.4 Methodology

This research adopts a qualitative methodology approach. Qualitative research is grounded in a philosophical position which applies a broadly interpretivist epistemology in the sense that it is concerned with people's experiences and how their social world is interpreted, understood, and constructed (Mason 1996; Neuman 2003; Salkind 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2005; Domegan and Fleming 2007). Therefore, qualitative methodology is more appropriate for the interpretative and emancipatory epistemological stance taken in this research (see detailed discussion on the ontological and epistemological in section 4.2 above). Qualitative is the most dominant methodology on studying culture research (see Manning 1979; Pettigrew 1979; Van Maanen 1979; Morgan and Smircich 1980; Smircich 1983b; Smollan and Sayers 2009). A qualitative approach is also more appropriate for studies of cultures of inequality and it complements arguments in feminist theory on qualitative approaches being most appropriate in accessing and giving voice to silenced and marginalised groups (e.g. West and Zimmerman 1983; Cockburn 1985; Browne and Misra 2003; Zanoni and Janssens 2004; Kim 2008; Ashby 2011). Qualitative methodology is sensitive to the constructionist and feminist needs, particularly in relation to the power dimension in the research process and to questions of ethics (Smircich 1983b; Kunda 1992; Schultz 1995; Denison 1996; Schultz and Hatch 1996; Alvesson 2002).

By adopting qualitative methodology in this research, I am embracing the idea of multiple realities and attempting to get close as possible to the participants being studied. In this way, I aimed to understand people's experiences from the subject's point of view, to unfold the meaning and to uncover their real-life context so as to gradually gain access to the conceptual world they live so that I can, in some extended sense of the term, converse with them. As Myers (2009) noted that qualitative research is designed to help researchers understand people and the social and cultural context within they live. This qualitative viewpoint presupposes knowledgeable agents whose actions are not structurally determined and who could always choose to act otherwise (Giddens 1979). Such an approach allow the complexities and differences of the world under study to be explained and represented (Philip 1998).

Quantitative approaches, on the other hand, have been associated with being instrumental, organisationally effective and performance-orientated, promoting objectivist and masculine-focused research which has perpetuated the image of value-free research and which serves to preserve the patriarchal hegemony and class hierarchies in work organisations (e.g. Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Lusher and Robins 2010). Quantitative research often "aggregates data across individuals and settings, and ignores individual and group diversity that cannot be subsumed into a general explanation" (Shulman, 1990, pp. 19, 26). Because of its emphasis on general descriptions and explanations, it tends to impose or generate wide-ranging but simplistic theories that do not take account of particular contextual influences, diverse meanings and unique phenomena, issues that qualitative researchers often emphasise. Therefore, a quantitative research methodology would not be an appropriate approach for exploring people's perceptions and their day-to-day experiences in the areas of gender, race and class relations within the cultures of an organisation.

4.4.1 Case study

The study adopted a case study design which Yin defines as "an empirical enquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used" (1984, p. 23). Alternatively, Kitay and Callus (1998, p. 103) defined a case study as "a research strategy that is used to understand or explain the phenomena by placing them in their wider context". Stake (1995) notes that case studies involve the researcher exploring in depth a program, event, activity, process or the behaviour of one or more individuals. Notwithstanding the differences contained within the definitions of case study design in general, cases are bounded by time and activity and researchers collect detailed information using a variety of data collection procedures over a sustained period of time. Hartley (1994, p. 209) claims that "case studies are less a method of research than a strategy of research", implying that case studies typically involve a combination of different methods in order to deal with the complexity of data and to aid triangulation. The qualitative methodology approach to case study design was held to be more appropriate for this study because it allowed me to focus upon and explore in great detail the issues of gender, race and class relations as they played out in situ. This approach was particularly appropriate

because of the practical consideration that even one case study produces a huge amount of data and doing one case study was manageable in the time and resources I had as a PhD scholar. It also revealed patterns, processes, practices and links between various issues, which are considered of importance in understanding and revealing employees' work experiences in terms of gender, race and class inequalities within the university cultures

The main limitation in employing a case study design is that it restricts the ability of the researcher to make wider generalisations. That is, one is not able to generalise on the basis of an individual case. Consequently, a case study can only make a limited contribution to scientific knowledge (Flyvbjerg 2007). It is argued that this restricted perspective is a "misunderstanding related to the issue of validity and reliability" (Flyvbjerg 2007, p. 391). Furthermore, such a critique can be seen as a misrepresentation of the role of case study research (Mitchell 1983). Instead, it can be argued that the use of case studies enables the researcher to maximise their understanding of the issue of interest (Bryman 1989). The aim is not to be representative of a wider population. Rather, it should be evaluated in terms of the adequacy of the 'theoretical' assumptions generated from such research (Mitchell 1983; Yin 1984).

4.4.2 Politics and Ethics

Ethical issues are present in any kind of research. The research process creates tension between the aims of research to make generalisations, and the rights of participants to maintain privacy. Ethics pertains to doing good and avoiding causing harm. Harm can be prevented or reduced through the application of appropriate ethical principles. Thus, the protection of human subjects or participants in any research study is imperative (Punch 1994; Denzin and Lincoln 2005).

The nature of this study demanded a strong ethical code of practice, especially in relation to the sensitive nature of the material, the potential vulnerability of the individual participants and the impact the research might have on their working lives (Finch 1993a, b). The main ethical challenge of this research was the number of ethical, moral and methodological problems which needed to be addressed, particularly the issue of confidentiality and trust. To address these issues in the

research, I aimed to be as open as possible in presenting myself to the individuals I interviewed as well as describing to them the nature and purpose of the research. Contact was initiated with individual participants via email requesting their participation in the research and setting out clearly the focus of the research (see appendix B). The access letter from the director of research of the university was included and it was elaborated that the research was for a doctoral study. The assurance of confidentiality and anonymity in any dissemination activities following completion were included.

During the interviews, I reiterated the nature and the purpose of research and the fact that confidentiality would be maintained throughout the research process (Christians 2000), and consent form was presented to each participant in this study (see appendix C) The issue of confidentiality was considered to be the main concern for participants, given the fact that the research was highly sensitive and that specific instances might be easily traced back to the person concerned. For this reason, I completed all of the transcriptions and pseudonyms used at this study.

The commitment to confidentiality was heightened by the openness and the trust displayed by the participants who invested valuable time and emotional energy in telling their stories to me. Thus, a rigorous approach to confidentiality had to be maintained throughout the data analysis, writing up and dissemination process. In a few cases this meant that information had to be omitted or heavily edited, especially information which the interviewee had specifically requested not to be included.

In addition, to maintaining confidentiality, pseudonyms were used and some specific references to people and places changed (Shank 2002; Neuman 2003). As all interviews were recorded and fully transcribed, this created further ethical challenges in terms of protecting access to this information.

Finch (1993a, p. 174) observes there is "a real exploitative potential in the easily established trust between women, which makes women especially vulnerable as subjects of research". For example, I was continually aware of how indebted I was to some of the women participants involved in this research with the consequential desire on my part to do a good job in terms of accurate representation. For instance, I was aware that some of the participants expected changes in the University as a result of

talking to me. I was also aware that some of the participants, namely the African interviewees, saw me as playing a role model through my being an African female carrying out doctoral research (which is held in high esteem among African females in South Africa). I was also aware of how indebted I was to some participants from the same race groups, with the consequential desire to achieve more in order to change the situation and to do a good job as one from their race group. I felt especially indebted because of the ease with which other women and participants from the same race group opened up freely and revealed sensitive and extremely private information. The duty of care in presenting this research requires a strongly ethical stance, as in all gender, race and power relations research (Finch 1993b).

4.5 The Research Process and Methods

The following sections set out in detail the research process, including the case study selection, gaining access, methods adopted in collecting data (such as interview processes documentary and observation) and, finally, the data analysis procedure.

4.5.1 Study Selection

As mentioned earlier, I am connected with the university where this research was conducted. This affiliation influenced the selection of the case study for this research. For instance, as a staff member of this university, I found myself working in an institution which was, and still is, overwhelming male-dominated, with a significantly racially imbalanced hierarchy, structures, processes and practices. Moreover, I was fully aware that higher education in South Africa was witnessing a period of transformative change, where many of the traditional practices and processes were being challenged. I realised that there were aspects of the higher education system that worked and other aspects that worked less effectively during the process of transformation. My historical knowledge and being part of the higher education system in South Africa did pay a major role in the selection of this case study site. That selection was made on the basis of negotiations with the director of research and was considered relevant for the purpose of this study because of its historical racial segregation and context (see detailed discussion on the background of case study in Chapter 5).

The main period of data collection was the end of spring through summer 2011. Data was collected through semi-structured interviews. Questions covered in the interviews were generated from the literature reviewed in Chapters 2 and by way of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3.

I present in this thesis the accounts and interpretations of the experiences of employees from different racial groups working in the university. A key question of the present study was how the organisational of cultures can influence or perpetuate power relations among university members and how these power relations construct and shape gendered, racialised and classed cultures within the institution. This research question thus informed the selection of the case study.

Being familiar with the history of South Africa's higher education system and the Employment Equity Act, it was a relatively straightforward task to identify an institution as suitable for exploring inequalities in relation to gender, race and class. LUT was found to be geographically convenient and also suitable in that its workforce was composed of male and female Africans, Whites, Indians and Coloured.

4.5.2 Access

Access was negotiated through the research and postgraduate service director. A formal letter from the director was obtained which permitted access for contacting participants and collecting data (the access letter is not attached to the appendix section for confidentiality reasons). It was agreed that the identity of all departments, sections, faculties and individuals would anonymised in any subsequent papers and reports. This reduced the ethical concern regarding anonymity and the potential of respondents experiencing any ill effects as a result of participating in the study (Hutchinson et al. 1994; Shank 2002; Neuman 2003). Ultimately, the procedures used to gain access to the study site provided data that was necessary for the research project to advance to the next stage, namely interviewing key participants (Polonsky and Waller 2005).

4.6 Methods

4.6.1 Interviewing

This research adopted semi-structured interview technique. Semi-structured interview techniques have been the dominant method of qualitative research as they afford the opportunity of understanding individual's lives from a gender and power relations point of view (e.g. Thomas and Davies 2002; Snap and Spencer 2003; Soni-Sinha 2008). This interview technique complemented the qualitative research methodology stance of this research, which aimed to focus on the issues from the perspective of the interviewee as well as exploring the reasons behind the views expressed and a focus on the interviewees' day-to-day experiences rather than abstract concepts (Bryman 2001; Creswell 2002; Merriam 2002). The use of semi-structured interviews drew on the pre-set schedule or list of themes (see appendix D) whilst allowing the flexibility of the interviewee to develop areas which he/she feels are of relevance (Bryman 1989, 2001).

The purpose of adopting a semi-structured interview approach in this study was to enable participants to have their own voice in order to tell their own stories, in their own words, and to raise their own themes and categories which are of significance to their experiences, rather than being constrained by pre-set categories and imposed external meanings (Mason 2002).

Flexibility is a crucial aspect of this form of interview. Therefore, during each interview session, I had to employ a stance that allowed the interview to flow freely, in order that the interview could be conducted more like a conversation than a Q&A session (Mason 2002). However, such an approach needs to accept the fact that all stories are situated within a particular social, cultural and historical context consisting of individuals' accounts of events plus his/her interpretation of the events as well as the researcher's own interpretations. The interviews were framed around six areas:

The bases of inequality, in order to better understand how the individuals' day-to-day experiences are influenced and controlled by gender, race and class relations, and how gender, race and class intersect to form the basis of inequality in work organisations.

To better understand the shape and degree of inequalities that creates gendered and racialised structures and hierarchies.

To better understand the ways in which gender, race and class operate as organising principles for work in the workplace.

To better understand different individual attitudes, perceptions and interpretations of the visibility and awareness of inequality within the organisation structures, processes and policies.

To better understand how gender, race and class inequality are legitimised within the organisational life.

To better understand the degree of control and compliance and the way in which construct, perpetuate and maintain gender, race and class inequality within the organisational structures, processes and practices.

A total of 43 semi-structured interviews were conducted, 18 interviewees being Africans, 2 Coloureds, 11 Indians, and 12 Whites. Each interview lasted between one and one and half hours, with the exception of three interviews that lasted approximately two hours. Whilst there were broad categories to the interviews, each interview started off with a broad chat about the nature of the research in order to break the ice. Following this, there was an opening statement to the effect that I was interested in the opinion and experiences of the interviewee in relation to university life and a request to start by asking for reflection on the day-to-day experiences of working at LUT. The aim of such an approach was to enable the interviewees to reflect on their own experiences and feelings.

Audio recordings were made of all the interviews and participants did not express any reluctance or unwillingness to allow such recording. Parts of this recording during interview sessions took place at the interviewees' office in the case of those who had their private office. For those who did not have their own private office interviewing and recording took place in an office which I used during the data collection period. Two interviews took place at the coffee shop in one of the nearest shopping malls.

The interviews were fully transcribed and then analysed through a combination of manual techniques and computer software packages.

4.6.2 Observation

Observation in qualitative research involves the systematic observation, recording, description, analysis and interpretation of people's behaviour (Langley 1998; Saunders et al. 2007). In keeping with the interactionist orientation of this study, observation was the preferred technique. As a direct observer, I strove to be as unobtrusive as possible so as not to bias the interactions of LUT staff and I observed rather than taking part in all meetings, workshops and social gatherings that I attended during data collection. As one of the staff members of the university, I was also privileged to attend executive management meetings, faculty board meetings, departmental meetings and senate meetings, during which I maintained my role as a non-participatory observer. My observations were driven principally by the research questions in that I was more focused on the interactions and relationships of staff members of the university in terms of race, gender, and status. This observational approach helped me to gain a deeper insight into issues which some of the participants were unaware of, unwilling or unable to discuss in the interviews.

4.6.3 Documentary Evidence

As discussed above, qualitative research value emic perspective. It seeks to understand the world from a participants' point of view by listening to or observing a person in their natural environment. In contrast, by using documents, I placed myself at some distance from real people so that human action and thought were interpreted through a representation of reality (Hakim 1987; Silverman 2001; Prior 2003). The collection of documentary evidence is deemed essential in qualitative research (Atkinson and Coffey 1997).

In this case study I used the documents as commentary, because my main concern was with organisational and institutional structures, processes and practices (Yin 2003). I used a purposeful selection strategy to select the documents which I used: Education White Paper 3 1997; National Plan for Higher Education, 2001; Higher Education and Social Transformation, 2004; LUT Annual Report and workforce statistics 2011;

Employment Equity Act (55 of 1998); LUT Equity policy 2011 and South Africa census report 2011. These documents provided me with a better understanding and awareness of the world/context my in which my informants acted so that when I interacted with or interviewed them I was aware of the policies they were talking about or referring to and the jargon they used (Atkinson and Coffey 1997; Atkinson et al. 2001). These documents were particularly important for this study because they also provided insight into social practices that were not observable since they happened in the past (Hakim 1987; Yin 2003). They also played an essential role in reflecting the social arrangements and structure of the university in both its past and present life (Smith 1984; Prior 2003).

4.7 Analysis of data

The main data analysis for the research took place sporadically over a period of two years following the interviews. Recorded interviews were transcribed in full during the months following their completion. The interviews were typed up on Microsoft Word and stored on USB fobs (see appendix E - transcripts of different race groups). For preliminary data organising and analysis I first used NVivo 8 in order to gain insight into people's attitudes about gender, race, class, and culture of the university life. I thought Nvivo would provide a systematically way of organising data from the interviews, as well as enabling me to ensure that I did not miss anything from the data. Furthermore, I thought it would help me to interrogate my information and uncover subtle connections in ways that simply are not possible manually. Using Nvivo in the data analysis was thought to add rigour in this research. I thought this would be achieved by using the search facility in Nvivo which is seen by the product designer as one of its main assets in that it facilitates the interrogation of data (Richards and Richards 1994). Indeed, this is certainly true when the data is being searched in terms of attributes. Nvivo proved useful in interrogation of data in terms of gaining an overall impression of data which has not been unduly influenced by particularly memorable accounts.

However, in terms of interrogating text in more detail it was more confusing and difficult. As Brown et al. (1990) suggest, the existence of multiple synonyms would lead to partial retrieval of information, so that although it is possible to search ideas in

completely different ways, this makes it difficult to recover all responses. For example, I tried to search (within the text coded at the node "equity" which was about participants' view of their organising processes and practices) for the participants who had expressed a negative sentiment about equity within the university structures. I initially tried a search for the words "gender inequality" and three "finds" were returned as only three people, unsurprisingly, actually used these words. However, when I carried out a manual search I found more instances of this kind of attitude, expressed in terms of such a "gender set of inequality".

What was noted is that it would have been difficult to find other significant responses by using the Nvivo search utility because of the different ways the participants expressed and interpreted their ideas. Thus, whilst the searching facilities in Nvivo can add rigour to the analysis process by allowing the researcher to carry out quick and accurate searches of a particular type, it can also prove confusing and difficult.

However, owing to a general feeling of dissatisfaction and lack of confidence using this software, I decided to analyse the data using Microsoft Word and Inspiration 9 software to organise and analyse information. Inspiration 9 is a visual software that improves understanding, retention and communication. It helps one to create and think with mind maps. I used it to sort and code my data. It helped me to organise and structure my data and outlined the themes from the interviewees. It also helped me to split or combine topics, transform lists to topics and subtopics, and demote and promote groups of subtopics to fine tune my data (see appendix F). These diagrams demonstrate and show the perspectives raised by different race groups with regard to the inequalities within the structures, processes and practices of the university.

As semi-structured interviews generate a huge amount of data, one of the biggest problems facing the researcher is how to manage and analyse this quantity of data (Bryman and Burgess 1992). As Pettigrew (1990, p. 281) observed, there is the danger of "death by data asphyxiation". There is an abundance of guidance books on the various ways to overcome such a danger whilst still retaining the richness of the data (Eisenhardt 1989). However, the process is at the preliminary stage, a laborious one requiring the reading and re-reading of the interviews so as to become intimately familiar with the case and so that patterns and themes emerge (Eisenhardt 1989).

Since qualitative researchers collect data from interviews in terms of individual experiences, this needs to be reflected at the data analysis stage (Wengraj 2002). The literature also urges researchers to recognise that data is analysed within a structure or framework which reflects the focus of the study (Gray 2004; Maxwell 2005).

There are a number of analysis procedures that have been recommended for QDA, Miles and Huberman (1994) are one of the most well-known examples. In terms of qualitative data analysis, the steps consist of coding, reflecting and sorting to identify patterns, identifying similarities or differences between variables, isolating and using variables to direct follow-up field work, developing a set of generalisations and using these generalisations with the literature to develop theory.

Coding is a process that requires the researcher to undertake a very close scrutiny of texts. Dey (1993) describes the process as noting what is interesting, labelling it and putting it in appropriate files. Interestingly, Blaxter et al. (2006) remind us that coding should be primarily directed by the research questions while Schmidt (2004) argues for the importance of coding while moving between the data and the literature. Miller and Crabtree (2004) also posit that there is a need for coding to reflect the complexity of the lived experiences of participants.

For the purpose of the data analysis I have adopted a selective approach to grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990, 1998), categorising the qualitative data as follows: I employed open, axial and selective coding to facilitate the task of analysis (see Appendix F). First 'open coding' was used to discover and identify the properties and dimensions of concepts in data. This process involved the line-by-line analysis of transcripts and labelling of phenomena. Thereafter, the labels used were reviewed to explore the range of potential meanings, leading to a stage where categories and subcategories were tentatively outlined.

Initially, seven factors contributing to fragmented/confused culture, twelve bases of inequalities and six main ramifications were outlined (see table 1-4 in Appendix F). These were revised during the iterative analysis (Miles and Huberman 1994). Secondly, 'axial coding' was employed to link the core categories together at the level properties and dimensions. This type of coding focused on exploring how each developed category related to their subcategories.

Thirdly, and finally, 'selective coding' was used as a process of integrating and refining theory. These techniques were useful in highlighting divergences in the data and competing interpretations of events and issues (Mckie 2002, p. 281), as well as highlighting the multiplicity of voices and perspectives in the data .

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the research design and methodological approach most ideal to investigate how organisational culture maintains equality or perpetuates, constructs and reconstructs inequality in relation to gender and race within work organisations. I have also outlined a brief reflexive account of my biography and my experiences during data collection as an insider researcher. I demonstrated the fluid and shifting nature of the identities of an insider and outside researcher. Furthermore, I presented the ontology-epistemological stance and the methodological approach that is more appropriate for the epistemological stance of this research. I then explained in detail the research processes and methods adopted to facilitate the investigation and analysis of gender and racial inequalities within the University culture. The following chapter provides the historical background of higher education in South Africa and the case background.

Chapter 5

5. Background to the Case Study

5.1 Introduction

This chapter first provides a brief overview of the South African population in order to aid the analysis of this case study. Secondly, it provides a basic background of the South African workforce in terms of employment equity. Thereafter, a brief historical background of higher education in South Africa is presented. This will help to relate and compare the case study university structures with the history of higher education in South Africa.

In the following section an overview of the South African population presented.

5.2 A Brief overview of South African (SA) Population

Figure 5.1 South African Population by Race Group 2011
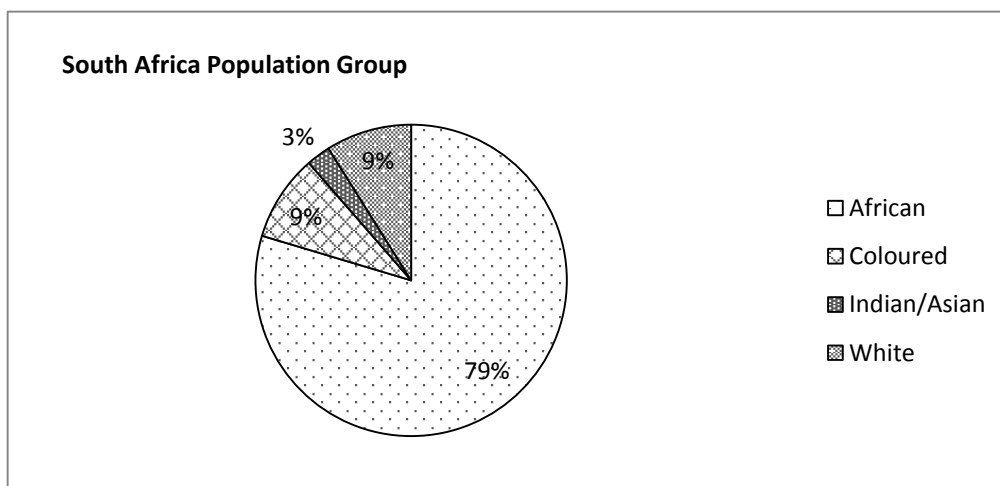
Source: Statistics South Africa (2011)

South Africa has a population of 51,770, 560 people (Statistics South Africa 2011). The South African population is categorised into four groups. According to the Census of 2011 (see Statistics South Africa 2011), the majority are African, making up 79% of the total population. Coloured and White people each make up 9% of the

total, and the Indian population 3%. White South Africans include: Afrikaners (who are Dutch descendants), and Germans and French Huguenot who came to the country from the seventeenth century onwards (Statistics South Africa 2011). The English speakers are descendants of settlers from the British Isles who came to the country from the late eighteenth century onwards. Immigrants and descendants have also arrived over the years from the rest of Europe, including Greeks, Portuguese, Eastern European Jews, Hungarians and Germans (Statistics South Africa 2011).

Coloured South Africans are people of mixed lineage descended from slaves brought to the country from eastern and central Africa, the indigenous Khoisan, who lived in the Cape at the time of this influx, and indigenous Africans and Whites. The majority of the Coloured people speak Afrikaans (Statistics South Africa 2011). The South African Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950) defined a Coloured person as a person who is not a white person or a Bantu (Quintana-Murci et al. 2010). Let me make it very clear, in an American or a British context, the term 'coloured' is an outdated and undeniably pejorative epithet. In South Africa it is not used in that negative context and has a non-pejorative usage specific to the South African context. There, the word designates a racial group that has resulted from several centuries of the mixing of various racial groups, particular to the Cape. These groups include indigenous Khoi and San tribes, West African slaves, Dutch settlers, Malay indentured labourers and even some Caribbean sailors (Statistics South Africa 2011).

Many of the Indians are descendants of the indentured labourers who were brought to work on the sugar plantations of what was then Natal in the nineteenth century (Statistics South Africa 2011). The Indian population is largely English-speaking, although many also retain the language of their origin. In daily language in South Africa, any person with black skin is referred as Black; any person with white skin is called White. Although the official indigenous people of South Africa are referred to as African, they identify themselves and are also identified by other racial groups as

Blacks. Therefore, for the purpose of this study, I will use the term African[1] to refer to a South African Black person.

South Africa is a multilingual country that officially recognises eleven languages, to which it guarantees equal status (Constitution 1996), these are: Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho Sa Leboa, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, and Xitsonga (Statistics South Africa 2011). According to the 2011 Census, isiZulu is the most common home language spoken by over 20% of the South African population. This is followed by isiXhosa at 16%, Afrikaans at 13.5% and English and Setswana each at 8.2%. Most South Africans are multilingual. English- and Afrikaans-speaking people tend not to have much ability in indigenous languages, but are fairly capable in each other's languages. A large number of South Africans speak English, which is ubiquitous in official and commercial public life. The country's other lingua Franca is isiZulu (South Africa Information 2012). Languages are mainly grouped by province, which is the result of Group Areas Act of the apartheid regime. South Africa is made up of nine provinces.

Before embarking on the discussion of the historical development of South African higher Education system, it will be helpful to consider a broad overview of trends amongst the South African workforce as well as the workforce trends of the Minia province where the case study institution is located. It will also be useful to consider the use and effectiveness of employment equity in terms of race and gender.

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[1] The Country's legal codes classified people as African, Coloured, Indian and White. The racial classification terms used in this thesis carry particular historical undertones specific to the South African context.

5.3 A Brief overview of workforce equity in South Africa

The workforce population distribution discussed below is based on the Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS 3 2012) published by Statistics South Africa on the Economically Active Population. Before embarking on [2]

5.3.1 South African workforce distribution: The Economically Active Population (EAP)

The EAP includes people from 15 to 64 years of age, who are either employed or unemployed and seeking employment. The EAP is meant to provide guidance to employers in order to assist them in determining the resource allocation and subsequent interventions that are needed to achieve an equitable and representative workforce.

5.3.1.1 Trends analysis by gender and race

Prior to 1994 in South Africa, social inequalities were embedded and reflected in all spheres of social life, as a product of the systematic exclusion of the majority of Africans and women of all ethnic and race groups under colonialism and apartheid

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[2] *Equity* – Equity is derived from the Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998 of South African legislation. The Employment Equity Act aims to promote equal opportunities and fair treatment to all in the workplace by eliminating unfair discrimination, and by implementing affirmative action measures to redress the disadvantages in employment experienced in the past by members from designated groups.

Equality in the South African context means that everyone is equal before the law and has the rights to equal protection and benefit of the law. Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. The state or any organisation may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, age disability, belief, religion, sex, culture and language (see Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act No. 4 of 2000- South Africa).

government. Whites were the top class, then Indians, then Coloureds and then Africans. Each of these was then divided further into other classes. For example, Afrikaners were top of the white category and tended to treat all others as inferior. Indians and Coloureds were treated better than Africans (Seekings 2007).

The apartheid system was organised around the denying of job and educational opportunities and limiting access to housing, health services, transportation, and economic opportunities on the basis of gender and race (Johnson 1999; Seekings 2007). As Msimang (2001) contends, racism under apartheid was both informal (everyday practice) and formal. Table 5.1 below illustrates the percentage of South African population profile of the EAP by race and gender. The government provides this vital information of EAP to employers with the aim of aiding the employers to set out their employment equity goals and targets.

Table 5.1 South African Population of the EAP by Gender and Race for 2012

	Male	Female	Total
African	41%	34%	75%
Coloured	6%	5%	11%
Indian	2%	1%	3%
White	6%	5%	11%
Total	55%	45%	100%

Source: Statistics South Africa, (QLFS 3 2012)

In addition, the EAP data indicates that special efforts are also required to increase the pool of women who are economically active, especially when they are the majority in terms of the total population and are able to make more of a contribution towards the development of the South African economy.

Table 5.2 South African Top Management by Gender and Race for 2012

	Male	**Female**	**Total**
African	9.1%	3.2%	12.3%
Coloured	1.5%	0.5%	2%
Indian	16.6%	4.5%	21.1%
White	52.5%	9.7%	62.2%
Other	2.2%	0.3%	2.5%
Total	81.8%	18.2%	100%

Source: Statistics South Africa, (QLFS 3 2012)

Table 5.2 shows that Whites, especially men, still dominate at the top management level in Minia province. The representation of White females is close to the representation of the African group combined at this level. African women appear to be the least preferred group in this province. The following section presents a brief overview of the Minia province where the case study institution is based.

5.4 Minia Province

Figure 5.2 Minia Province Population for 2011
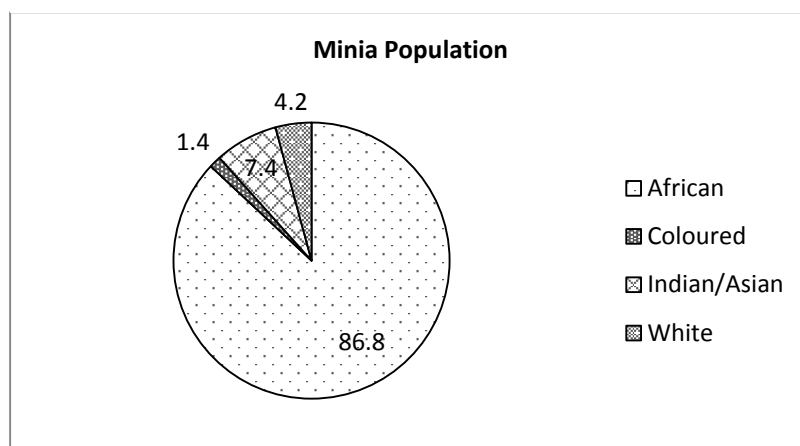
Source: Statistics South Africa (2011)

The case study university, namely (LUT) is located at the heart of Luxor city centre, which is the capital city of Minia province. Minia is the second-largest province in South Africa with a population of 10, 267, 300. Figure 5.2 above represents the population of Minia by race group. The Africans account for 86.8% of the Minia population, with Indians being the second largest population at 7.4%, Whites at 4.2% and Coloureds at 1.4%. Luxor is the capital city of Minia, with a population of 3,442,361. The people who reside within Luxor municipality area are from different ethnic backgrounds and race groups. The majority of the population comes from the African community (71%) followed by the Indian community (19%), White community (8%) and the Coloured community (2%).

Table 5.3 Minia Province Profile of the EAP by Gender and Race for 2012

	Male	Female	Total
African	42.3%	38.3%	80.6
Coloured	1.3%	0.8%	2.1%
Indian	7.3%	4.4%	11.7%
White	3.3%	2.3%	5.6%
Total	54.2%	45.8%	100%

Source: Statistics South Africa, (QLFS 3 2012)

Table 5.3 shows the EAP distribution of Minia province in terms of race and gender. All employee statistics in figures and tables that follow should be viewed in relation to the national and provincial EAP both in terms of race and gender.

5.4.1 Employment Equity: Minia Province

Table 5.4 Minia Workforce for Top Management by Gender for 2012

	Male	Female	Total
African	11.2	4.5	15.7
Coloured	2.7	1.6	4.3
Indian	19	8	27
White	36.9	14.3	51.2
Other	1.5	0.3	1.8
Total	71.3	28.7	100%

Source: Statistics South Africa, (QLFS 3 2012)

Table 5.4 above present the Minia workforce profile by gender and race which seems to very similar to that of the national level in terms of the huge representation of Whites in the top management positions as reflected in table 5.3 above. In fact, from the data provided above, White females seem to be the next preferred group after White males at the senior management level in this province. Generally, within Minia province Africans has the second largest representation at this level. A common pattern that emerges from the data is the exceptionally good representation of Indians at this level when compared to their EAP in this province.

5.5 The South African unemployment rate

Based on the Statistics South Africa (2014), first quarter report the current unemployment rate in South Africa is at 25.2% and higher than the 24.1% of 2013. Table 5.5 below outlines the vulnerability of women in the South African labour market. The unemployment rate of women remains higher than that of men. The rate among women was 24.9% in 2008, while the rate for men 6.1% points lower.

Table 5.5 South African Unemployment Rate by Gender for 2008-2013

	2008	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Women	24.9	25.6	26.3	25.9	27.1	26.3
Men	18.8	22.8	22	22	22.4	22.4

Source: Statistics South Africa (2014)

The smallest difference in unemployment rates between men and women was observed in 2009 (2.8%). Between 2010 and 2012 it was observed that the unemployment rate among men and women ranged between 4.3% and 4.7%. By 2013, this gap had narrowed to 3.9% (see Table 5.5 above).

Table 5.6 below shows the distribution of unemployment across race groups. Unemployment varies drastically by race: Africans face an unemployment rate of 28.3% but the rate for Whites was only 7.3% in 2013.

Table 5.6 1South African Unemployment Rare by Race for 2008-2013

Race group	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
African	27.3%	27.0%	29.3%	28.7%	28.7%	28.3%
Coloured	19.2	19.2	21.7	23.0	24.1	23.6
Indian	11.7	11.9	9.1	11.3	9.3	12.0
White	5.2	4.4	6.2	6.0	6.1	7.3

Source: Statistics South Africa (2014)

In conclusion, the statistics presented in this section provide us with a broad picture of the South African population and how the labour market is structured in terms of gender and race. In the following section I discuss in detail the background of the South African higher education system.

5.6 A historical background of higher education institutions in South Africa

This section will provide a brief historical background of higher education institutions in South Africa, in order to show how oppression, privilege, exclusion and power relations that were and, it is assumed, are still embedded and reflected in all spheres of higher education in South Africa.

Firstly, let us consider higher education institutions pre-apartheid to show how this sector was racially segregated from its inception. Secondly, a brief overview of higher education sector during apartheid regime will show how this sector was structured according to race and ethnic groups, based on Race Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950. Thirdly, a look back at the higher education system after 1994 will set the scene for change and for the introduction of the case study institution, LUT.   Firstly, a brief overview of the historical background of the South African higher education system, pre-apartheid era is presented.

5.6.1 The establishment of higher education institutions (HEIs) in South Africa: Pre-Apartheid

Higher education institutions (HEIs) in South Africa have been racially segregated from their very origin, with the founding of the South African College in Cape Town in 1829 (Stemie and Geggus 1972) which evolved into a fully recognised university of Cape Town (UCT) in 1916. Since then similar colleges were set up, for example, Afrikaner elites determined to establish their own university as part of their nationalist cause and conflict with the English, opened Victoria College in 1865, renamed Stellenbosch University in 1981 (see Ade Ajayi et al. 1996).

Following the settlement of English immigrants in 1820, Rhodes University was established in the Eastern Cape. A School of Mines University in Johannesburg opened in 1895, and became the University of the Witwatersrand in 1922 (see Cooper and Subotzky 2001). The federally organised University of South Africa had branch colleges around the country, and the university served these as an examining board. From the 1930s onwards these affiliated colleges became independent universities, resulting in the University of Natal, Pretoria, Potchefstroom and Free State (Ade Ajayi

et al. 1996). These universities were established with the view of advancing both English and Afrikaner native students.

The universities initially were theoretically open to all race or ethnic group students, but because of their subordinate social position, few students of other race groups achieved the necessary secondary educational qualification or could afford the costs (Pavlich and Orkin 1993). Therefore, the South African education system was characterised in terms of the language medium, that was English and Afrikaans, from which all other neither English nor Afrikaans speakers were excluded. This shows that when higher education was established in South Africa, it was intended for European students and not indigenous Africans. Racial segregation became an integral part of higher education culture and practice in South Africa in those early years.

The first opportunity for higher education training of Blacks[3] in South Africa appeared in 1916 with the establishment of the South African Native College by missionaries (Behr 1988). The College became the University of Fort Hare in 1951. To understand the context of the establishment of this college it is important to understand the role of racial segregation in its establishment[4]. This led to the agitation for the establishment of an institution for higher education to cater for black matriculants (Sehoole 2006). In the early 20th century South African universities continued to practice racial segregation in the admission of students, despite there being no laws that prohibited them from admitting black students. For example, in 1921 an Indian student who

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[3] South African population is classified official in four categories African, Coloured, Indian and White. The first three groups are generically defined as Black. In some cases, references will be made to Coloured and Indian to make cultural distinctions (South African Institute of Race Relations, 2001).

[4] In 1901, JT Jabavu, one of the pioneers and key figure in the shaping of African educational thought in South Africa, applied for his son (Davidson) to be admitted at Dale College. The application was turned down by the Dale College Committee on racial grounds: "Our social system does not at present admit innovations like that which Mr. Jabavu's request involved, native boy among a crowd of European boys in a colonial school could not be a happy one" (Press report in Cross, 1992, p. 50).

sought admission at the University of Witwatersrand was persuaded to go elsewhere (Murray 1982). Again, in 1925 the question of admission of Blacks arose when a Coloured student sought admission to the medical school at the same university (Murray 1982). A particular difficulty arose from the fact that Black student doctors were not allowed to treat white patients and medical training at that time was geared towards meeting the needs of the white community. Therefore, the university could not face the social consequences of having Blacks to treat White patients (Murray 1986). Similar incidents of the racial exclusion of Blacks arose at the University of Natal (now known as the University of KwaZulu Natal). In 1916, another Indian sought admission there but he, too, was refused. These accounts show the extent of racial segregation in the admission of Black students in South Africa's liberal English and Afrikaans speaking universities in the first half of the 20th century. While English-speaking universities discriminated in a covert way, Afrikaans-speaking universities were not apologetic about blatant segregation (Marcum 1982; Murray 1982).

The following section will present a brief overview of how developments in political and racial inequalities situation of the country impacted on the higher education system during apartheid period.

5.6.2 Higher education system in South Africa: Apartheid era

In 1948, the National Party (NP) came into power and laid down the legislative framework of apartheid (Spierenburg and Wels 2006). The NP government embarked on a determined policy to create universities for the states defined along racial and ethnic lines (Ade Ajayi et al. 1996). The introduction of rigidly imposed formal apartheid after 1948, and the subsequent homelands[5] system that grounded it, had a deep impact on the higher education system. University governance took a singular

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[5] A Bantustan, also known as black African homeland, was a territory set aside for Black inhabitants of South African, with a self-limited government. The Bantustans were abolished in 1993.

turn in 1959 with the introduction of the Extension of University Education Act, which provided for the establishment of African (Black) higher education institutions (Cooper and Subotzky 2001). This was due to the colonial legacy and the Extension of University Education Act 45 of 1959, which officially divided education along racial and ethnic lines.

For Zulu and Swazi speakers, the government created the University of Zululand. The University of the North was created for Sotho, Tswana, Venda, Tsonga speakers and the Transvaal Ndebele. The University of the Western Cape and Durban-Westville were created for those classified as Coloured and Indians by the state (Horrell 1968). In the early 1970s, more black universities were established in the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, and Venda Bantustans.

Furthermore, the National Party mandated the Eiselen Commission, which released a report in 1951 to develop an educational policy for Black South Africans that was in line with the separate development of Afrikaner nationalism (Behr 1988). The Eiselen Commission proposed that the state should assume absolute control over African education under a newly created Department of Bantu Education.

At the ideological level the Commission recognised the important role education could play in creating and reproducing particular types of racial and ethnic identities. It reiterated that education had to "instil a sense of 'race' pride and that the content of education be embedded within cultural dimension of Africans as a race" (Behr 1988, p. 32). In 1954, Dr HF Verwoerd of the Department of Bantu Education further expanded on the philosophy, guiding state thinking on non-White education, specifically linking the state's conception of education with social development of racial groups, all of which had its place within a grand apartheid vision (Behr 1988).

The philosophy of so-called Native education was to teach the Natives from childhood to realise that equality with Europeans was not for them. For example, Verwoerd stated that people who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for Natives (Behr 1988, p.36). Verwoerd (quoted in (Hirson 1979, p. 45) further states that "when my department controls Native education it will know for what class of higher education a Native is fitted, and whether he will have a chance in life to use his knowledge... what is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice?"

Following this, a non-White person was not allowed to attend any White university (except the University of Natal - Medical School and the University of South Africa) without permission from the Minister of Bantu Education (see footnote 4 below for an explanation of this). This exceptional admission of Black students to these two white universities took place because Black universities were not offering these programmes and there was a necessity for Blacks to acquire those skills in order to serve their immediate communities as well as the general shortages. This is because White groups were not willing to provide those services to the Black community.

In 1960, the minister insisted that Black students should attend the newly established Black universities. Only under exceptional circumstances, such as unavailability of a course at a Black institution, would he consider allowing a Black student to attend a White university. This rule continued until the end of the apartheid era.

The following section will consider the situation of higher education system after the end of more than forty years of exclusion and racial segregation in the higher education system.

5.6.3 Higher education landscape in South Africa prior to 1994

This section lays out the South African higher education landscape as it was shaped by the apartheid policies of the National Party government prior to 1994. It describes how the marginalisation of the African majority culminated in the establishment of five separate legislative and geographic entities (the Republic of South Africa and four 'independent republics'). It also traces the process by which this policy led to the establishment of 36 higher education institutions controlled by eight different government departments and describes the apartheid thinking which led to the differentiation of higher education in South Africa into two distinct types of universities and technikons. It will become clear how sharp racial divisions, as well as language and culture, skewed the profiles of the institutions in each category.

5.6.4 Conceptualisation of race and policies by the South African Apartheid Governments

Prior 1994, South Africa's higher education system was fragmented and uncoordinated. This was primarily the result of the White apartheid government's

conception of race and the politics of race, which had shaped the higher education policy framework that it laid down during the 1980s. According to Bunting (2006) the apartheid government, under the influence of the ruling National Party, had, by the beginning of the 1980s, divided South Africa into five entities:

- The Republic of Transkei (formed from part of the old Cape Province).
- The Republic of Bophuthatswana (formed from part of the old Transvaal Province).
- The Republic of Venda (also formed from part of the old Transvaal Province).
- The Republic of Ciskei (formed from another part of the old Cape Province).
- The Republic of South Africa (which consisted of the vast majority of the land holdings of the old South Africa) (see Bunting 2006).

According to Bunting (2006) the South African government at the time considered the first four entities to be legally independent countries, but they never received international recognition of their 'statehood'. The international community regarded these four 'republics' as apartheid creatures, the only purpose of which was that of disenfranchising the majority of the citizens of South Africa. In terms of the National Party's ideology, Africans, who constituted close to 80% of the population of the old South Africa, were supposed to be citizens of one of these and other potentially 'independent' republics such as that created for Zulus in the old Natal Province (Bunting 2006). They were presumed to be 'aliens' in the Republic of South Africa and therefore not entitled to representation in the national parliament (Bunting 2006).

The apartheid government extended the disenfranchisement of its African citizens by introducing, in 1984, a new constitution for the Republic of South Africa (RSA) (Sehoole 2006). This constitution divided the national parliament into three chambers (the 'tricameral' parliament[6]): one house for representatives of White voters (the

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[6] The Trilateral Parliament was the name given to the South African parliament and its structure from 1984 to 1994, established by the South African Constitution of 1983. While still entrenching the political power of the White section of the South African

House of Assembly), one for representatives of Coloured voters (the House of Representatives) and one for representatives of Indian voters (the House of Delegates). No provision was made in the 1984 constitution for any representation of Africans in the RSA parliament, even though this group constituted at least 75% of the population living in the RSA, outside the TBVC countries (Behr 1988; Bunting 2006; Sehoole 2006).

A key element in the creation of the three separate parliamentary houses in the RSA in 1984 was a distinction drawn between 'own affairs' and 'general affairs'. What were described as 'own affairs' were matters specific to the 'cultural and value frameworks' of the Coloured or Indian or White communities. 'General affairs' were those which had an impact across all racial communities (Behr 1988). Education was considered by the 1984 constitution to be an 'own affair' as far as Whites, Coloureds and Indians were concerned. This implied that all education for Whites (primary, secondary and higher) was the responsibility of the House of Assembly, for Coloureds that of the House of Representatives, and for Indians that of the House of Delegates. This constitution considered education for Africans in the RSA to be a 'general affair'. Responsibility for the education of Africans was therefore vested in a 'general affairs' government department which was termed the Department of Education and Training (DET) (Bunting 2006).

5.6.5 Public higher education in South Africa: 1990-1994

The classifications contained in table 5.7 bring out sharply the racial divisions which existed in the South African higher education system in the years up to 1994. This classification resulted in a three-way split along racial lines: the historically White Afrikaans universities (HWAUs), the historically white English universities (HWEUs) and the historically Black universities (HBUs) (see Baijnath 1997).

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population (or, more specifically, that of the National Party) (NP), it did give a limited political voice to the country's Coloured and Indian population groups. The majority Black population group was still excluded (see Bunting 2006).

Table 5.7 Public Higher Education Institutions in South Africa 1990-1994

Responsible authority	Universities	Technikons	Total institutions
House of Assembly (for whites)	11	8	19
House of Representative (for Coloureds)	1	1	2
House of Delegates (for Indians)	1	1	2
Department of Education and Training (for Africans)	4	2	6
Republic of Transkei	1	1	2
Republic of Bophuthatswana	1	1	2
Republic of Venda	1	0	1
Republic of Ciskei	1	1	2
Total	**21**	**15**	**36**

Source: Bunting (2006).

5.7 The higher education system in South Africa after apartheid

Based on the trend analysis and material presented above it is obvious that prior to 1994, social life, politics and economic opportunities were constructed on the basis of race, gender and class. Since the inception of the first democratic government in 1994, there has been a commitment to transform the higher education sector to a new social order. After the end of apartheid in 1994, the National African Congress (ANC) government set out the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE). The NCHE was established in 1995 with the broad mandate to advise the minister of education on restructuring higher education to contribute towards reconstruction and development (CHE 2004). The NCHE basic principles of higher education system were based on the following: equity, democracy, efficiency, effectiveness, financial sustainability, shared costs and development (Reddy 2004). The NCHE proposal revolves around three areas: participation, responsiveness and governance[7].

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[7] "*Participation* deals with the problem of increasing access to higher education and changing it from an elitist to a mass system. The aim here is to bring more poor and black students into universities and technikons, with the hope of creating a single system which will address the inherited inequalities and increased access to all South African

Late in 1996 the Department of Education released a Green Paper on higher education which endorsed most of the recommendations of the NCHE's (1996) report, differing only on governance. The 1996 Green Paper proposed a single body called the Council on Higher Education to advise the Minister of Education on all policy matters and for quality assurance (Sayed and Jansen 2001). In 1997, the Higher Education White Paper 3 was released. The Higher Education White-Paper 3 (1997) aimed at restructuring higher education in a single, national coordinated system. It reiterates the NCHE report and Higher Education Green Paper, emphasising the importance of increased and broadened participation. Responsiveness to societal interests and needs, and cooperative partnerships of governance (DoE (Department of Higher Education) 1997).

The DoE (Department of Education) (2001) released the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE). This plan outlines the framework and mechanisms for implementing and realising the policy goals of the Education set out in the White Paper 3 of 1997. The council on higher education also presented guidelines on how quality in the provision of higher education will be regulated. In 2002 the Minister of Education Dr Kader Asmal appointed the National Working Group (NWG). The NWG recommended the consolidation of higher education-provision on a regional basis through establishing new institutional and organisational forms, including institutional mergers and rationalisation of programme development and delivery (Reddy 2004).

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population. The idea of *responsiveness* refers to the need of HEIs to engage with problems in broader society, which aims at developing and modernising South Africa from racial discrimination and oppression towards a democratic order with constitution provisions for justice and equal opportunity. *Governance* refreshes the focus of defining the relations between the state, HEIs and various stakeholders". See more details in National Education Act. 1996. *National Education Policy Act*. Pretoria: Government Press.

5.8 The present university system in South Africa

The development of policy on higher education in South Africa is strongly politicised and is subject to competing demands for local equity-driven and global competitive-based performance frameworks (Jansen 2001). As reflected in the National Commission for Higher Education Report of 1996 and the White Paper (No.4) of 1997, the challenge for government is how to balance the need for equity while allowing for competition and sustainability in the same higher education environment.

The National Plan for Higher Education (2001) outlines five policy goals that guide the framework for transformation. These goals include: increasing access, promoting equity to redress past demographic inequalities, ensuring diversity to meet national and regional skills and knowledge needs, building research capacity, reorganising the institutional landscape and establishing new forms and identities. This was followed in 2002 by a document entitled 'Transformation and Restructuring: A New Institutional Landscape for Higher Education' (Department of Education, 2002) (hereafter the 'Institutional Landscape' document) which outlined the intended rationalisation of the sector, giving specific recommendations for the regional consolidation of universities and Technikons. The clustering recommended in the report reduces the number of higher education institutions in South Africa from 36 to 21. To provide some perspective on the size of the project, the 36 higher education institutions in 2000 consisted of 21universities and 15 Technikons. These institutions provided for 591,161 students of whom 66% were registered at universities and the balance registered at Technikons. There was some 14,789 permanent and 24,002 temporary academic staff employed at these institutions (Department of Education, 2002).

 After a period of extensive restructuring, involving mergers, amalgamations and takeovers, as well as the closure of some campuses, there are now 23 public institutions of higher education in South Africa with 938,201 students (Council for Higher Education (CHE) 2011). These higher education institutions comprise three main variants: eleven universities, six universities of science and technology (which was known as Technikons prior 2002), and six comprehensive universities. Smaller universities and technikons (known as polytechnics in other countries) were incorporated into larger institutions to form comprehensive universities.

The six comprehensive universities offer a combination of academic and vocational diplomas and degrees, while the six universities of science and technology focus on vocationally-oriented education. The eleven traditional universities offer theoretically-oriented university degrees (Waghid 2003; Reddy 2004). Table 5.8 below indicates the top five and more prestigious universities in South Africa (World Rankings - Africa 2013-14). However, it is important to note that these top five universities are historically based from the previously advantaged White race group.

Table 5.8 1 Top Five Universities in South Africa for 2013

SA Rank	World Rank	University
1	145	University of Cape Town
2	313	University of the Witwatersrand
3	387	University of Stellenbosch
4	471-480	University of Pretoria
5	501-550	University of KwaZulu-Natal

World Rankings - Africa (2013-14).

The restructuring of higher education was designed to ensure that the sector would be more accessible, more socially responsible, more equitable and more efficient than it had been during the apartheid era. This brief historical background on higher education system in South Africa provides a broad understanding on how higher education in South Africa was founded and established.

However, the post- apartheid education system is characterised by the dual legacies of apartheid: cultural diversity and economic inequality, both of which have racial and gender characteristics. Apartheid entrenched racialised identities and fostered racial and gender division at the same time exacerbating inequality in the distribution of income. The following section provides a brief overview of labour relations in South African universities and of how these divide in terms of gender and race.

5.9 Labour relations in South African universities

Overall staff by race: All the race groups are currently represented within the profile of the South African higher education staffing. We can see that in 2011 Africans made up a larger portion of the overall staff than before. It is also clear that there are many more temporary than permanent staff. This has been an increasing trend over the last

couple of years as fewer staff members are appointed on permanent basis. The total number of temporary staff is almost double that of permanent staff.

Figure 5.3 Overall Staff Employment Status by Race for 2011

Overall Staff Employment By Race

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Permanent	20260	5710	3395	17829
Temporary	35389	7297	4874	35278
Total	55649	13007	8269	53107
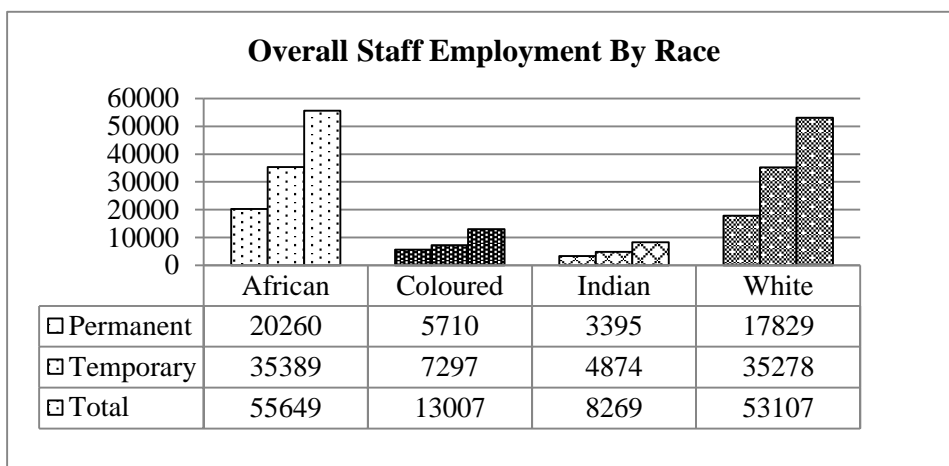
Source: Council for Higher Education (CHE) (2011)

Overall staff employment by gender: The gender profile has changed over the years and in recent years the data shows more women are employed in higher education than men on both a permanent and a temporary basis. However, the figure below makes no inference on the level of employment in relation to gender as the proportion of temporary to permanent staff shows no gender bias, with basically the same ratio for men and women.

Figure 5.4 Overall Staff Employment by Gender for 2011

Overall Staff Employment by Gender

	Women	Men
▣ Permanent	25353	22290
▦ Temporary	43763	40184
▣ Total	69116	62474
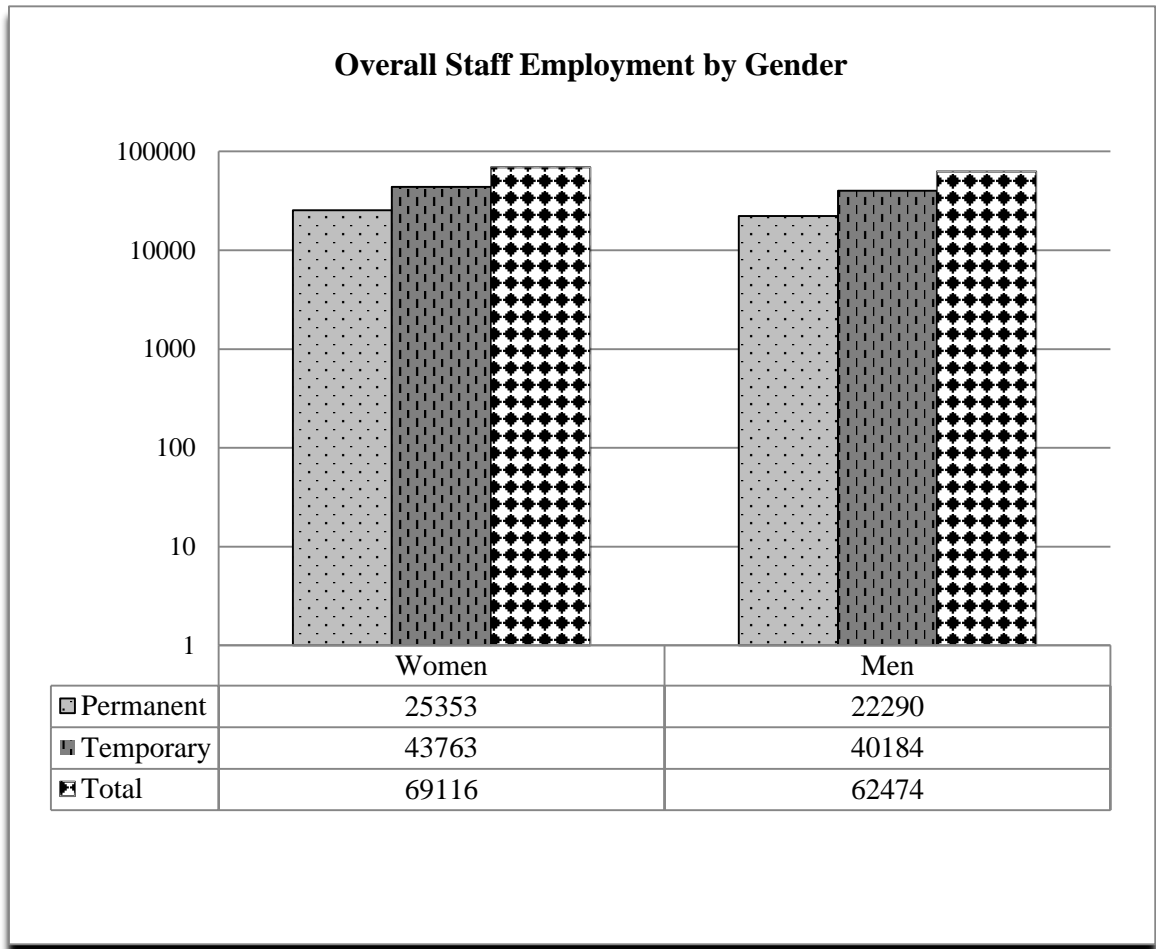
Source: CHE (2011)

Executive staff: In looking at the figure 5.5below, we see the following; the percentage of permanent to temporary men and women employed at executive level is almost the same. About 75% of the men are permanent and just over 72% of the women. Again as with the racial groups, the headcount of men far exceeds that of women at this level.

Figure 5.5 Executive Staff Employment Status by Gender for 2011

Executive Staff by Gender

	Women	Men
▫ Permanent	798	1088
▫ Temporary	315	371
◳ Total	1113	1459
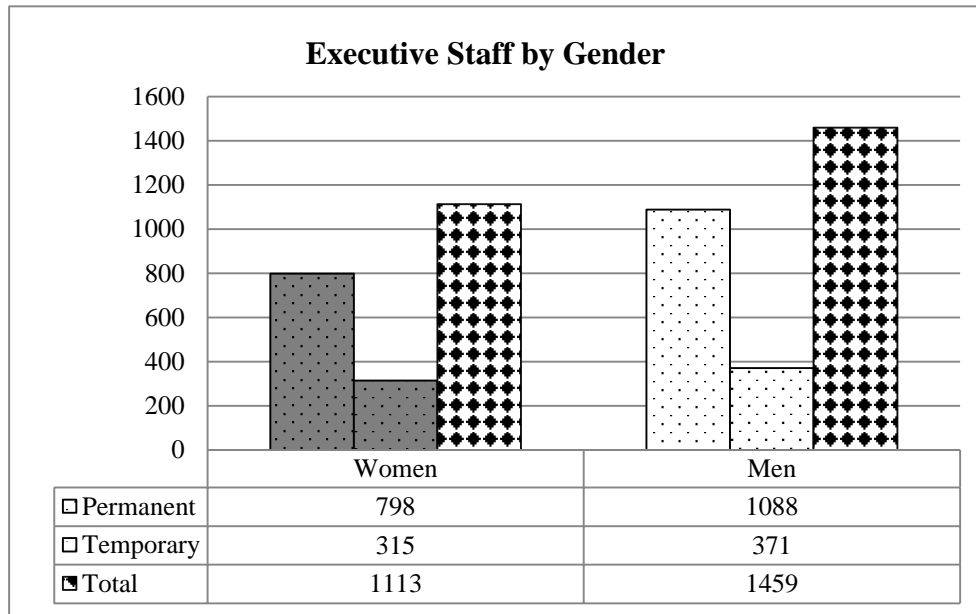
Source: CHE (2011)

Figure 5.6 Executive Staff by Race for 2011

Executive Staff by Race

	Permanent	Temporary	Total
▫ African	560	124	684
▩ Coloured	224	75	299
▨ Indian	147	29	176
▩ White	945	457	1402
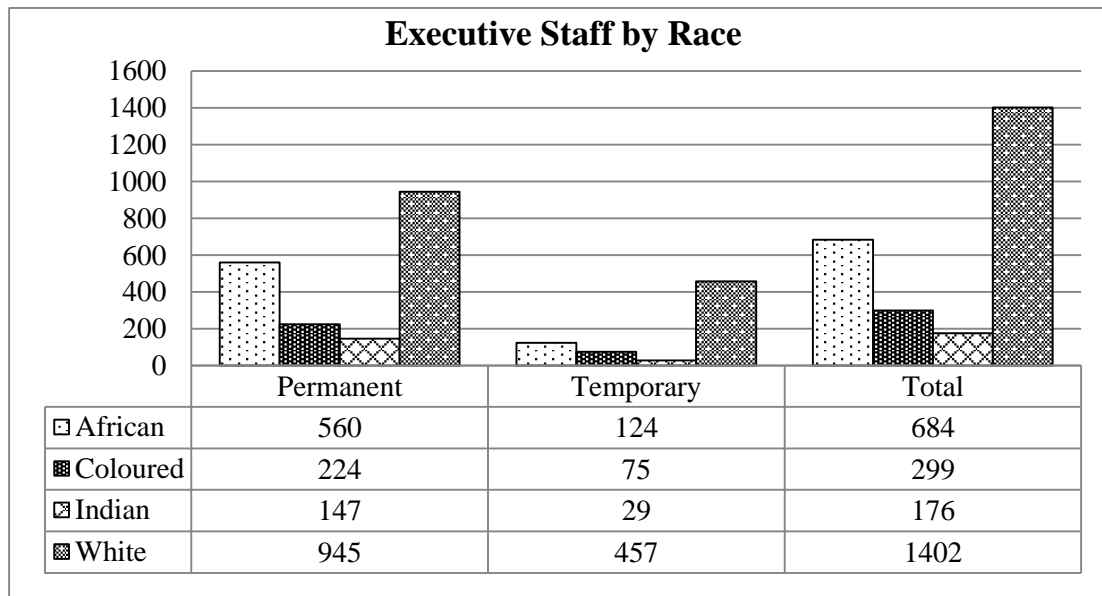
Source: CHE (2011)

The figure 5.6 above shows Africans and Indians at executive level enjoy a higher percentage of permanent employment than Coloureds and Whites. However, this percentage figure does not reflect the true level of permanent employment among different race groups, given that the actual numbers of White executive staff employed

on a permanent basis exceeds that of other races by a total of 243. That is almost 55% of the total permanent executive staff in the system.

Academic staff: The number and status of academic staff becomes a great focus area when it comes to teaching and learning practices and student output. Their numbers and positions also impacts on research outputs and other academic development programmes. In this section we look at some of the demographics relating to academic staff in the South African public higher education sector. Their presence in the public third level education figures does not mean that some of these academics do not also moonlight for private higher education providers.

Figure 5.7 Academic Staff Employment by Race for 2011

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Permanent	5077	1034	1451	9162
Temporary	10051	1700	2851	17894
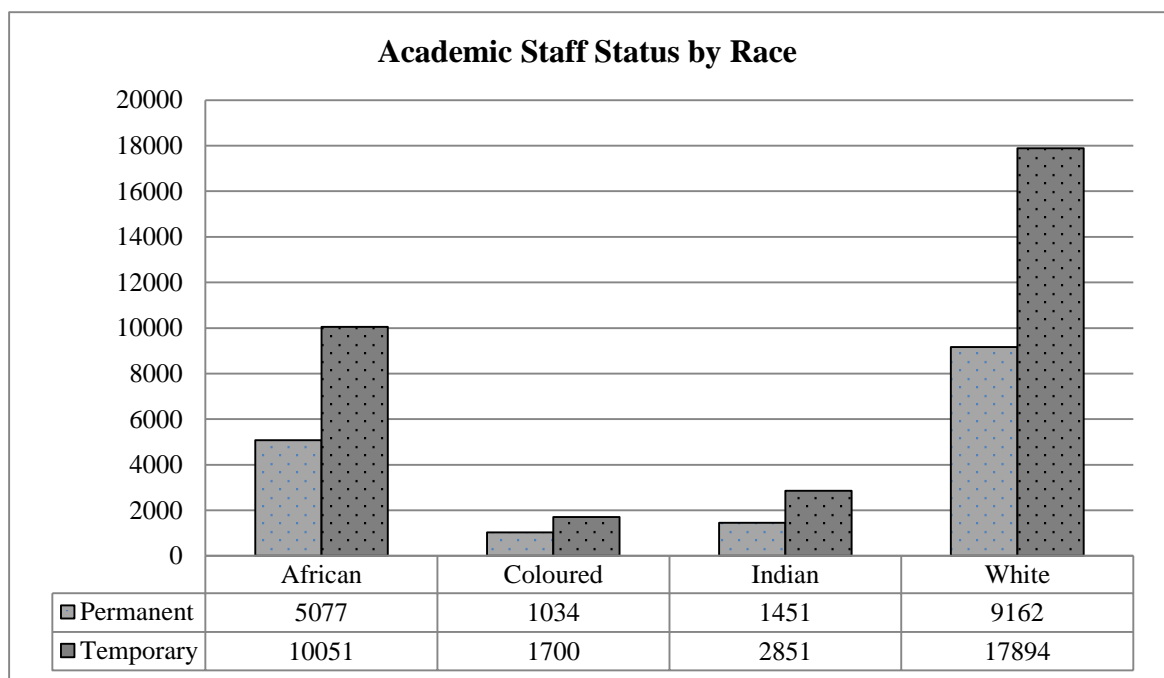
Source: CHE (2011)

In the figure 5.7 above we look at the racial demographics of the sector. It is very clear that there are almost twice as many White academics and there are African academics. There seems to be no disparity in their employment status though, since proportionally all the race groups have more or less the same ratio (1:2) of permanent to temporary staff.

From the figure 5.8 below it is apparent, though only just, that proportionally more women were employed as temporary academics than men. However, when we isolate the permanent academic staff, 55% are men, while the gender differences between the temporarily employed academics are far lower.

Figure 5.8 Academic Staff Employment by Gender for 2011

Academic Staff Employment Status by Gender

	Women	Men
⊡ Permanent	7563	9372
▣ Temporary	16097	16949
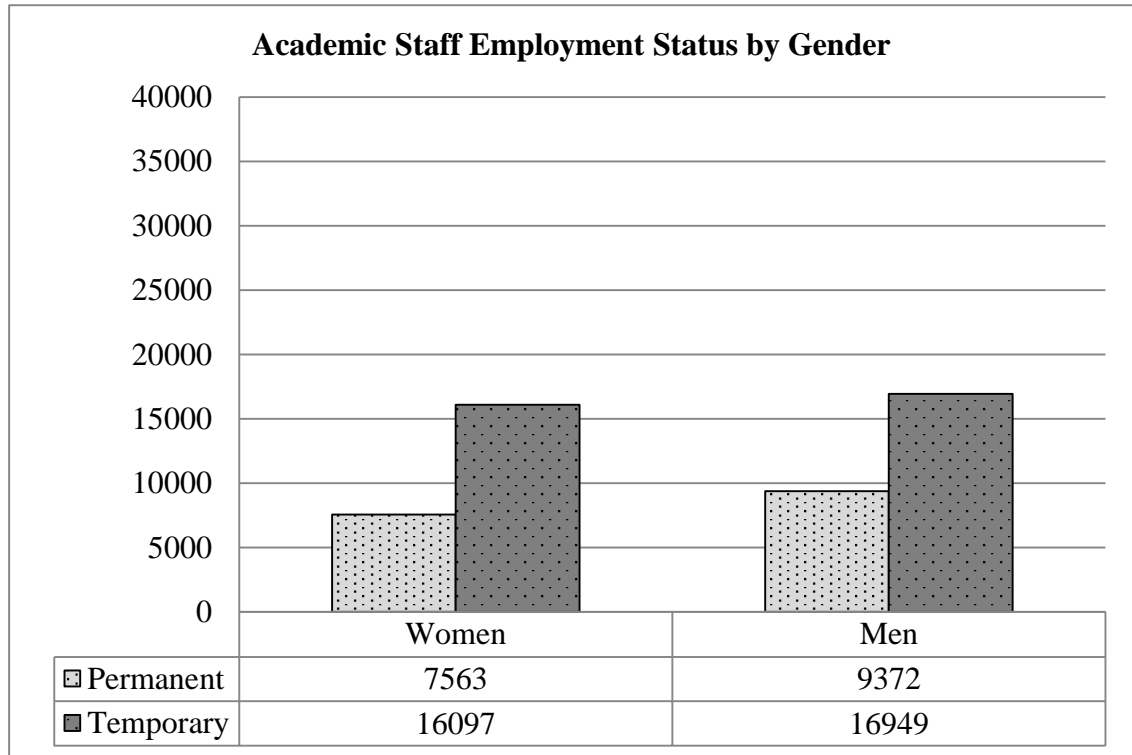
Source: CHE (2011)

Figure 5.9 below indicates that women are only employed equally to men below the level of senior lecturer. The higher ranking academics contain a large male majority. The ratio of male professors to female professors is 3 to 1. Overall the ratio of men to women in academia is one to one. It is at the senior lecturer level where the inequalities start and widen. This trend strongly correlates to the qualification levels of academic staff, where many more men hold Masters and Doctoral qualifications.

Figure 5.9 Academic Staff Gender Profile by Ranking for 2011

Academic Staff Gender Profile by Ranking

	Women	Men
▦ Director	9	69
▨ Associate Director	31	92
▦ Professor	595	1991
⊠ Associate Professor	726	1442
⊞ Senior Lecturer	2410	3121
⊠ Lecturer	7098	7240
◪ Junior Lecturer and Below	12788	12366
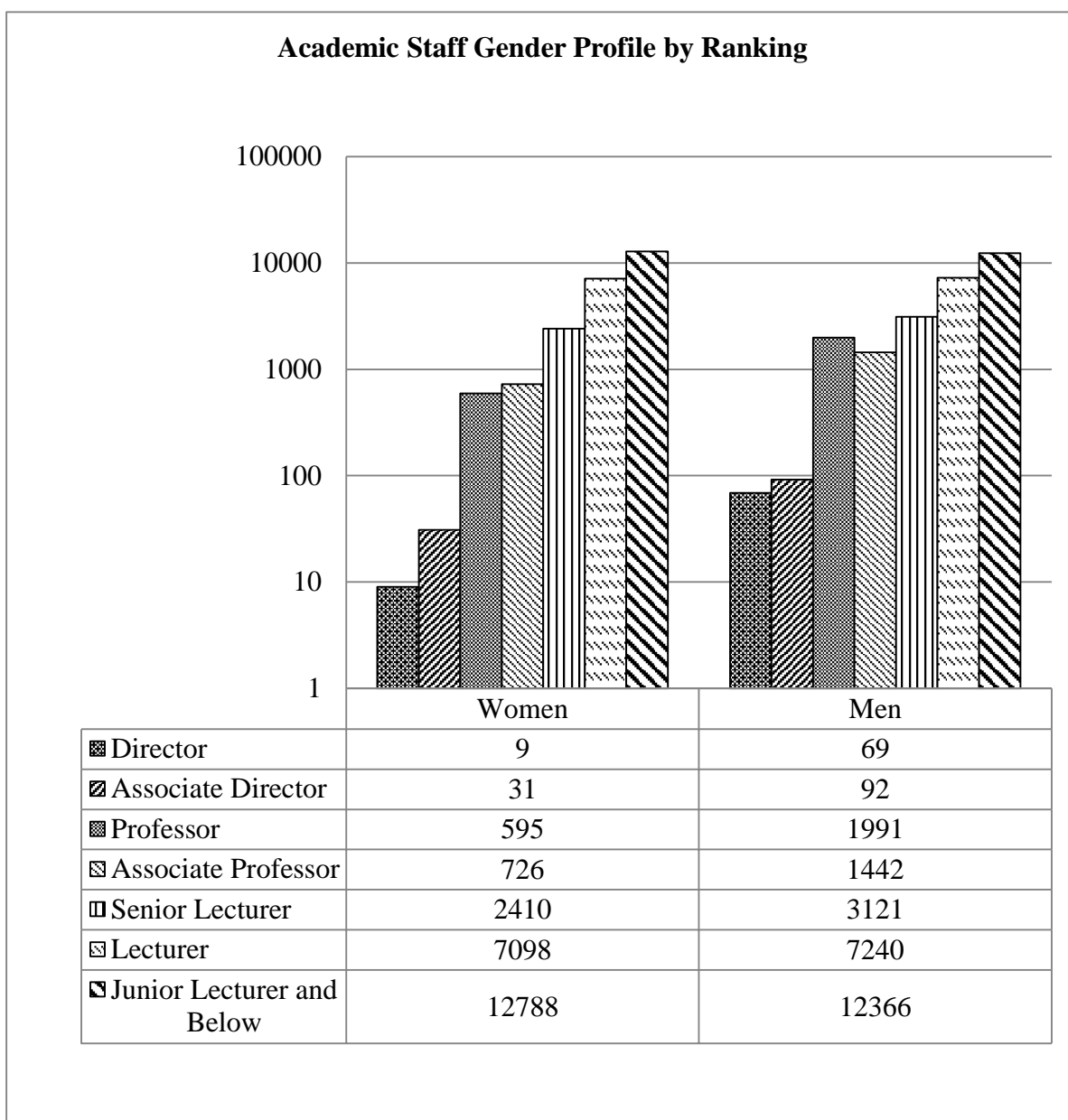
Source: CHE 2011

Figure 5.10 below shows the ranking of academics by race. The legacy of apartheid still shows that most of professors, associate professors and senior lecturers are White.

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Figure 10 Academic Staff Race Profile by Ranking for 2011

Academic Staff Race Profile

	African	Coloured	Indian	White
⊞ Senior Academics	45	16	37	105
▓ Professor	314	94	124	2027
▤ Associate Professor	390	63	160	1520
▨ Senior Lecturer	1418	232	456	3350
▧ Lecturer	4653	1269	1293	6944
⊞ Junior Lecturer and below	8308	1060	2232	13110
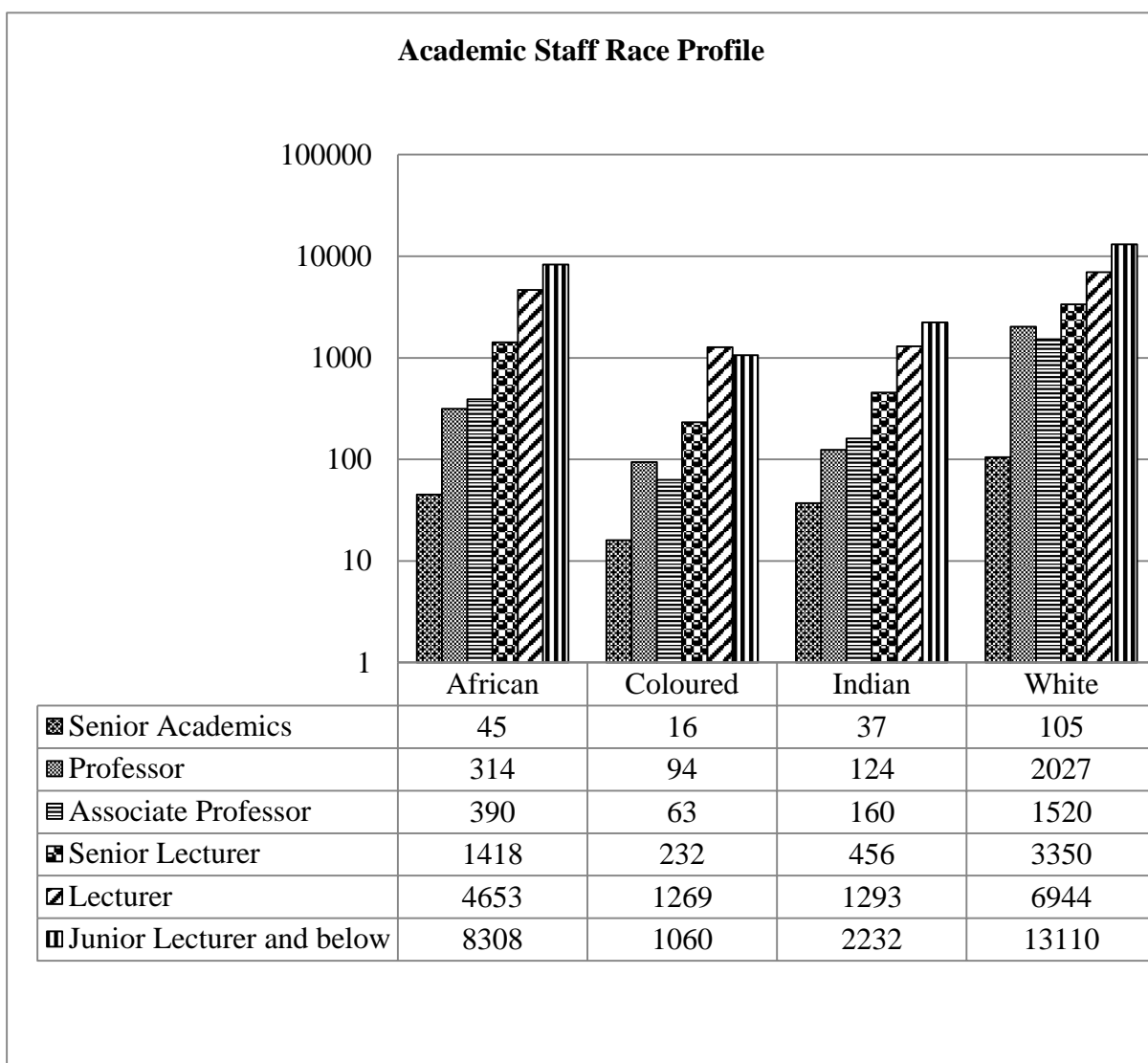
Source: CHE (2011)

These figures are so pronounced that even the sum of the other race groups are far less than the total Whites in these positions. The other race groups are substantially represented at lecturer and junior lecturer positions, although still less so than their White counterparts. This will undoubtedly influence the next generation of academics at more senior levels

The data presented above indicates the demographic profiles of staff across South Africa's 23 universities with gender and race demographics from 2011 national census as the baseline. The data shows that South Africa has not yet reached the ideal overall equity index of zero; it did not achieve the 5% tolerance of the national and provincial demographic statistical data.

5.10 LUT: Background to the case study

This section firstly provides the background of the case study university, its staff profile, equity in relation to gender and race. Secondly, it provides a brief overview of the transformation of higher education system in South Africa through the merger process.

5.10.1 Brief overview of the case study background

LUT is located at the heart of Luxor city (population 3,442,361), in Minia province, the people who reside within the Luxor municipality area consist of individuals from different ethnic backgrounds and race groups. The majority of the population come from the African community (71%) followed by the Indian community (19%), White community (8%) and the Coloured community (2%). LUT's roots date back to the early 1900s among institutions set up as technical colleges. In 2002, LUT was one of the first universities of technology to be created following the merger of the two technikons. It is located at the heart of Luxor city centre.

The university is made up of six faculties: Accounting and Informatics, Applied Sciences, Art and Design, Engineering and the Built Environment, Health Sciences and Management Sciences. These faculties are then further broken down into a number of departments, with teaching taking place on five geographically dispersed main campuses in Luxor city and on two main campuses in the city of Gena, which is the capital city of Minia. Like most former technikons, LUT has traditionally developed its strength in teaching and industry and community consulting-based work, especially among its engineering and health sciences departments. Research has a steady growth based on the 2012 research assessment (Annual report 2012). The student population is 24,789, with 33% of the University's funding coming from student fees and 47% from state subsidy, which together make up 80% of the

University revenue. The rest of the funding came from various sources such as the Levenstein Estate. The staff: student ratio is fairly high at 1:44 (see Annual report 2012). This high volume student enrolment has an impact on resources, including space, staffing, facilities, student accommodation and financial assistance, and it has a negative impact on the quality and throughput rate of the university as a whole (LUT Annual Report 2011).

5.10.2 LUT staff profile

There is roughly a 59/41 split of administrative to academic staff members of the university.

Figure 5.11 LUT Staff Profile for 2011
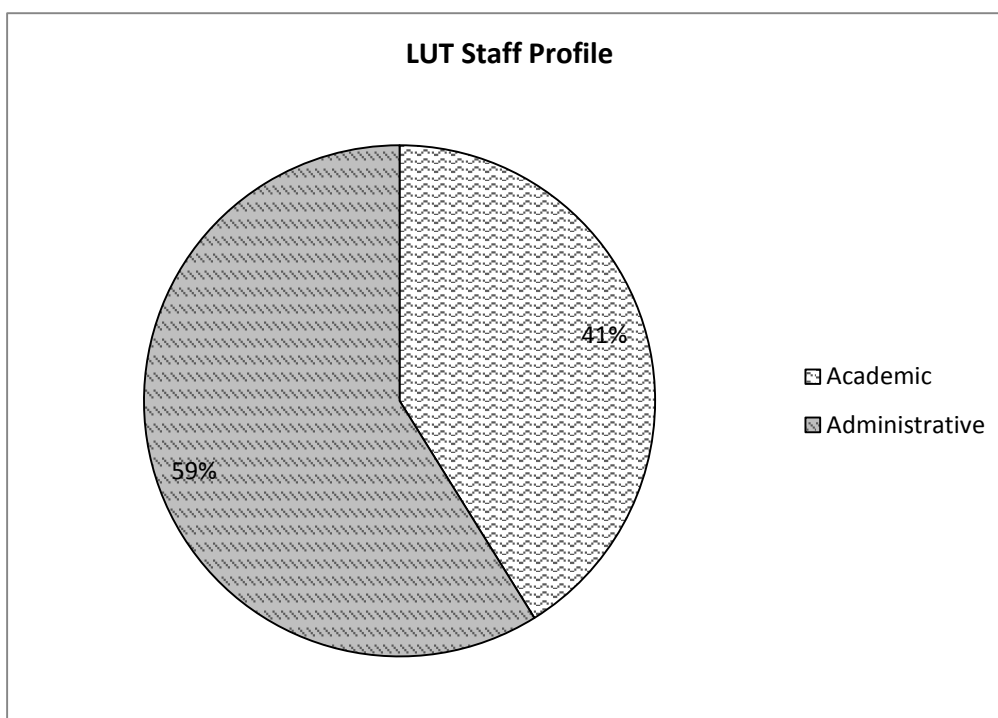
Source: LUT Workforce Statistics (2011)

5.10.3 Academic staff by gender

There is roughly a 55/45 split of male to female members; LUT is striving towards gender balance.

Figure 5.12 Academic Staff by Gender for 2011

Academic Staff by Gender

45%

55%

☐ female
☐ male
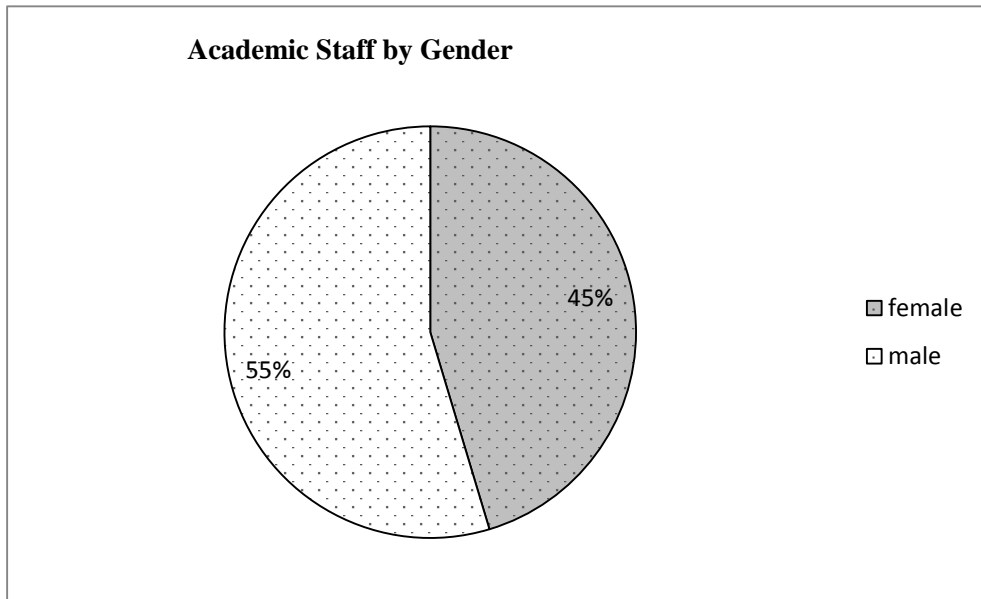
Source: LUT Workforce Statistics (2011)

Figure 5.13 LUT Academic Staff by Rank and Gender for 2011

Permanent Academic Staff by Rank and Gender

	Senior Director	Director	Associate Director	Senior Lecturer	Associate Lecturer	Lecturer	Junior Lecturer
Female	0	0.4	5	25	0.8	67	2
Male	2	4	9	30	0	55	0.6
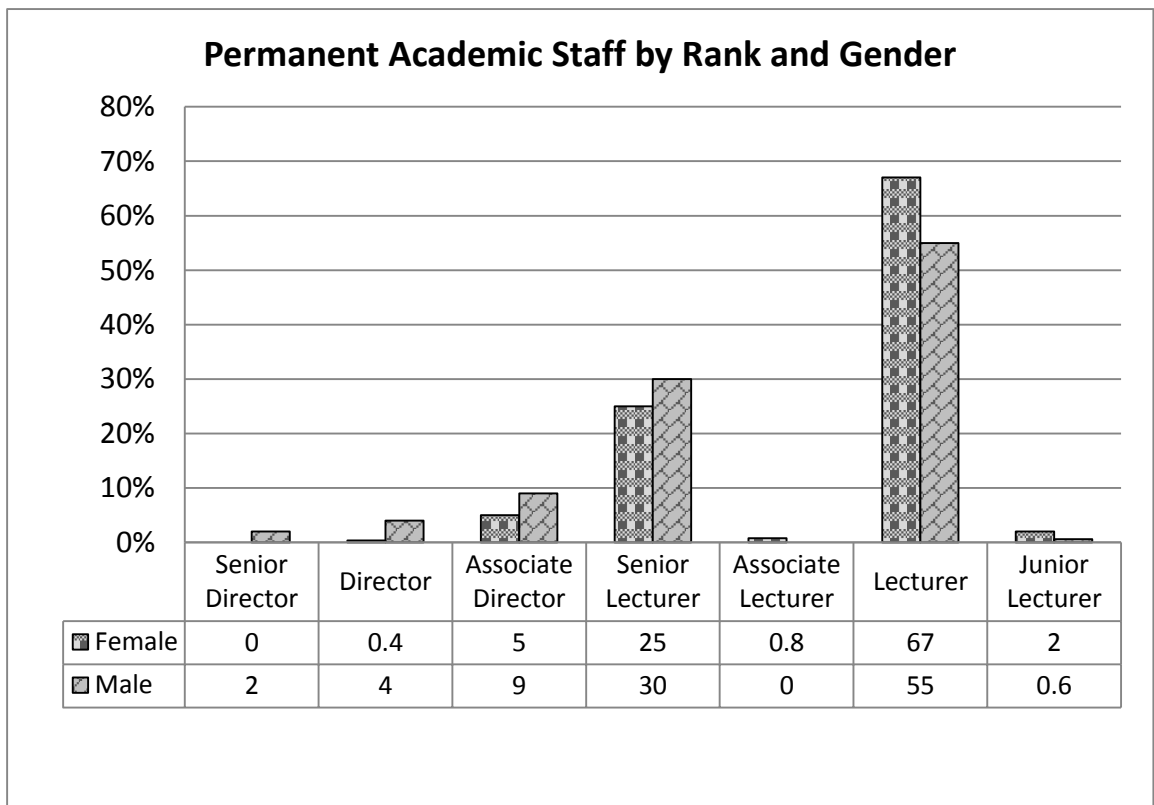
Source: LUT Workforce Statistics (2011)

Figure 5.13 provides a detailed breakdown of academic staff by rank and gender across the university and the hierarchy, compiled by the personnel department. Despite the gender balance in terms of the number of females and males employed in both academic structure of LUT, there is still gender imbalance reflected across the hierarchy with no female Senior Directors, only 0.4% Director, 5% Associate Director, 25% Senior Lecturers, 0.8% Associate Lecturer, 67% Lecturers and just 2% Junior Lecturers being female. Meanwhile males are represented from senior director through junior lecturer (see figure 5.13 above). But compared with national figures this does not seem to be a particularly gendered institution in terms of bodies as compared with the profile of male and female academics in South Africa, the gender profile of this case study university does not seem that extreme.

5.10.4 LUT Administrative staff by gender

There is 51/49 split ration of male and female

Figure 5.14 Administrative Staff by Gender for 2011
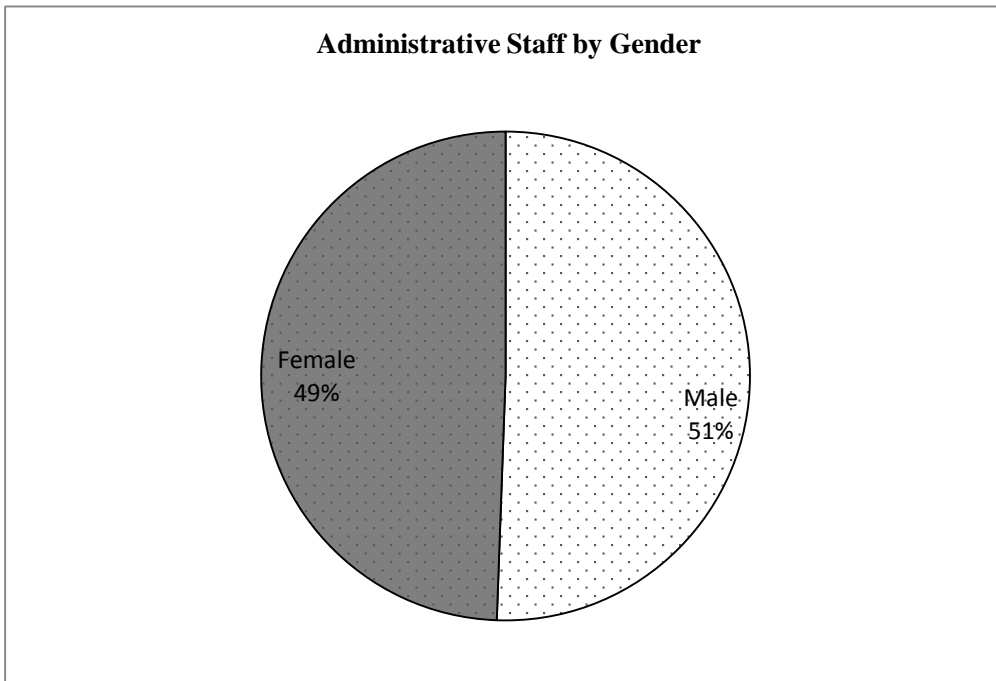
Source: LUT Workforce Statistics (2011)

Figure 5.15 LUT Academic Staff by Grades and Gender for 2011

Administrative Staff by Grades and Gender

	Gr1	Gr2	Gr3	Gr4	Gr5	Gr6	Gr7	Gr8	Gr9	Gr10	Gr11	Gr12	Gr13	Gr14	Gr15	Gr16
Male	0.12	0.12	0.64	1.3	0.9	1	4	3	6	10	4	6	5	2	5	0.4
Female	0	0.25	0.25	0.12	0.5	1	4	4	7	8	10	9	2	2	0.9	0.3
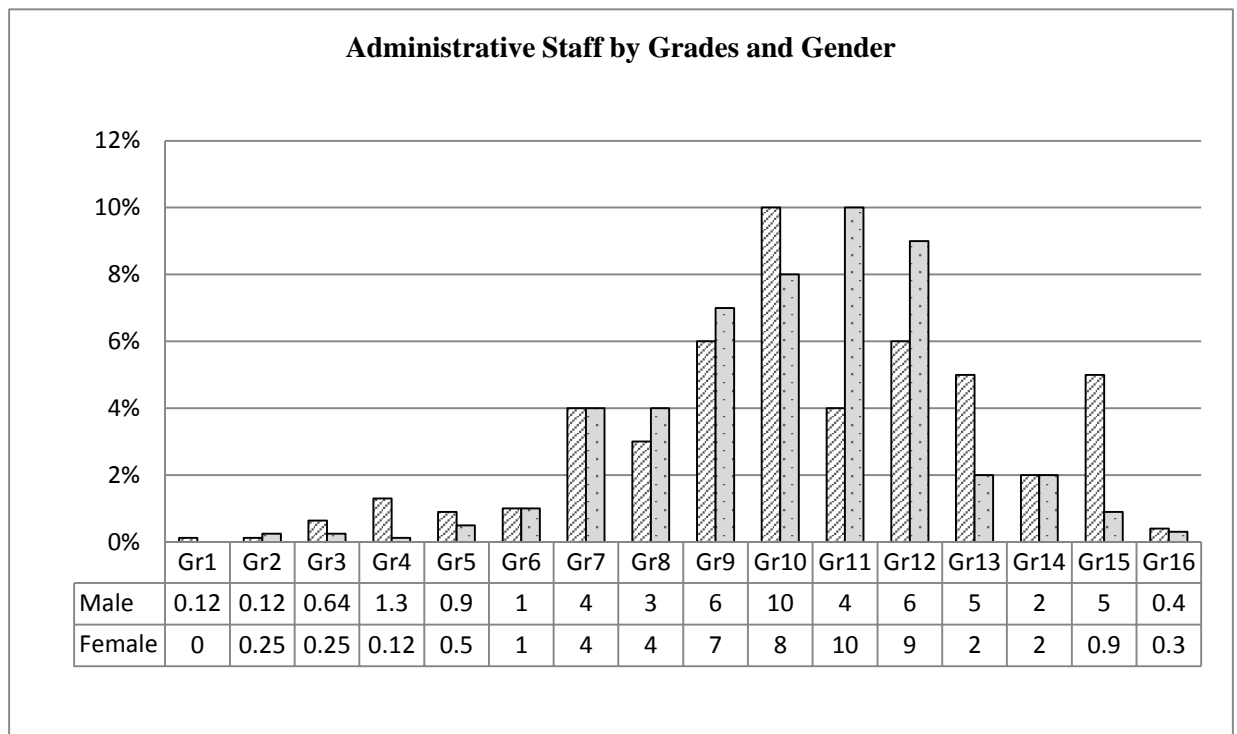
Source: LUT Workforce Statistics: Report Period January to September (2011)

Figure 5.15 above presents the number of permanent administrative staff by grades and gender. Grade 1 is the highest grade and 16 is the lowest grade. At Grade1, women are not represented at all. Between Grades 1-6 women representation is less than 2%. At Grade 7-8 women make up 4% of posts. The majority of the women are at Grade 11 and 12. The LUT administration sector is dominated by males.

However, under-representation of females at senior academic position reflects a gender imbalance which tallies with (see Table 5.2) that of South African population distribution trends for top management in other spheres, where men occupy 80.1% of the top management positions, while women hold just 19.9%. It is also reflects the gender imbalance of both academic and executive staff nationally.

5.10.5 LUT Staff profile by race

African representation in both academics and administrative is significantly less than the proportion of Africans employed at the university national. The overall staff profile of LUT does not reflect the population of both the province and the city where

the university is located. Table 5.9 below indicates a huge racial imbalance across different sectors of the university, showing that the Indian population predominates at 43%, Africans are the second large at 37%, Whites 17% and Coloureds are less significant at 3%.

Table 5.9 LUT Academic Administrative Staff by Race for 2011

	Academic staff		Administrative staff		Total	
African	134	24%	358	46%	**492**	**37%**
Coloured	15	3%	23	3%	**38**	**3%**
Indian	240	43%	337	43%	**577**	**43%**
White	161	30%	66	8%	**227**	**17%**
Total	**549**	**100%**	**785**	**100%**	**1334**	**100%**

Source: LUT Workforce Statistics (2011)

LUT statistical information on its senior management infers that the senior management is dominated by men. Consequently, White and Indian males dominate the senior management category and the majority of the women are only representatives. Despite the equity policy of the university, the LUT staff profile still reflects the previous institutions were Indian and White staff seems to be the majority of those employed as academics with Africans being the highest population at the administrative level and Indian being the second largest. The African academic representation within LUT is worse than that found nationally, whilst the Indian representation at this university is far higher than the national norm and White academic representation within this institution is less than that the national average (see figure 5.9). Both academic and administrative staff profile of LUT is far below the national norms, which requires each University in South Africa to have at least 50% African population in their permanent staff profile (see White paper 3, 1997). Despite the employment equity policy of the University, the Indian population seems to be the majority of those employed permanently within LUT.

Table 5.10 1LUT Academic Staff by Rank and Race for 2011

	African		Coloured		Indian		White		Total
Junior Lecturer	2	2%	0	0%	1	0.4%	3	2%	6
Associate Lecturer	1	0.7%	0	0%	1	0.4%	0	0%	2
Lecturer	105	78%	13	87%	130	54%	83	52%	331
Senior Lecturer	22	16%	2	13%	82	34%	45	30%	151
Associate Director	4	3%	0	0%	15	6%	20	12%	39
Director	0	0%	0	0%	6	3%	7	4%	13
Senior Director	0	0%	0	0%	4	2%	3	2%	7
Total	**134**		**15**		**239**		**161**		**549**

Source: LUT Workforce Statistics (2011)

Table 5.10 indicates that academic Africans and Coloured race group are not represented at the senior director and director level, with 3% just of Africans at associate director level and the Coloured group having no representation at all at this level. Figure 6.7; reflects that only 16% of Africans are senior lecturers, with 13% Coloured are senior lecturers. Meanwhile, 78% of ordinary level lecturers are African and 87% are Coloured.

The Coloured population are poorly represented within the university academic sector of LUT. The White and Indian population groups are fully represented in almost all levels within the academic structure. Whites represent 2% of senior directors, 4% directors, 12% associate directors, 28% senior lecturers, 52% lecturers, and just 2% of junior lecturers. On the other hand, the Indian population represent 2% senior director, 3% director, 6% associate director, 34% senior lecturers, 54% lecturers, 0.4% associate lecturer and 0.4% junior lecture. African academic representation at LUT is worse than the national norm, while White representation continues to dominate at senior academic level, followed by Indian representation as reflected in the history of the institutions and wider academic profile of South Africa discussed in detail in the previous section.

Table 5.11 LUT Administrative Staff by Faculty and Race for 2011

	Accounting & Informative		Applied Sciences		Arts & Design		Engineering & the Built Environment (EBE)		Health Sciences		Mngt. Sciences		Total
African	7	32%	18	35%	21	48%	12	24%	13	35%	7	39%	**78**
Coloured	1	5%	2	4%	1	2%	1	2%	1	3%	0	0%	**6**
Indian	10	45%	25	49%	15	34%	30	60%	15	41%	9	50%	**104**
White	4	18%	6	12%	7	16%	7	16%	8	22%	2	11	**34**
Total	**22**		**51**		**44**		**50**		**37**		**18**		**222**

Source: LUT Workforce Statistics (2011)

There is also a racial imbalance within the administrative structures of LUT. As indicated above in table 5.11, LUT has six faculties, and employs 222 administrative staff. The faculty of accounting and informatics has 22 staff with 32% African, 5% Coloured, 45% Indian, and 18% White. The faculty of applied sciences has 51 staff members, with 35% African, 4% Coloured, 49% Indian and 12% White. The faculty of art and design has 44 administrative staff with 48% African, 2% Coloured, 34% Indians and 16% White. Engineering and the built environment faculty has 50 administrative staff, 24% African, 2% Coloured, 60% Indian and16% White. A health science on the other hand has 37administrative staff, with 35% African, 3% Coloured, 41% Indian and 22% White. Management sciences have 18 permanent administrative staff members, with 39% African, 0% Coloured, 50% Indian and 11% White.

However, within the administration structures, Indians tend to dominate, with the exception of the faculty of Arts & Design where Africans dominate at 48% with Indians at 3% and Whites at 16%. However, what was noted within the faculty of Arts and Design is that the executive is an African. Although the majority of Africans are employed as administrative staff within the faculty of Arts and Design, the data does not indicate the actual level these Africans occupy within this faculty. Coloureds have a far lower level of representation in both academic and administrative spheres within the six faculties, this is even worse at management sciences where there is 0% representation. Overall the statistics indicate that at all other five faculties' Indian

population has the largest representation, with the African population being the second largest in administrative positions.

5.10.6 Academic staff by faculty and race

The equity of both academic and administrative staff at the six faculties is below the national target suggested by Department of Higher Education and Training (White Paper 3 1997).

Table 5.12 LUT Academic Staff by Faculty and Race for 2011

	Accounting & Informative	Applied Sciences	Arts & Design	EBE	Health Sciences	Mngt. Sciences	Total
African	20	23	25	16	26	32	134
Coloured	4	1	1	4	1	2	15
Indian	64	34	47	47	26	45	240
White	13	18	38	39	22	24	161
Total	101	70	94	106	75	103	549

Source: LUT Workforce Statistics

The statistics here indicate that the progress in staff equity at LUT has been slow and limited. Except for administrative and support staff, where Africans have made some progress, university personnel remain predominantly White and Indian.

5.11 LUT as a merged institution

The merger of higher education in South Africa aimed at overcoming the fragmentation created in the higher education system by apartheid policymakers. To achieve this, the merged institutions are required to bridge the gap between institutions perceived as historically White and those perceived as historically Black, and by so doing promoting equity in relation to staff and students. The apartheid regime's policy of separation resulted in an uncoordinated educational sector which was characterised by inequality, racial division of staff and students, wasteful duplication and inefficiency (White Paper 3 1997). To promote efficiency and effectiveness in higher education management and administration, and to strengthen the academic nature of the South African institutions, they were required to merge in such a way as to ensure that no institution would be able to discriminate against

potential applicants on the basis of skin colour. This section will provide the background of the case study, namely, Luxor University of Technology (LUT). The University is located at the capital city of Minia province, a wealthy city, with approximately population of 3,442,361, which has an international reputation as a tourist attraction.

LUT is one of the merged institutions that were formed after 1994. It was established and developed under the broad historical background that I presented in the previous Chapter. LUT was born out of a merger between Banha Technikon and Fayyum Technikon in 2002. It is located at Minia province. Minia province is home to 10,267,300 people, that is, 20% of South Africa's population. It is a home to three co-dominant race groups, three co-dominant cultures and two co-dominant languages (isiZulu and English). Africans (Zulus) make up 86.8% of the population, Indian 7.4%, Coloureds 1.4% and Whites 5%. Despite this demographic, cultural and linguistic dominance, Africans (Zulus) remain marginalised in the pursuit and shaping of knowledge as a result of the historic colonial-apartheid ethos that denied most resources and access to Africans (Bunting 2006). There is no doubt that Minia is the melting pot province of the South African aspiration of unity in diversity in forging a non-racial and non-sexist South Africa.

Fayyum Technikon was founded in 1907 to provide exclusively for the needs of the White population. Banha Technikon was established in 1927 and was operated exclusively for the substantial Indian population in and around Luxor. Consequently, both institutions were founded in the context of a political system that was based on racial segregation. Although these institutions were located in the city centre of Luxor, and were next to each other and offered similar programmes, they were administered by different government departments that catered for different racial groups.

Banha Technikon and Fayyum Technikon were the first South African institutions to merge. The former council of Banha and Fayyum Technikons recognised that this unification was necessary and desirable and even started merger negotiations before they were officially informed that they should do so by the minister of education. During their negotiations they agreed to knock down the 'the crooked racial fence' that had separated these two institutions for nearly a century. The former governing

council's aim was to create a system that is equitable in its distribution of resources and opportunities and that is academically and financially sustainable so that it can meet the teaching, skills development and research needs of the country (LUT Annual Report 2011).

The merger took place on 01 February 2002, and the new institution was known as Luxor Institute of Technology (CHEPS (Center for Higher Education Policy Studies) 2000). In 2005 the former council of Luxor Institute of Technology (LIT) changed its name to Luxor University of Technology to identify itself more explicitly as a University of Technology (UoT). The University's roots in technology are reflected in the high profile given to the expectation of being a "preferred university for developing leadership in technology and productive citizenship" and to make knowledge useful (LUT Annual Report 2011).

5.11.1 Interviewees' reflections on the merger at LUT

The reaction of individual institutions to the mergers varies across the education sector in South Africa. Some individual institutions recognise that the mergers had to take place in order to develop a sustainable higher education system. Others, however, did not support the mergers and preferred not to be subsumed. However, some previously advantaged institutions feared being merged with previously disadvantaged institutions and considered the process problematic (Sayed and Jansen 2001; Jansen 2002). Some of the historically Black as well as the historically White institutions opposed the transformation of higher education through mergers because they feared being dominated by formerly White institutions. They also feared retrenchment and were concerned as to whether the institutions themselves had the capacity to implement the mergers.

A multitude of fears and assumptions about the effect the mergers have had on individuals and the institution were raised by interviewees during the interviews sessions and these have clear implications for the knowledge and organisational culture imperatives of the University. As Tania, a White female commented:

My previous position was affected by the merger, so I find myself operating at a lower level than I had prior to merger, and I find it extremely difficult in terms of getting up

at the level of operation, as well as extremely frustrating in terms of seeing things that really need to be done but [are] not done. I really feel that I am reaching the ceiling, and I could carry on being frustrated and see things winkling down. In terms of the merger, there was no improvement in terms of the department and for myself.

Samuel, a White male participant, commented:

> Merger was very painful because Technikon Natal started to have financial problems so we were probable lucky to be merged with MLS because they had money and we didn't. It was difficult because the curriculum, the two curriculums, were quite different, so it took a fair amount of work to sort out the curriculums.

Kate white participant commented:

> Before the merger, these two institutions were operating at the two completely different cultures. Now we have LUT culture but it's not a true reflection of a new culture, in fact at the moment it's very Indian because they dominate throughout the hierarchy of this university.

The merger has proven to be challenging in terms of aligning to heterogeneous organizational cultures. During interviews the issue of the need for effective management to deal with cross-cultural issues and influences was a major concern for the majority of the participants. Most of them also noted that, despite the university having one identity, a common vision and mission statement and set of values, the employees of LUT have as yet not embraced a common culture. However, the majority of the African participants felt that they cannot claim the institution as their own because they feel alienated and marginalised. This is due in large part to the fact that, whatever progress might have been made, there is still a perception that the new university culture replicates that of the historically White and Indian institutions and remains unchanged. As the Themba, an African male commented:

> South Africa is scattered with powerful institutions whose history and residual character is colonial and 'White' in very deeply embedded ways. The historically White universities are among these. Both Black students and staff entering these institutional cultures frequently find these experiences painful, dislocating, unsettling, angering, confusing and difficult.

Themba added:

While there is some progress in creating inclusive institutional structures by renaming buildings, introducing a diversity of cultural offerings, changing graduation ceremonies, etc., much remains to be done, especially with regard to the deeper issue of belonging, as represented by epistemological transformation.

It was felt that the domination of one particular race group within this case study university has led to conflict among staff. As Themba, commented:

> The student unrest that we see, mostly, is due to a number of factors, firstly, the leadership, that is, their decisions have a huge negative impact on the student's life, and what make it worse is that leadership team of this university does not reflect the demographics of South Africa and of this province. I mean administrative and academic leadership. Like for instance, there is a proportionate number of Indians in critical leadership positions that make decisions for students, and one need to understand that the majority of students are Black and these Indian people they do not understand the cultural background and the conditions these students coming from. I think the problem here is most probable culture issue.

It is clear from this study that the overall individual experience of feeling discriminated against, in racial and gender terms in particular, is endemic within this university. This is despite the fact that this institution has a range of policies in place to address issues of equity and transformation. There seems to be a disjunction between institutional policies and the real-life experiences of staff, which is apparent from the individual's experiences discussed above.

5.12 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief background of the South African population which will be used to compare and analyse the data of the case study. It has also provided a brief discussion and description of the establishment and the development of higher education in South Africa which will assist in analysing the contemporary state of LUT. Finally, it describes the historical background, gender and race statistics of LUT, which will be used to analyse inequalities in relation to gender, race and class within the cultures and processes of this university.

The next chapter will examine interviewees' perceptions and understanding of inequalities in relation to gender, race and class within LUT structures and processes. The theoretical framework set out in chapter three will be applied to show how

structures and organising processes might produce gender, race and class inequalities within work organisations.

Chapter 6

6. Cultures of Inequality: Bases, Shapes and Degrees

6.1 Introduction

This is the first of two chapters that outlines the empirical findings of the study. The extracts in these two chapters are taken from many hours of audio recordings. Where it is necessary to assist the reader in understanding an extract, words implied or used in preceding conversation have been added in square brackets. Moreover, it is important to note that some participants' quotes are used more frequently than others'. This arises from the blunt reality that some participants proved to be far more eloquent.

The next two chapters describe the findings but are also interspersed with significant interpretations, reflections and observations relating to this data.

The current chapter (6) draws on the first two components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter three, namely, the bases of inequality, and the shape, degree and patterns of inequality, in order to show how cultures of inequality are constructed and reconstructed within the case study organisation (LUT). To achieve this it is necessary to focus on the four interrelated areas proposed by Acker (1990): division of labour, symbols, social relations and self-identity. It is also necessary to examine how the University hierarchies and processes maintain equality or perpetuate a culture of inequality. This was achieved by looking at the shape and degree of inequalities, including the hierarchical bureaucracies, and the degree, patterns and the size of the wage differences among employees in the University. The next data chapter, Chapter 7, focuses on the remaining four components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3, namely, the organising processes that produce inequality, the visibility of inequality, the legitimacy of inequality and the means of control and compliance through which it is applied and maintained.

 Firstly, interviewees' perceptions of working within this diverse cultural setting will be examined in order to understand how gender and race interact and form the bases of inequalities in work organisations. The interviewees' experiences relating to gender

will be presented and then the racial experiences reflected by their interviewees in the study will be teased out and examined. Finally, the shape, degree and patterns of the University hierarchies and the way in which these seem to construct and maintain gender and racial inequalities within the University culture, will be discussed.

6.2 The Bases of Inequality

6.2.1 Gender and the gendered cultures

As previously outlined in Chapter 3, gender relations refers to the complex system of personal and social relations of domination and power through which differences between women and men are socially created and maintained. These differences are usually maintained in a way that hierarchically privileges men and through which individuals' access to power and material resources or status within society is determined (Hesse-Biber and Carger 2000). In this section the focus will be upon how the gendering of the University is constructed and reconstructed. To achieve this aim, as indicated in Chapter 3, this study adopted the early work of Acker (1990, 1992) as well as Acker's (2006b) work on inequality regimes framework. In what follows, the four interacting processes identified by Acker are used to structure this section.

According to Acker (1990) gendering occurs through at least four interacting processes: division of labour, symbols, social relations and the creation of individual self-identity. Firstly, the discussion is based on women's day-to-day experiences of the gendered division of labour, which includes gender-role stereotyping and access to power and authority. Secondly, the discussion considers how gendered symbols are constructed and how these serve to reinforce patriarchal University culture are. Thirdly, University structures and processes that seem to produce gendered social relations are discussed. Fourthly, discussions on the University processes that produce gendered self-identity are presented.

6.2.1.1 Gendered division of labour

The experiences and perceptions of the majority of the women interviewed in this study suggest that the construction of jobs, professions and tasks in terms of masculinity and femininity has a great impact on the way in which men and women

are placed in the University hierarchies. In this section, I based the discussion on women's experiences and assumptions through gender-role stereotyping.

Gender-role stereotyping: Gender-role stereotyping are qualities perceived to be associated with particular groups or categories of people (Schneider 2004). According to Schneider (2004) those qualities include traits, expected behaviour and rules. Many women in the study highlighted the continuing significance of the broader societal norms and values that influence and maintain the gender-role stereotyping within the University life. For example, Nikeziwe, an African female commented:

> Our culture plays a major role in our lives as women in this country, which in turn affect our working life. You know our African culture is very male-dominated. A woman has less to say in matters that affects them. A woman must always be submissive. As if they cannot think for themselves and they do not have feelings. Yet they carry heavy loads, they are also expected to do all the hard work. So this culture is also in practice in this University. I am sorry to say this, but this is how I see things happening around here. For instance, the majority of women are occupying the lower grade jobs, while men are occupying management positions. On top of that, this is also race-based.

The above excerpt suggests that broader societal norms and values are at the root of the gender-role stereotyping that influences the division of labour with the University structures. As one woman commented, there was a general feeling in her faculty that women were better at administration because they could be relied on to get the job done and keep the faculty running smoothly. As Jabu, an African female, commented:

Women [in a] cultural [context] always have been viewed as caretakers, housewives or maids. This is continuing to take place even here in the institution of higher learning. Our male colleagues still see us as care-givers.

Tania, a White female added:

> Male academics are more interested in maintaining their status and career advancement. With them it is easy to do that because they have full support here at work as well as in their homes. Their wives and secretaries do almost everything for them.

Elaine, a White female, commented:

> Yeah, as the Executive Dean's secretary, I write minutes, do the correspondence and write reports. Besides which, I arrange or co-ordinate many meetings. I do a

lot of other things which are not in my job description which are supposed to be done by the Dean himself. I also organise and book trips for the Dean, as he travels a lot. I take care of his diary. I also organise lunch for meetings and faculty gatherings such as Christmas lunch, as well as making tea for him.

The gender patterns at this University are thus rather pronounced and quite typical regarding the role of the secretary. There was also a perception that women were, by nature, more trustworthy and reliable, with several women commenting that most supervisory roles in administration were carried out by females since they were seen to be dependable and responsible. As Helen, a white female commented:

> In reality, we, I mean women, bring more commitment to this University. Mostly, I tend to create more time for the students. I listen to their personal problems outside academia and I tend to be more sensitive to the needs and demands of others, especially our students, as most of them are from a poor background.

The women in the study felt that because they were traditionally and culturally seen to be reliable and dependable, they were more likely to be given more work in certain administrative roles. In addition, women also felt that while they were busily engaged in the care-giving nature of work, their male counterparts were more engaged in more high profile work that was oriented towards building up their career profile. As Beverley, a White female commented:

> I have noticed that most of the male academics in our department are less concerned about the day-to-day activities of the department and teaching activities. They are more interested in personal gain, such as attending conferences, especially international conferences, and also focus more on publishing. While the majority of us, I mean women, are more interested in the wellbeing of our students and department administration, it is very difficult to ignore things that need attention as a woman, I mean it is in us you know.

Much more common was the tendency to construct and identify women as carers and as mother figures. Moreover, a strong message from the women in this study was that there was overt and covert gendered division of labour operating across the University and all six faculties, for both academic work and for administrative support.

Most women in the study undertook administrative activities with a limited number being involved in academic and senior management positions. However, most of the women who carried out lecturing duties also carried out a significant amount of administration duties. In addition to this, most women felt that they were expected to deal with most of the informal administrative problems and student difficulties in their departments. For example, Lisa, a White female, noted that:

> I quite often do the counselling jobs, looking after the problems of the African students. Oh, you won't understand how much these students have to carry. Some of them, they come to lectures without having any food to eat, they do not have even food, you know. So as a woman I have to listen to their different problems and try to assist where I can because these family problems impact [upon] their performance. So in that way I find myself involved in the counselling work, which I never trained for, but these students need someone they can trust to talk too, you know, and someone to advise them accordingly.

Most female interviewees felt that there was gender discrimination, although this was not overtly expressed[8]. As Ntombifuthi, an African female, noted:

> Yeah, being a female, working in this environment, which is male-dominated, sometimes I feel that I am being undermined and taken for granted. For example, our DVC [Deputy Vice-Chancellor] can be very inconsiderate and sometimes I feel bullied. Yeah, there is a lot of bullying involved around here. Being female makes you an easy target, you see.

It was also noted that at LUT, not only were jobs horizontally segregated by gender, based on assumptions around sex-role and skill, but also, there was a distinct hierarchical gendered stratification, with most of the high level positions, such as managers and heads of departments, occupied by men (see table 5.16 in Chapter 5). The women interviewed in this study also felt that their male colleagues were seen as self-protecting and self-serving, and tend to focus on the more high profile work, with women then having to pick up the administrative, supportive and service work.

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[8] Based on the reflection of female interviewees in this study, I noted that within this University, the gender aspect of inequality varies considerably between departments and faculties.

Several female academics made reference to how their male colleagues found it easier to operate a closed door policy with students, in that they avoided contact with students outside of formal lectures and seminars. Moreover, those women working at the administrative level shared a similar feeling about how their bosses operate a closed door policy, leaving them to take care of operational duties. Many women felt that the senior directors were engaged in their professional bodies and committees, and involved less with office activities and the university problems within their departments. Mahle, an African female, made the following comment:

> I find myself, like last year, I was much stressed. I worked right up to Christmas and I came back very early after New Year, and thought: "What am I doing?" I am standing in for people so that they go on leave or engage in their career and [personal] advancement.

This indicates that even when women break the stereotypical role of lower level jobs or of a housewife, and join the workforce, they are still not given an equal opportunity to acquire a job with high recognition and status as men usually take those positions. However, irrespective of the generally negative acknowledgment of sex-role stereotyping, one of the woman interviewees expressed a positive attitudes towards gender-role stereotype. Nelisiwe, an African female supervisor, commented:

> I was very lucky in a way, because the person I reported to was the same gender as me. Because of that, I gained confidence in my work. Because she is a female, I get a lot of support from her. She understands my situation, she knows that I do have a family, I mean young children, to take [care] of.

The women's experiences presented here suggested that the University operates on the basis of what it sees as gender appropriate roles. Similarly, those who are employed as switchboard operators all possess what they, and presumably the administration, regarded as the appropriate polite voices to be expected when calling LUT.

Access to authority and power: In this section I will present the way in which control, authority, and power relations are constructed and reconstructed along gender lines. In general, in the South African higher education sector, men tend to hold positions of status power and high reward. This pattern is replicated within the structures and hierarchies of LUT, where men tend to occupy most of the senior management positions. In reflecting on their experiences of working at LUT, the women interviewed commented on their feelings of being treated as subordinates and of being

marginalised. They spoke not only in terms of the lack of female representation in senior management and academic positions, but also the lack of access to power, decision making and influence over University policy. As Maya, an Indian female commented:

> Yes, there are few women at the top level positions, where all the decisions about the issues of this Institution are made. If I am not mistaken, there are only two women at the DVC positions. It is strange, you know, I cannot explain why it is like that.

Gender assumptions shape the situations of women in different ways in this Institution. These assumptions play major roles in obstructing the paths to positions of status for women. As Kavita, an Indian female, added:

Generally, women are disadvantaged in this University. The colour of their skin doesn't matter, whether you are White, Coloured, Indian or Black. I think our male colleagues, especially the older Indian males here at LUT, have a real big problem with taking any direction or instructions from a younger female counterpart. There is still that traditional tendency to treat women as their secretaries without really being aware that they are now at the same level.

Interestingly, some of the women interviewed showed a general reluctance to become involved in positions of power and on decision-making committees, and the few women who were involved in some of these committees were unhappy about their involvement. Many women in this study also identified practical barriers to involvement in committees and meetings, most of which arose from a lack of time to devote to such roles. Several women had negative experiences of meetings and felt that their contributions had been ignored. Meetings were dominated by men, and were seen to conform to macho forms of communication, such as being competitive and 'point scoring'. As Tania, a White female, comments:

> I had experience of being the only female in meetings, where I know that my input has been good but has been totally side-lined, and that is very bad, being a White female. Yes, that has worked against me.

Although the majority of the female interviewees reflected gender inequality within the University's processes and practices, some women felt that there was gender neutrality. In some departments and faculties, the local culture of gender had moved

away from the old dichotomies. Based on the interviewees' perceptions and experiences, some women felt that within their faculties, gender practices do not emphasise differences and tended toward neutrality. This was very noticeable at the department for management science, where it was noted that men and women were mixing, for example, in the staff room and in the faculty or departmental meetings. For some women, there were differences between the working cultures of their immediate department and the wider institution, with some departments having what was considered to be a more supportive atmosphere and operating on less gendered along masculine lines. For these female interviewees, then, the working climate did not feel overtly hostile, as Helen, a White female, commented:

> Oh well, within my department, I am really relatively satisfied, I say relatively… you know. Our boss, who I have enormous respect for; he is very understanding and considerate. I think where my dissatisfaction lies, and this is something that is shared by a number of women here, is to do with the wider university. But you know, generally, within the department I have found the department to be a much more collegial, collaborative in a non-hierarchical kind of way. So my concerns within [LUT] are much more to do with the wider university than my department.

Nobuhle, an African female, commented:

Yes, I have heard and received some complaints from other staff members, especially African females, but never had similar experiences within my department.

Nolwazi, an African female, noted:

> Our faculty is a small faculty, a happy faculty, and I must say that our Dean is very supportive. We tend to [do] things together; I mean there is a team work. Our Dean organises Christmas dinner for the office. There is [a] very good atmosphere in our faculty but I know some of my colleagues are experiencing difficulties in their departments. However, [LUT] as a whole, has a culture of racism and [people] undermining one another.

Some women in this study felt that the gender differences and inequalities do not originate from the immediate interaction or individual interaction but from the University. Thus it was felt that masculinity was more pronounced in the wider institution than within the departments.

Interestingly, the majority of men interviewed did not see any existence of gender inequalities within the University processes and practices. When men were asked to

comment on gender inequalities, they mostly avoided the question by trying to change the subject. Moreover, they did not recognise any gender inequalities within the structures and processes of this University. Ben, a White male, observed:

> I've never had a sense of people who are discriminated against based on their gender. Not in my thirty years working in this institution, I've never felt discriminated [against] because of my gender. I never really felt that way.

Jerome, a White male, commented:

> I think, in general, there are more male bodies in senior positions. But, again, I think it is just in terms of who applies. I don't think there is any discrimination in terms of gender and we would employ the best person without a doubt, regardless of gender or race.

It was also noticeable that male interviewees did not express negative gender experiences as women interviewees did in this study.

Although a few women felt that they were not discriminated against by their co-workers and immediate line managers, the majority believed there were gender inequalities within the University's structures and processes, which manifested in their daily working experiences. There was, therefore, a perception that the institution as a whole, and the wider structures of decision making, recruitment and rewards, favoured men.

To conclude, the University is seen to operate a gender division of labour that reproduces wider societal assumptions around gender-appropriate roles and gendered skills. While many of the women in the study indicated that they had the potential to move up the hierarchy, there were a range of factors that hindered their ability and willingness to do so. Firstly, there were gendered stereotypes about women's roles which resulted in the expectation that women would undertake the majority of nurturing-associated work within different structures in this University. Secondly, the women either felt that their voices were not being heard or they felt they were undermined and that they were not being valued at either meetings or formal informal gatherings. Consequently, women felt marginalised and subordinated because, unlike their male counterparts, they lacked access to power and authority in decision-making. This gendered division of labour reflects the wider socio-economic structures of the labour market of both national and provincial South Africa. It also replicates the

prevailing gendered divisions of labour in higher education during the apartheid era, where again women occupied mostly the lower level and support service work within university structures in South Africa.

6.2.1.2 Gendered symbols

In this section the focus is on the construction of symbols that explain, express and reinforce a gendered division of labour with the University structures. Acker (1998) suggests that symbols in organisational culture fulfil many functions such as to explain, express, reinforce or oppose gender divisions. However, LUT as an institution has its own unique culture, rich in symbolism, and both resistance and support could thus find expression through accepted cultural gendered symbols. The gendered division of labour discussed in the preceding section sends clear messages on the appropriateness of men holding positions of status and power. As Kate, a White female, commented:

> I do feel that there are not enough women at top management level within this institution. It is still very much a male-dominated institution.

Here, Kate drew attention to a range of factors (most notably the, lack of women in top positions and in senior academic and power status) which reinforce the perception that women were not legitimate members of the senior management or the academic community, again corresponding with sex-role stereotypes of women as support workers, secretaries, cleaners and tea-makers to the well-established top management team and male academics.

Women commented on having to face a male-only interview panel when appointed as an academic, which they felt highlighted their abnormality and exclusion and served to emphasise the patriarchal culture of the department. Mahle, an African female, commented:

> For example, when I came here for the interview there were no women from the department. I was going to the only woman on that panel, except the woman from the HR, who was just sitting there like an observer. It was my first interview after completing my PhD. I was very uncomfortable, sitting there with these men along the table interrogating me.

Kavita, an Indian female, added:

> When you go to these academic or senior management positions, you have to be more authoritarian. You can't be a normal female. And I think that's sad. Men generally, mainly men on the interview panels, they look for things that they know and understand.

Women in the study felt that interview panels comprised of men, reinforce the dominance of male status and power in the University culture. Having labels denoting status and legitimacy, such as professor, academic, head of department and manager, was seen to be important, as Nandi, an African female, added:

> I think there are lots of gender issues here. I think by virtue of the status as a woman at [LUT] and it's not confined to [LUT] only, holistically anytime anywhere. If you are a woman your male counterparts are more favoured over you. Mostly, male counterparts associate women with responsibility of children, of husbands, of going home, sorting out whatever, and blah, blah. So I think personally females are at a disadvantage by virtue of the status of being a female.

The experiences and assumptions of women in the study provide strong evidence of gendered symbols within the University life. This seems to take place if different forms, through the image of the top management cultural ideologies. In the following section I will examine how University processes construct gendered social relations between women and men.

6.2.1.3 Gendered social relations

In this section, I will examine how gendered social relations are constructed within the University environment. Gender is one of the cultural frames for organising social relations (Ridgeway 1997, 2007). According to Cohen and Prusak (2001) social relations are embedded in the social and organisational structures that enable people to co-ordinate action and to achieve desired goals. It is argued that social relations consists of typical active connections among people, such as trust, mutual understanding and shared values that bind the members of human networks and make co-operative action possible (see Cohen and Prusak 2001; Timberlake 2005). Thus, social relation are essential in achieving goals for individuals and for organisations (Lin 2001). The material on gendered division of labour and gendered symbols areas discussed in the previous section sends a clear message regarding the recognition of gender as an institutional element of social practices that involves mutually

reinforcing processes at the organisational micro, interactional and individual level (Acker 1990).

Many women interviewed in the study raised a number of issues which relate to the gendered nature of social relations. Through a variety of mechanisms, women in the study felt excluded in decision-making, which mostly takes place during evening meetings. As Nobuhle, an African female, commented:

> Most of the issues about this university get discussed at informal meetings, which normally take place after hours or during lunch time, in the offices of the senior male members… During these gatherings, it's where major decisions about this university take place. So if you missed these meetings you are automatically not part of the decision-making processes.

Lisa, a White female, added:

> Most of the decisions are within informal meetings. These executive male colleagues, they have a tendency of organising meetings in the evening at the last minute, and they expect you to drop all your plans and attend these meetings. I mean your family responsibility. I used to try to organise for my husband to take care of the children while attending these meetings, but I am no longer attending them. If the meeting is after five, and organised at the last minute, I exclude myself from attending. My family comes first.

Corresponding with the informal decision-making culture, women felt that there was a strong male network and system of patronage in operation, to which the women, in general, were excluded. It was felt that senior academics and top management were most associated with this networking system. As Tania, a White female, argued:

> Quite certainly, there is the male kitchen cabinet[9]. This cabinet meets privately outside campus. They have power to influence the decision-making processes of the university.

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[9] Interestingly, the term "*male kitchen cabinet*", was used by three different White women in middle management posts and refers to the informal network group of particular race groups. Queries regarding the use of this phrase made it clear how certain organisational terms are used by certain groups within the workplace.

These excerpts reflect that women are overloaded with meanings that reflect their adversely-structured social relations within the University environment. The excerpts presented here suggest that women are devalued and excluded by arranging after hours meetings which women find difficult to attend. Thus, they automatically exclude women's opinions on workplace problems and in decision-making processes.

Moreover, some of the interviewees, especially males, believed that there is a specifically feminine style of interacting within LUT. Some argue that this type of interaction is more advantageous to the University as a whole because of the assumption that women are, by nature, nurturing. However, others see this as problematic for female academics and female members of the faculty board, as Jerry, a White male, commented:

> In my opinion, I think women, in most cases, are not as robust as men are and would not like to be seen as vocally wordy as men. This is based on my personal experiences of working with women within my faculty. For instance, in the faculty board meetings, where the heads of departments meet to discuss faculty matters, mostly women tend to be quiet and reserved, and avoid any emotional conflict that might arise. So there are disadvantages there. What I have noticed is that in those faculty board meetings men can use particular types of adjectives, but it would be unbecoming for women to use some of these adjectives. Therefore, there is a distinct disadvantage for women there.

Thus, this quote highlights the problem with the belief that women communicate differently from men. On the other hand, the perception that men are seen to be the preferred workers to hold senior positions in this University prescribes a particular way for women to act as heads of departments or senior academics. It also reinforces the view that any deviation from men's way of leadership or doing things is seen as abnormal or deviant.

 6.2.1.4 Gendered self-identity

Gender is socially constructed through material practices and ideological processes (Gladstone 1998; Acker 2006b). The three materials on gender practices (i.e. division of labour, gender symbols and gendered social relation) discussed in the preceding sections maintain and shape roles, responsibilities, qualities and behaviour patterns of men and women in work organisations. According to Acker (2006b) these gendered cultural ideologies can be said to control women's and men's working lives. These

gendered cultural ideologies tend to feed into feelings of otherness among the women in the present study.

The focus in this section is to examine how gendered self-identities are constructed within the University culture. According to D'Mello (2006) self and identity are the means by which we encounter and make sense of the world around us. Thus, identity holds a vital key to understanding the complex and dynamic relationship between self, work and organisation (Alvesson et al. 2008). The aim here is to understand how women craft their identities through gendered cultural meanings with the University. However, most of the University processes and practices make women think of themselves as less able or as an outsider. As one of the women[10] commented:

> I am one of the executive members but sometimes I feel like an outsider. I do feel [more] like an invisible spectator than being a member of the committee.

It was noted that some of the problems identified by women in the study were associated with a lack of self-confidence and their hesitation to promote themselves and their tendency to avoid any positions with responsibility. For example, Nolwazi, an African female, spoke of her career progression in the following manner:

> I am afraid that I lack self-confidence. This is because I am not fluent in English. I feel that my colleagues [Indians and Whites] are much more efficient and competent than I am. I always feel great if someone else takes responsibility because I do not want to be embarrassed if something goes wrong.

Here Nolwazi is positioning herself as less efficient and not competent, and with less self-confidence. She positioned herself as subordinated since she sees the other race group as more competent than herself. It is argued that gendered divisions within and between jobs helps women to define their preferred roles and promotes a desire to maintain such divisions in the workplaces (Williams 1991; Alvesson 1998). The experiences of the women in this study provide evidence of the role that gender plays in their working lives.

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[10] The name and race group of this participant is withheld for confidentiality reasons.

Latha, an Indian female added:

> We women are very careful. We do not really rush to do something. In my experience many women, in general, they do not really dare to stand up. We have a tendency to take a step back and think that, oh they do not listen to me. And in a male-dominated place like this, you have to be tough and say what you have to say. This is how it is, but not many women do that. They always remain silent but it is in our nature and culture, you see.

Latha here is reflecting explicitly over her own insecurity and other women's lack of self-confidence and fear of the unknown in relation to a male-dominated work environment. However, the unwillingness of women to stand up for themselves contributes to making women less able and invisible within the University structures.

Tania, a White female commented:

> We perhaps think that we are not quite as good as our male colleagues. Male colleagues are very go-ahead and say what they think. I mean they speak out their minds. But we women, we do not. At least I know myself. I hardly say a thing to these meetings, and [in] my experience, many women don't.

These self-identity reflections are in line with the theories proposing that women engage less in self-promotion than men (Martin 2003; Rees and Garnsey 2003)

Elaine, a White female commented:

> Women are known as usually operating behind the scene. I mean, we tend to operate as threads that hold everything together[11].

Moreover, there was a strong influence on the gender norms and behaviour and this was seen to be pivotal in the development of attitudes towards gender and age. The more mature women faculty academics and administrators commented on the frequency with which they were positioned in the caring and mother figure roles.

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[11] For instance, our male colleagues enjoy sitting at the well-set-up venue during registration. They do not have an idea how these venues were set up. They also enjoy the tea service which they do not have a clue who organised them.

However, for the younger members of the staff the paternalistic culture was felt most strongly: as Maya, an Indian female, commented:

> Sometimes I feel like being the youngest woman in the department… [Means] my age disadvantaged me.

She added:

> I think that, most of the male staff members in this department do feel a bit authoritarian and know-it-all. You will find that now and again, when given a task, they will ask are you, are you okay? Can you manage? Do you need any help? This annoys me, you know, and I feel I am being treated like a child.

The majority of women interviewed in the study seem to have internalised the gendered nature of the division of labour, symbols and social relations such that it affects their understanding of self in relation to how they fit into the University culture.

However, the LUT staff profile reveals the differences in positions between women and men. Men are more likely to occupy the most senior positions within the University's structures. The types of hierarchical structure and roles undertaken by women, therefore, correspond with the gendered nature of skill, where women are seen to be 'naturally' skilled in nurturing and caring for others. However, based on the experiences of the women who participated in this study, as well as the processes and practices of LUT, it reveals that the significance of working in this particular structure is that women within it find themselves perpetuating gendered hierarchies, structures, divisions of labour and gendered identity.

In the following section I will use the gender and gendered cultures' components discussed above to examine how the University hierarchies, structures and labour might not only be gendered but also racialised. To achieve this I will present race and racialised cultures based on the perceptions and experiences reflected by the men and women from different race groups who participated in this study.

6.2.2 Race and racialised cultures

Building on the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3, race appeared to be one of the most prominent dimensions for producing inequality alongside gender. Race was

referred to as socially constructed differences based on physical characteristics and culture and historical domination justified by entrenched beliefs (Acker 2006a). The majority of White and African participants felt that the culture of LUT was strongly racialised, with clear race-role demarcations and race-based access to authority and power. It was felt that LUT had a racial imbalance in terms of staff numbers as well as access to status and power. This imbalance seems to be a concern of the most recent Vice-Chancellor (VC), appointed in September 2010. In particular, LUT's 2011 annual report, which reproduced the VC's end-of-year annual speech, indicated that he was very keen to promote staff equity. The report states that the new VC claimed "it is evident that [LUT] faces many challenges, but one of the most intransigent is the equity profile of its staffing structures." He made reference in particular, to the racial demographic representation amongst academic staff, that of 43% Indians, 30% White, 24% African, 3% Coloured and 0.7% other (LUT Vice Chancellor, Annual Report, 2011).

The complex hierarchy of racialised discourses within the University's culture may be seen to be manifested in a range of racialised processes which determine the extent to which some members of the staff are marginalised within this institution. As with gendered cultures (discussed above), these processes are structured and discussed along Acker's interacting processes.

6.2.2.1 Racialised division of labour

Race-role stereotyping: this section focuses on how race-role stereotyping is constructed within the University processes and practices. In reflecting on the day-to-day activities, most interviewees, especially those of African descent, were mainly involved in areas of institutional support and service work, and very few were employed as academics or research associates. In contrast, White interviewees were more involved in the three main top activities of the University positions (i.e. teaching, research and administration). Indian interviewees, on the other hand, were involved in all University structures (i.e. senior management team, teaching, research and administration). The Indian and White interviewees cited the opportunity to do research as being their primary motive for coming into the academic profession and, in particular, the opportunities to engage in critical and social science research.

It was felt that the reason why Africans were more likely to be involved in institutional support, administrative and other activities was because these tasks were associated with the stereotypical image of the African as 'maid' or 'helper', carrying out more supportive and maintenance roles. As one of the Africans observed, most of the clerks, tea-makers and messenger roles across the University were undertaken by Africans, leaving Indian and White employees to engage in more high profile work, oriented towards advancing their academic career. What is regarded as a skill may be understood as a racial discourse, with so-called African abilities of maintaining and taking care of others or as a 'handy man' considered as neutral and accepted. Those who were part of management felt like an outsider, as one of the African interviewee[12]commented:

> It is like almost being back in the apartheid era, when there were one or two Africans in the board room just for the international public to see that they are doing something to include Black(s) in management positions. In reality, being part of the management makes me feel like that every eye is on me. Every time I attend any issue or give my opinion to a particular issue, it is like I am answering for the entire Black Africans working in this Institution. This [is] how I feel, because the way they respond these people they make me feel that way.

It was also perceived that academic and senior positions within LUT were dominated by almost one or two race groups. As Sicelo, an African male, commented:

> The structures of [LUT] are amazingly Indian male-dominated. It really shocked me when I first came here from [an African University outside South Africa]. It felt like I had to step back forty years, because power in this university is very much in the hands of the majority of Indian community and few White community. You know, right through the senior management levels and through the professional, senior lecturer and lecturer. I am sure that it would be very hard to prove that I am explicitly excluded, but I think there are other factors that go into the fact that I am excluded due to the colour of my skin. For example, as an academic, the staff room of my department, almost 99% are Indian men, sitting there talking to each other. And if I go there, I feel very much uncomfortable. I would want to talk. I do go there to talk and socialise but I feel it is an exclusive

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[12] The name and gender type of this participant is withheld for confidentiality reasons.

Indian club. And you know, they all seem not to take notice of you, you know. You feel you shouldn't be there.

However, the lack of race diversity in management positions perpetuate race-role stereotype within the University culture.

Furthermore, the African interviewees in the study disliked that particular stereotypes were held about their group. As Thulani, an African male explained:

In this Institution, we are dealing with ignorant attitudes that do not want to learn and understand Black culture. I mean we are dealing with people who are eager to see a Black person as subordinate.

This stereotype related to the ignorance frequently associated with undermining and undervaluing Africans, mostly on the part of Indians. The other negative stereotypes and expectations of White and Indian interviewees, concerns Africans' ability, particularly when they are placed in top management and senior academic jobs. Some Africans commented about expectations for their failure. For example, Ntombifuthi, an African female said:

It is very difficult being a Black woman because everyone expects you to fail. Or if you do not fail, they think it was because of help, not your own merit.

Lungile, an African female, added:

Being taken seriously by our Indian and White colleagues is very difficult here. My opinions are overlooked on several occasions in the office.

These expectations and perceptions are dangerous in that they seek to undermine and undervalue Africans' sense of their own ability and worth. The interviewees in this study capture many of the challenges inherent in being the minority member in a group context. In this way, the division of status and power positions in the University conforms to negative views concerning the racial stereotyping of individuals.

Access to power and authority: When Africans commented on their day-to-day experiences, they felt that Indian and White male and female colleagues, in general, needed or had greater access to the means to influence decision-making within the University. The LUT staff profile presented in the case background chapter clearly

illustrates the paucity of African men and women in senior positions in the hierarchy. One of the consequences of this is that the African community have little opportunity to participate in and are automatically excluded from decision making and have little or no influence on University policy, by virtue of their underrepresentation and inferior status within the organisation.

However, it was noted that not only did Africans, both in professional and non-professional senior positions, lack representation on many senior level decision-making committees, but African interviewees showed a general reluctance to participate in such activities. Two main reasons were put forward for this. Firstly, there were the practical barriers associated with the lack of time to devote to committees and meetings. This was compounded by the fact that most of those Africans in academia and in senior positions felt that they had to work harder to gain legitimacy and thus had to spend more time to sustain themselves in their current position and had to perform at a higher level than non-Africans in order to avoid negative comments from their bosses and colleagues. Secondly, several Africans had experienced negative experiences at meetings, where they felt that their contributions had been ignored. In particular, meetings were often dominated by Indian men and were seen to conform to macho-racial forms of communication, such as being competitive and point-scoring. As Nandi, an African female, commented:

> What personally I find difficult in meetings is that it is difficult to speak or raise a point in these faculty board and senate meetings. I hate these meetings because of the boredom of them and I get so angry at people who have to extend them by rabbiting on. Somebody says I would like to comment on so-and-so. I just feel desperate. For them, these meetings are for socialising instead of business. And when I speak, which is hardly ever, I can feel that no-one listens and if they do they just look embarrassed and I think it is because, you know, they are not used to seeing an African woman speak in these Indian- and White-dominated meetings.

Thombi, an African female, added:

> I remember, on one occasion that I was called in a special meeting and I was indirectly reprimanded for speaking out at senate. But you know what? I do not care. I have been dealing with oppression all my life. I mean, you know, we were born under apartheid so there is nothing new really.

Sipho, an African male lecturer, also commented:

To survive takes strength and resilience. As the first black lecturer at my department, I had to be strong and fight back and not accept [discrimination] and be quiet.

Similarly, one of the African[13] directors, observed that:

> When I first joined the University the rules were opaque. For example, I was not aware that I could apply for university research funds and to survive required tenacity.

In general, the majority of the African interviewees felt racial inequalities were present within the structures and processes of the University. Interestingly, some White interviewees viewed the Indian community as having a powerful position and spoke of their culture dominating the University. As Kate, a White female, commented:

> Yeah, definitely Indians are, and they are, all in powerful positions… We don't even have a Black woman as a head of department. Not that I know of anyway.

In contrast, the Indian interviewees mostly avoided talking about racial inequalities within the University's structures and processes, as well as day-to-day working experience. Instead they referred to Whites as the people who are not willing to change and, generally, they felt that systems were already in place that would address occurrences of discrimination. As Latha, an Indian female, noted:

> There is no power struggles. I mean... I don't think there's any racial inequality. There's no racial inequality in this university, because there are checks and balances to avoid any racial inequalities.

Amit, an Indian male, commented:

> I think there are checks and balances as well as structures in place at this institution which gives voice to inequality to any staff member. I am not alarmed by any racial or gender discrepancies, no, no. There isn't anything that bugs me directly you know, although there are gaps in terms of experiences. But personally, I wouldn't discriminate in terms of race. The feelings are there [unconsciously], but it depends on the individual. The effects of apartheid, I

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[13] The name and gender type of this participant is withheld for confidentiality reasons.

think it is important for the management and the employers to be mindful of that, those issues do occur. I don't have a strong feeling of racial issues as an identity here at [LUT].

These experiences tended to create tensions around notions of voice and authority or, stated another way, around the extent to which the recognition of intellectual and institutional authority is dependent upon who speaks and through what authority. In this regard, the dominant voices are those of individuals with the majority representation across the University hierarchy and with strong institutional histories.

The majority of both African and White interviewees felt that they do not have full access to influence and control processes within the University. There appeared to be a racial difference in participation and domination in University decision-making and meetings, with most of the important decision-making committees, along with the informal committee structures, being made up of Indian males. It was also felt that the high turnover rate of vice-chancellors is due to the fact that if the dominant coalition (Indians) did not agree with a particular vice-chancellor's strategies, they have the power to ask (informally, but with considerable pressure) that particular vice-chancellor to resign or else to make life difficult for him or her. As Tania, one of the White females, suggested:

> There is a kitchen cabinet operating outside [LUT] formal structures. What I mean about the kitchen cabinet is that people actually hold power, not organizational positions, and okay. But they have their own ways, or they have the ear of the executive management. These people, I mean the kitchen cabinet, most of them do not sit on decision-making committees, such as the senate, or any other formal university structures, but they still have power and the ability to influence decisions and university culture, because they are wealthy. They invite the executive management for dinner in their homes after hours.

Similarly, Jerome, a White male, argued:

> There is a head of maintenance, finance, etc. There are five of them. Apparently that is the reason why our Vice-Chancellors leave the Institution within two years without completing their five-year terms. It is because there are those five, including our finance guy, who have all the power to influence the Vice-Chancellor or decision-making committee. So unless the academics dominate and take over that power I think we will continue to be in the hands of (non-academic people – referred to finance department).

Thomas, a White male, added to this by referring to the statement presented by one of the previous vice-chancellors who resigned before the end of his term. He said:

The previous Vice-Chancellor resigned before the end his contract because of the pressure from a certain group of people. Professor (the previous VC), in his last speech, said that there is a mafia that is opposing him and working to get him out. He didn't mention the names of the mafia, but most people know exactly who they are.

Ben, a White male, added

I think the mafia provides things to people to keep them quiet. And this is, [in] my opinion, to the detriment of the organisation as a whole. People don't look at the organisation and say why we are here? What is our purpose? At the same time, I can have a very comfortable life. I can do nothing. Nobody is going to bother me as long as I don't rock the boat and cause trouble for these other people. That is my personal opinion. I could be completely wrong.

Several interviewees commented on the negative atmosphere and reception at meetings, particularly council meetings, as Lisa, a White female, commented:

There is a power struggle between different race groups. For example, the council is dominated by Indians. I am a friend of one of the deans, not our dean but from another faculty. He has been sitting in meetings with the council for many years so he tells me what takes place there. And he is a very pragmatic person and he just comes, he says, there is bloody racist in these campuses and I think he is referring to Indians against the White and Blacks.

Lisa added,

I asked him "Why are Indians against Blacks and Whites?" Then he said: "Look they [Indians] are in the position of power, you see, that's what faces [LUT]. They are using their power. Also I think there is a bit of nepotism, there is Indian fraternity."

Lisa supported her friend the dean's argument and commented:

I know this is favouritism and nepotism in this university, because there was [a] group of Indian people against me; it was three of them and the head of department. Two of the group members were brothers. They had a disciplinary hearing against me because of being insubordinate. They all had no right to that. The other one used his brother, who is a director, to knock me down because of his power. He had more say and power to influence [the] executive management, so they tried to get me into trouble.

Power and authority differences are fundamental to gender, race and class inequalities and are linked to the University's structures. It is argued that labour unions and professional associations can act to reduce power differences across gender, racial divisions or across class hierarchies (Acker 2006b). However, in this case study the

labour unions seem to lack the ability to reduce power differences across race groups. Instead, the labour unions' structures tended to perpetuate racial divisions amongst employees and thereby to be effectively co-opted into the construction of workplaces with unequal power distribution. As Helen, a White female, commented:

> There are three unions within this institution, with NEHAWU, which is perceived to be predominantly for African staff members, TENUSA which is perceived to be predominantly for Indian and NUTESA, or NUTEWU, which is predominantly for the White community.

In recounting their experiences of working within this University, the majority of the interviewees, especially Africans and Whites, felt that the disparities in power and autonomy are widely apparent along racial lines. In reflecting on their experiences of working at this University, the majority of the Africans interviewed commented on their feelings of being marginalised, not only in terms of their lack of representation among top managerial or academic positions within the institution, but also their lack of access to decision-making processes and influencing university policy. There was a general feeling that the contribution of Africans (in terms of their experiences and needs) to the overall shaping of the University culture was invisible or undervalued due to the lack of representation at the top management level. Moreover, the contribution of those Africans who were part of top management was ignored because they were the minority race group within the decision-making structures.

Based on the individual experiences and assumptions discussed above, it is clear that there is a complex intersection of different racial groups which leads to the construction of racialised division of labour within the University culture. In the following section I will examine how these racialised roles; authority and power serve to construct racialised symbols within the University processes and practices.

6.2.2.2 Racialised symbols

Race, like gender, is a cultural artefact enacted in and through social organizational and social practices of signification which result in effects of reality (Jones et al. 1977; Acker 1990; Bruni and Gherardi 2002; Vallas 2003). In this section I will examine how racialised symbolic representation is constructed within the University structures and processes. Evidence of racial processes and practices in organisations also exist in

their symbols. Acker (1990) argues that organisations tend to construct a job description that define an ideal worker for particular 'job', based on gender and race. A range of racialised symbols can be identified which underpin the race-based division of labour within LUT. These cover a range of cultural practices such as visible artefacts, norms of behaviour and attitudes and assumptions, which reinforce and legitimate the racialised roles and norms. Within LUT, the image of the academics, senior management, and council members was seen to be that of the Indian and White middle class and of middle-aged males. The Africans who were interviewed drew attention to a range of factors which reinforced the image that Africans were not legitimate members of the academic or senior management community, again corresponding with the racialised stereotypes of Africans as service workers, cleaners, gardeners and maids to the well-established Indian or White academic institutions. As Sindi, an African female, commented:

> I think Indian and White colleagues do, particularly the older ones, yes, undoubtedly. I think there is still that tendency to treat you [Africans] as if you were a maid without really being at all aware that they are [doing this]. But the older they are, the more prone they are to do that; [they] just assume that Africans are going to take second or even third place and not want to go for the high profile things and more powerful position. Even if an African is in a powerful position they make sure that he or she fails to use his or her authority.

Frequently in this study, the majority of the African interviewees made reference to the difficulties they faced in endeavouring to be accepted as fully-fledged members of the academy or as supervisors or managers. As Jabu, an African female, noted:

> What is harder for African staff members, this is across the board, is to carry any authority or weight for what you do. I think there is an assumption on the part of the White or Indian staff members that if you are an African, you are either there to make tea, or clean their offices. Mostly an African person cannot even be trusted to be a secretary or a receptionist because of your language. I mean you cannot speak proper English and your accent is not like theirs.

Sipho, an African male, commented:

> I think, here at LUT, there is this perception and assumption that, as an African you must be a junior lecturer or you must assume a less authoritative position. I don't know whether that is because people quite literally miscast you on the basis of your colour, as someone who is not intellectual enough to be working within university offices except cleaning, or doing a gardening job, or you must be a

tea-maker, or doing all other servicing of higher profile people, be they securities or bodyguard. I really don't understand when things will change.

The majority of African interviewees felt that they have to adapt their movements and behaviour to suit the practices of the dominant group in ways that their Indian and White colleagues did not. These perceptions and assumptions provide a clear message that the University culture is marked by silent, indirect boundaries and divisions that constrain the movement and options available to members of the minority race groups within the University. Additionally, these boundaries along racial grounds seem to have material effects on employment opportunity – effects that were tacitly acknowledged by interviewees.

Racial differences within the University seem to give rise to different expectations and achievements in relation to status and power within the University hierarchies. These serve to injure the dignity of the most marginalised race groups members, which can provoke forms of resistance with complex, iteration effects on racial boundaries and can even construct these boundaries over time (Kanter 1977).

6.2.2.3 Racialised social relations

A whole range of issues and references were raised which related to the strongly racialised nature of the social relations within the University. In reflecting on the day-to-day working atmosphere within the institution, it was commented that the climate was not comfortable for both African and White University employees. Through a variety of mechanisms, the majority of African and White interviewees felt excluded from the informal decision-making and networking systems in the institution. The issue of networking was raised by several White interviewees. There was a perception that Indian males were more adept at promoting themselves via informal networks, as Beverley, a White female, commented:

> Indians are very good at promoting themselves with this very, not subversive, but very complicated sort of network. In this university, access to senior positions and promotion opportunities depends on whom you talk to or associate with and what racial group you belong to. I am not bothered but I am very much aware of it…

Lisa argued:

From my experience working here at [LUT], yes, I do not see much of class or gender discrimination. Although gender discrimination is there, but I see more race discrimination in this institution, especially Indians [who] tend to treat Blacks more badly than Whites. Yeah yah this is my perception.

Some interviewees were concerned about the denial of cultural differences and the lack of respect people showed each other, as Helen, a White female, commented:

We need to start respecting each other in this country; respecting each other, taking the time to understand another person's culture, take the time to mix with other people. I mean our campus: you don't see the White and the Black students mixing. You don't see the Indian and the White students mixing. Everyone keeps to themselves. I don't see, there is no social life here, it's all political. It's politics, it is all politics. We don't do any fun things to get our students together so that we can begin to understand and like each other. Sometimes there's a lot of politics in the council itself.

The majority of the interviewees in this case study felt that they had to manage their race, by blending in and not drawing attention to their race. At the same time, however, they faced a range of race-role based stereotypes which controlled their behaviour and identity. As Samuel, a White male, commented:

If you go to any big meetings, it could be senate, it could be the VC talking to staff about activities, what do you see? I see White men sitting with White men, I see, oh there is interesting thing for me is that first of all you see people sitting by race and then within that there is gender grouping.

Similarly, Jerome, a White male, argued:

In meetings, people tend to sit probably by race. In meetings you tend to sit with people you are friendlier with. It's a difficult one. If I go to a [Senate] meeting for example, I tend to sit… with Indians guys. Why? This is because there are lot of Indian people in the senate. There are no Black guys in my department who goes to those meetings. In terms of White people, for example [a White colleague] he attends when he feels like it. I think it will take generations for that to go.

Jerome added:

There are still us and them after 12 years of the merger. People keep to their old way of mixing and socialisation. When you walk around the campus, there are still signs and logos of previous institutions. So how can you build a new

institution when you still got all those visible signs from old institutions around the new institution?

For these interviewees, therefore, it is clear that social relations are deeply divided on racial grounds. This is partly attributed to the history of the higher education institutions in South Africa, dating back to the apartheid era. Back then, racial divides cut across both the academic and administrative, as well as support services and student bodies. It was felt by many interviewees that a racialised division of labour within LUT is not only manifesting itself vertically and horizontally, but also in formal and informal social relations (for example, the university labour union memberships were divided along racial lines). It was also widely felt that these racial divisions continue to be reinforced through racialised symbols.

6.2.2.4 Racialised self-identity

The majority of the African and White interviewees felt that LUT culture remains predominantly Indian, and that the pervasive racism that this engenders is the source of immense unhappiness and frustration amongst White and African staff across the institution[14]. The full extent of the pain, hurt and humiliation that African staff members have had to endure is indicated by the observations made by African staff at LUT. As Mahle, an African female, commented:

> We are treated as 'unknowns' if your status and name is not known. For example, if an individual is known to be an academic, occupying a senior position, then you will be treated with respect but if their status is not known, they are less likely to be given the same level of respect and courtesy, especially if you are Black.

As with the experience of an African male:15

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[14] During the interview sessions I was struck by the almost ubiquitous sense of disenchantment, alienation and anger amongst White and African staff and by the fact that they did not feel at home in the institution.

[15] Name and position not mentioned for the purpose of confidentiality

I had an appointment to meet a member of staff. I went to his office and introduced myself to his secretary by my first name. The secretary, who was White, indicated that I did not have an appointment. I went back to my office and asked my secretary to contact the other secretary who started crying[16] when she realised that I was one of the managers and did indeed have an appointment. I am not sure if it was racism.

An important question of this study is linked to the ways in which racialised culture shapes the work identity of the employees. The interviewees commented on a range of difficulties they faced in forming a feeling of legitimacy and sense of belonging. Among the Africans, who are very much in a minority in the top management positions, there were several comments about lacking confidence, questioning their ability and justifying their place as members of the University community. Khwezi, an African female, commented:

There is always that sense of being undervalued and undermined. I do find a sense of being totally undervalued, especially in my department. I find it very undermining to my confidence, you know. I am sort of constantly wondering whether I have anything to say at all.

Nandi, an African female added:

Being a Black woman in this Institution makes me feel incompetent and less effective. I sometimes, I do not have a sense of self when I am around this department because I belong to a race of people who are being undermined, who cannot think or initiate anything sensible. We have been portrayed as less competent. This gives me a lack of confidence in my ability. It becomes a burden, and very demotivating.

Here African women discussed their sense of being incompetent and the lack of confidence that they feel about themselves. Added to this, again from the lack of Africans in senior positions in this study, there were issues of confidence relating to the individual identities of many Africans as members of the academic profession. Zodwa, an African female, suggested:

I think, Indian and White people, when they were younger, had a certain confidence. I think they were told and automatically assumed that the majority of

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[16] The interviewee said this woman cried because she felt embarrassed.

> South African people want to listen to what they have to say… They do not have a problem [with] English… They were told that they were the leaders of this country and Blacks should always be submissive to their authority. On the other hand, Black people were raised up with that mentality that a person who can express himself in English fluently is better, and the White person is always superior to them. I know, as a woman, being academic, I spent a number of years not writing because I thought people do not want to hear what I have to say… It was only eventually when the VC demanded all academics to be involved in research [that I began writing]…And that is probably an African trait, this reluctance, not believing in you.

Therefore, in terms of the African's self-identity, the academic 'ideal type' is not African, leading to feelings of inferiority and of being an imposter. These respondents show how difficult it is not to internalise these messages, concentrating more on teaching, administrative and clerical jobs rather than conducting research and, as a result, reinforcing the image that Africans do not do research. However, it is worth noting that while these Africans commented on the struggles not to feel inferior, they also cited examples of how they resisted the pressures to conform to what was perceived to be a narrow and racial academic ideal-type. Generally, the majority of African interviewees expressed a feeling of being marginalised and undermined. For those Africans who were very much the minority in their departments and across the institution, there was a feeling that they had to justify themselves and prove that they are accountable, responsible and the right person for that particular job or position.

6.3 Shapes and degrees of inequalities

The discussion in the preceding sections provides clear evidence that a masculine and racial principle dominates the University processes and practices. This section examines how the structures and hierarchies of the University maintain equality or perpetuate gender and racial inequalities within the University culture. This will be achieved by looking at the hierarchical bureaucracies (steepness of the hierarchy), the degree and pattern of segregation and the size of wage differences, in order to understand how the gendered and racialised University hierarchies are constructed and maintained.

6.3.1 Hierarchical bureaucracies

LUT in general seems to have a gender balance in terms of the number of female and male employees[17], but there a lack of gender imbalance in terms of top management positions and access to power and authority. Moreover, LUT structures are more racially imbalanced both in terms of number and top management positions, access to power and authority. As Nikeziwe, an African female, commented:

> The equity policy, I mean Employment Equity, talks about the equal opportunity, talks about employing Black people at senior positions, but this University does not do that. I mean the senior positions, I mean top management positions, are in the hands of the White and Indian community, especially White and Indian men.

Thombi, an African female, added:

> I might be wrong, but when I look at the Executive Deans, Head of Departments and most of the Directors and Deputy Directors of this University, I see Indian men and women, with [a] few White men. What does that tell you? This tells you that we Blacks are nowhere in the decision-making of this University, yet we are the majority, both in the province and national, the imbalance of the past still exists in this University.

Helen, a White female, commented:

> The structures and processes of LUT do not create or promote equal opportunity for all. Instead, they promote the exclusion and create work opportunities for one particular race group who are in power.

The interviewees' perceptions and assumptions suggest that the University hierarchies are segregated along racial grounds. However, what is interesting is that African interviewees were more specific about the race groups that seem to dominate the top management positions whilst White interviewees did not mention which race group dominate senior positions. Furthermore, only women interviewees, rather than males, commented on racial disparities in authority at the high levels of the University hierarchies.

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[17] Women make up 45% and men make up 55% of the total staff of LUT.

It was also felt that the structures of the University promote the perception of women as unequal to men and that this replicates the traditional hierarchical bureaucracies of the South African labour market and wider societal culture, where women occupy the support service jobs. As Beverly, a White female, added:

> The processes of this University excludes women and Black people from taking part in decision-making and in strategic planning, by promoting Indian people to senior positions of this University.

However, LUT structures do not reduce gender and racial inequality, instead they seem to perpetuate and maintain a gendered and racialised hierarchy. Indeed, senior directors' posts within the University are overwhelmingly occupied by males. Women tend to occupy the lower level positions and, consequently, female interviewees in this study seem to have limited access to power and authority and to have little influence over policy due to the lack of representation at the top management positions.

6.3.2 The degree and patterns of segregation

It was perceived that responsibilities and decision-making authority are not distributed equally among employees. This key disparity constructs and perpetuates hierarchies that are gendered and racialised. Both racial and gender disparities amongst those in authority are greatest at the higher levels of the University hierarchy. It was felt by many interviewees that the University's structures constructs gendered and racialised cultures, as Sindi, an African female commented:

> As with the previous apartheid system, the senior positions in this University are still occupied by White and Indian males. These people, you know, they have access to power and authority to influence decisions.

Elaine, a White female, added:

> You know things around here will take time to change. LUT is mostly controlled by Indian men. I mean the University's top positions are more occupied by them [Indian]. They have more power to influence everything that is taking place here.

It was felt that the degree and pattern of segregation by race and gender is another aspect of inequality within the hierarchy. This gender and racial segregation of jobs occurs across different class levels of the University, across jobs at the same level and within jobs. The statistical representation of women and Africans in senior positions is

far below the national equity level set out in the legislation. Instead, women and African people are still largely occupying the clerical and service occupations within the structures of LUT.

6.3.3 The size of wage differences

Drawing on the interviewees' experiences in this study, it was noted how the constructions of gendered and racial inequalities reflect underlying class relations among workers which, in turn, are implicated in their reproduction. Techniques for organising class hierarchies inside work organisations normally vary. In this study it was felt that job classification originates from job grading and results in inequality in pay. As Lungile, an African female, commented:

> When it comes to grading, it is very frustrating you know. Do you know how many years I have been sitting on grade eleven? Do you think that is fair? I do not think so? What I have noticed in my department is that there are people doing the same job as me but they are at grade nine, which means they earn more than me. This is very demotivating you know. I feel I am not part of this institution and feel undervalued. What is sad about this is that I am more qualified than some of them, but because of whom they are the previous system favoured them. I am still left behind. Since the merger, we have been promised that we will be re-graded. Till today nothing happened.

Nobuhle, an African female, observed:

> The whole grading exercise is a mess. After ten years of the merger we are still having grading appeals. We are still talking about discrepancies in salaries. This is really not on. Other people were re-graded immediately after the merger, especially those who are holding senior positions. This is really not fair.

Tania, a White female, commented:

> There are lots of inequalities that have not yet been addressed after the merger which causes a lot of unhappiness among the staff members, especially the issue of salaries. You will find that people are doing the same jobs, but one is earning R5000 [very low income per month], the other one is earning more than that but doing exactly the same job in the same office or department.

Rahul, an Indian male, commented:

> Here at LUT there is a huge imbalance of with regard to salaries, I don't know how this is done in other universities, I mean there is a huge gap between Head of Department and Executive Dean. I was looking at the annual report. I am talking about million plus, at the executive dean, and the head of department who

has the same qualification, pretty much doing the work, would be R300,000 [low income for the work load and professionals] , less than half, or less than a third. It's shocking, I just can't figure this out, for me something is wrong, and something needs to be done about this salary issue. The Vice- Chancellor is controlling his crew, and the deputy vice chancellor is got his six executive deans, and the deans has eight heads of departments to worry about, but the head of department got the whole of people to worry about, he got to worry about this 30 or 40 people in his department that he has to take care off. The issue is, I really understand level of responsibility the senior management have, but I can't see the logic behind that huge gap.

In summary, within LUT the evidence suggests that class hierarchies, with their embedded gender and racial patterns, are constantly created and recreated through organizing processes and practices. It was felt by the majority of women and African interviewees that these gender and racial boundaries give rise to status hierarchies that injure the dignity of the most marginalised groups, which can provoke forms of dissatisfaction with complex, iterative effects on racial boundaries and even reproduce these boundaries over time. In addition, women generally lacked a voice in the University's decision making processes due to a lack of representation in top level positions.

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has detailed and described the experiences of the interviewees in the study. It was also interspersed with my interpretations, reflections and observations of this data. The interviewees' experiences was structured along the lines of the first two components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter three, namely, the bases of inequality, and the shape, degree and patterns of inequality, in order to show how cultures of inequality are constructed and reconstructed within the case study organisation (LUT). This was achieved by focusing on the four interrelated areas: division of labour, symbols, social relations and self-identity. Finally, the chapter examined how the University hierarchies maintain equality or perpetuate a culture of inequality. This was achieved by looking at the shape and degree of inequalities, including the hierarchical bureaucracies, the degree and patterns and the size of the wage differences among employees in the University. LUT hierarchies suggest that

top management positions are almost occupied by the majority of the Indian men as well as few White men.

This chapter reflected that LUT hierarchies, processes and practices are gendered and racialised. The following chapter will develop this further to see how these practices construct the 'ideal worker' of this University, by focusing on the remaining four components of the theoretical framework of this study.

Chapter 7

7. Constructing Ideal Worker: Processes, Visibility, Legitimacy, Control and Compliance

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter 6, I focused on the first two components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3, namely, the bases of inequality, and the shape, degree and patterns of inequality to show how the culture of inequality is constructed and reconstructed within this case study university. To achieve this, I focused on the four interrelated areas: division of labour, symbols, social relations and self-identity. I also examined how the University hierarchies and processes maintain equality or perpetuate a culture of inequality. This was achieved by looking at the shape and degree of inequalities, including the hierarchical bureaucracies along with the degree, patterns and size of the wage differences amongst employees in the University.

This chapter focuses on the remaining four components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3, namely, the organising processes that produce inequality, the visibility of inequality, the legitimacy of inequality and the control and compliance. I will firstly examine the organising processes that produce inequality, in particular the general requirements of work, in order to show how these requirements construct and reconstruct the ideal worker norm. In addition, I will discuss the recruitment, selection and promotion processes in order to understand how these contribute to the construction of the ideal worker. Furthermore, I will look at the ways in which informal workplace interactions contribute to the ideal worker norm and at how this sometimes shapes the dynamics of inequality within the University culture. Secondly, I will examine the visibility of inequality and, in particular, the extent of awareness of equality and the degree of awareness of inequality within the University in general and of the University's equal opportunity policy specifically. Thirdly, I will examine the legitimacy of inequalities, and their reproduction within the case study University hierarchies and processes. Fourthly, I will examine how power relations is constructed through control and compliance within the workplace. Finally, I will

discuss the interconnections of gender and race in constructing the culture of inequality at LUT.

7.2 Organising processes that produce inequality

In Chapter 6, I focused mainly on how the University practices and processes construct a culture of inequalities, as well as on how these maintain equality or perpetuate inequalities among the employees of the University in relation to gender and race. It was suggested that the study's findings signal that University practices, processes and hierarchies construct gender and racial inequalities amongst employees. In this section, I will discuss how these practices and processes also produce an 'ideal worker' type within the University. My discussion will focus on organising the general requirement of work, recruitment and selection and on wage-setting practices.

7.2.1 The general requirements of work

This section examines how a general requirement of work constructs an ideal worker norm that reinforces gender and racial inequalities within the University culture. Acker argued that in most cases "work is organised on the image of an ideal worker who is totally dedicated to the work and who has no responsibilities for children and family demands other than earning a living" (2006b, p. 448). Indeed, managers and most professionals are expected to work long hours, arrange their outside responsibilities around their paid work, and be willing to relocate or travel as requested (Acker 1990, 1992; Bailyn 1993; Hochschild 1997; Jacobs and Gerson 2004). These expectations are referred to as the ideal worker norm that reinforces gender inequality in the workplace (Williams 2000).

This section explores how the work requirements of LUT affected employees and construct the ideal worker. Some women felt that, in order to fulfil the University work requirements, or to be recognised as dedicated workers, they were required to put their work and the University before their families. Some women raised the issue of organising late social events. As Jabu, an African female, noted:

> Most of the time there are events such as meetings, I mean informal meetings, which take place after office hours. Mostly, I fail to attend those meetings as I have a family and children. It is very difficult for me as a married woman.

Mahle, an African female, commented:

> I need to pick them [children] up by a certain time, but they will start meetings at 5pm, you know what I mean? I used to stay [in work] up to 8 in the evenings for meetings which started at 5pm. I think that happens in the male-dominated place because they don't normally see any problem, they don't have to look after young kids. It is not a problem for them to start a meeting at 5pm.

Lisa, a White female, added:

> Most of the decisions are within informal meetings. These executive male colleagues, they have a tendency of organising meetings in the evening at the last minute, and they expect you to drop all your plans and attend these meetings. I mean your family responsibility. I used to try to organise for my husband to take care of the children while attending these meetings, but I am no longer attending them. If the meeting is after five, and organised at the last minute, I exclude myself from attending. My family comes first.

Nandi, an African female, commented:

> I come in very early before anyone at 7:30, and I expect to leave early, at least 30 minutes early to pick up my kids. So I find it very difficult to attend these after-hours meetings.

As the above quotes suggest, these after work hour meetings created a barrier for women, as they serve, whether intentionally or unintentionally, to exclude them from the decision-making processes.

It was also felt by many interviewees that the general requirements of work were not only based on the image of the male but also, more specifically, on the image of a well-qualified and experienced White or Indian male with good interpersonal skills. Thulani, an African male, commented:

> Here at [LUT], the majority of Black people are employed at the lower positions, such as cleaning and maintenance. Whenever you raise the issue of equity in these management meetings, they always justify this by saying that there are no qualified Black people to handle senior positions in this Institution. This is not true. When they advertise for senior positions, they always require 10-15 years' experience. Where do they think Black people will get that kind of experience? To me this is a way of excluding Black people from senior positions and from decision-making processes.

The views and assumptions of Thulani suggest that the work in LUT was organised on the image of White and Indian races.

Nolwazi, an African female commented:

> There is lack of transparency in the selection processes of this University. I know that there is equity policy but I think, in reality, this policy is overlooked. There is a lot of favouritism and unfairness that takes place during the selection processes. What I can say is that we Blacks are excluded from the time the job is advertised. This is because the requirements of any senior or academic position always require years of work experience, which we do not have. This is how I feel.

Thombi, an African female added:

> I have a university degree, and I know I am more qualified than my other colleagues in my department, but I will never be given a chance to be a supervisor because I do not have enough experience. This is the experiences most us [Blacks] have in this University.

Thus, specific configurations of the racialist and gendered ideal worker serve to construct and normalise the association of work requirements of Indian and White men. The informal and evening meetings usually took place after 5pm, which meant that women automatically felt excluded and isolated. These inequalities are also evident in the interviewees' reflections on University recruitment and selection processes discussed in the following section.

7.2.2. Recruitment, selection and promotion

Organising processes take many forms, including recruitment, selection and promotion practices. Acker (2006b) argued that recruitment, selection and promotion are processes of matching employees most suited for particular positions. However, in Chapter 6, it was felt that gendered and racialised stereotyped images contributed to and helped to perpetuate gender and race segregation of jobs at all levels within the University. It was suggested by the study's participants that the race and gender of existing employees partially defined who was considered more suitable for particular positions, that is, those employees in power have the influence to decide who is suitable for a certain post within the University hierarchy.

7.2.2.1 Recruitment

Recruitment is a process of finding an employee most suited for a particular position. In this study, participants considered that the gender and race of existing dominant groups at least partially defined who was suitable for a particular post. Thus, there was a tendency to recruit and promote individuals in one's own image, as Sindi, an African female, explained:

> As far as I'm concerned, somehow the University processes tend to discriminate against Blacks. When the senior position is advertised, one of the requirements is long work experience. Yet the majority of Blacks will not meet those requirements. I think they [Indians] are just - I mean Indian people - they think Blacks are a threat to them because they fear that one day they might overpower them, which they wouldn't like. So they do everything in their power to marginalise Black people.

Julie, a Coloured female, added:

> I feel that [LUT] processes, I mean recruitment processes, I mean those in charge, are making sure that all those formats are in place. But when it comes to the actual, I mean practicality, I don't know if I'm making any sense here, I think the actual internal process which is what they are saying, they are pushing the equity, they are pushing the race, they are pushing the gender, is not reflected in real terms. There is a lot of racial and gender imbalance within this University, you know. But, according to the HR [human resources] everything is to the letter.

Mpume, an African female, commented:

> I think, here at [LUT], Blacks are automatically excluded from senior positions. I mean, they make sure that Blacks are excluded based on the requirements [of work]. You will find that you do qualify in terms of qualification, but because of the lack of experience, you are then not given a chance. I do not know where they think we as Blacks, are going to get years of experience based on our history of being at the bottom of the ladder for decades. If I know where I can buy work experience I will definitely buy one. One thing they forget is that all the opportunities were withheld to Black people during apartheid.

There was a sense that the length of experience required for jobs advertised for the University automatically excludes particular race groups from applying. Thus, it can be seen how these contribute to the gender and racial characteristics of the ideal worker. However, it was noted that those who have power to manipulate the recruitment processes are able to justify the underrepresentation of other race groups

within the staff profile of the University, in particular at senior management and academic level. Thulani, an African male, argued:

> I think the council must make means to comply with the national imperatives in terms of demographics. And there would be more Blacks in leadership positions. I understand that management or people in charge of recruiting are saying that senior posts get advertised and there are no Blacks applying, especially in academic positions. That is not true. If you look at numbers of Blacks in South Africa, and the high level of unemployment, it does not make sense to say that Blacks do not apply for jobs.

These assumptions and the views outlined above suggest that the recruitment processes of the University indirectly construct the ideal worker norm – that of Indian within the University culture.

7.2.2.2 Selection

Acker (2006b) argued that competence criterion do not automatically translate into gender and race neutral selection decisions. She notes that "competence involves judgement: the race and gender of both the applicant and the decision makers can affect that judgement, resulting in decisions that White men are the more competent, more suited to the job than are others" (Acker 2006b, p. 450). The introduction of affirmative action and the national Employment Equity Act (No. 55 of 1998 (discussed in more depth shortly) altered the selection practices in many organisations in South Africa, requiring open advertising for positions and selection based on gender and race-neutral criteria competence (rather than selection based on the previous apartheid system). Despite these equality initiatives, it was felt that at LUT there was still a tendency to select candidates who reflect the preferences of those in charge of recruitment processes (mostly middle managers) in terms of gender and race, thus excluding those who are different. As Beverley, a White female, commented:

> Things in this University are handled differently based on who you are. Some people do receive preferential treatment when it comes to appointments. So there is nepotism in this institution. Oh nepotism, that's another issue. It is a huge thing, you know. We have family and family and family.

Nelisiwe, an African female, commented:

I feel that I constantly have to prove myself, where people from other races don't have to prove themselves. And, I mean, a simple thing like in order for me to get a job, like if I apply for a position, they will look at my references, check if my qualification is genuine, speak to my former boss, you know all kinds of things. But with other races it doesn't happen… When the job is advertised and selection has been [decided?], you get to find out that the person that has been hired is related to someone within the system, and that particular person is someone in a very senior position. So there is indirect nepotism. Mostly new appointments are relatives of the existing staff members. Don't get me wrong, I am not referring to Indians only: there is one case I know where one of the senior Black woman's sons was being employed. I heard rumours that his employment was a little bit strange. The selection procedures were not followed properly. Therefore, these things are taking place here. It could be another staff member's child, niece, aunt, uncle, you know all kind of things, you know, cousin whatever, but I mean, like I can't say their names.

Tania, a White female, added:

I am just constantly amazed that appointments keep on going to Indian people. I was expecting to see now again and again a new Black woman, Black man appointed, you know. I am not aware of any kind of sustained programme to say, in terms of Black academics, what do we do to assist people to upgrade? I think our Black academic profile, if is not going down, it is remaining static and it should not be like that. And our Indian profile, both academic and administrative, is growing instead of going down. So you ask yourself: What does [the] Equity Policy of this institution do? Do we have equity targets in place to meet? Why aren't we meeting them in terms of new appointments? Why aren't we meeting them in terms of promotions?

Certain selection practices maximise the possibility that the successful candidates will be similar to those on the selection panel in terms of gender and class. It was felt that employment equity and other government policies changing selection practices in LUT did not contribute to an increase in women and Africans in a variety of occupations, including mid-level managers and senior directors. Lungile, an African female, commented:

If management decide to deviate from policy, I mean, they are the co-owners of the policies, you know, so if they decide to deviate from them it's their mandate. I mean, there is nothing we can do at the ground level.

Nobuhle, an African female, described how:

I normally sit in [on] the interviews and selection sessions for the departments I am responsible for. To tell you the truth, there is a lot that takes place in these selection sessions. I will give you just one example. One day I attended the selection interview session for one of the department and it was an internal

advert. There were two candidates. One was [a] Black woman and one was [a] White woman. The Black woman presented herself very well during interview. I mean better than the other candidate, and she had all the qualifications and experience required for that particular position. But guess what? The Black woman was not appointed because the Executive Dean of that particular faculty, who was also a chairperson for that interview selection session, disagreed with the decision of the other members of the selection committee. He said he has a right to select a candidate he is comfortable to work with.

Moreover, it was felt that a single racial group dominated the panel (Indian) and, therefore, some of the Africans automatically assumed that the opportunity of securing a job or promotion were minimal. As Nandi, an African female, commented:

I looked at my two interviewers and the panel. They were all Indians, and I thought: The possibility of getting this job is at the best minimal. It was so demotivating and not inspiring at all to see all these Indian guys on the panel

Nandi's reflection above indicates that the competence criteria of this University are not consistently or uniformly applied, which could also partly explain the broad signals being sent to African respondents that rules in certain cases are 'strictly applied', but for other cases and racial groups are relaxed. As Jabu, an African female, commented:

I think what is actually needed is to make it transparent. We have these guidelines, you know. Mostly, these guidelines are not taken into account.

These excerpts suggest that gender and race form the basis for selection as well as the basis for exclusion. Thus, it was considered that despite the employment equity initiatives of the University or nationally, gender and race as the basis of exclusion have not yet been fully addressed and eliminated at LUT, and patterns of segregation still exist.

7.2.2.3 Promotion

Acker (2006b) argued that organising processes take many forms, including recruitment, selection and promotion. In this section the focus is on promotion. There was a general sense from the study's participants that there is a lack of consistency in promotion procedures. For example, Jerry, a White male, commented:

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I know some people who have experienced some difficulties in terms of the application for promotion. There is no consistency in the requirements and promotion procedures.

Most of the interviewees in this study felt that there was a degree of dissonance between the University's formal promotion criteria and actual practice. Thomas, a White male, commented:

If you look at the processes and practices, there are criteria in place for promotions. However, these criteria have not been or are not applied accordingly and consistently. There are people who had to fight for promotions, whereas some of us, for instance, I came in with much less publication and I was promoted to associate professor. I know other people who also did not have any problem with promotions to professorship, but for others it is really a struggle. When people start their way to promotion, they will be given certain criteria to meet. When they met those criteria, trying to submit their application for promotion, they will be told that those criteria are no longer applicable so they have to go back and try to meet the new criteria. I know a lot of people who are very frustrated about the promotion processes in this institution.

This sentiment was expressed on numerous occasions by the interviewees. For example, Jerome, a White male, comments:

Although I know that promotion is an issue for the majority of the staff members, I know there is a lot of unhappiness about promotion and promotion policy. Most people feel that certain rules are for certain people. Guidelines are set for promotions, so people strive and do what is required for promotion and when they get to the level that was required, when they request promotion, they will be told no, no, the rules have changed. So they have to change the whole process again. I know one of my colleagues has applied twice for associate professor and has been turned down. Also, people are complaining of workload, which is a barrier to achieve the promotional target.

Mahle, an African female, comments:

Then, the promotion issue came up. There was a lot of politics. The only way I could get promoted was to get…, a rating outside the University through the National Research Foundation [NRF]. With this NRF rating no-one within the University could stop it or undermine [me]. I mean, I was above the system, so it would be difficult for them to say 'no' because I have the rating, they have to give me a promotion. But I know many incidents where people struggle.

There was also a reflection that Indian males were more adept at promoting themselves via informal networks. As Beverley, a White female, commented:

Indians are very good at promoting themselves with this very, not subversive, but very complicated sort of network. In this University access to and promotion depends on whom you talk to or associate with and what racial group you belong to. I am not bothered but I am very much aware of it.

In summary, the intersections between gender and race are complex but work together, both formally and informally, through recruitment, selection and promotion processes to reinforce a culture of inequality. The participant excerpts presented in this section suggest that the meritocracy principle is not applied universally, in that it is suspended or amended to allow patronage of the ideal worker to prevail (in terms of gender and race). The feeling among the African interviewees was that African, Coloured, Indian and White candidates were not evaluated against the same criteria. Moreover, Indian interviewees involved in the study did not echo these sentiments, and tended to emphasise that academic management experience and excellence was applied impartially in recruitment and promotions decisions.

In summary, this study found that organising processes produce inequalities of gender and race with respect to the general requirement of work, recruitment, selection and promotion. Organising processes and cultures appear to be critical dimension in the reproduction of gender and racial inequalities, which are themselves embedded in the very University practices and processes designed to ensure equality in the implementation of employment practices.

7.2.3 Informal interactions

This section focuses on how gender, race and class inequalities are produced and maintained informally while doing work at, or as work processes are carried out, at LUT. The experiences and assumptions of the participants in this study make it clear that there were informal interactions within the University life. These informal interactions seem to be mediated by hierarchical situations which were seen to be gendered and racialised, and which shape and sustain the gender, racialised and classed University culture. However, such dynamics take multiple forms and affect all workers and, pertinently, some interactions within the University seems to be gendered and racialised.

Through a variety of mechanisms, women in the study felt excluded from the informal networking systems. A commonly-held view proffered by women in the study was that they are excluded from access to significant amounts of information by virtue of the fact that many conversations took place during informal and evening meetings which they do not attend. Corresponding with the informal decision-making culture, women felt that there was a strong male network and system of patronage in operation, from which women in general were excluded. It was perceived that senior academics and management were most associated with this networking system. As Tania, a White female, observed:

> Quite certainly, there is the male kitchen cabinet. This cabinet meets privately outside campus. They have power to influence the decision-making processes of the university.

In this study women with domestic responsibilities had limited opportunities to take part in social activities, especially if they were held in the evening. As Ntombifuthi, an African female, commented:

> I often find it very difficult to attend these informal networks particularly due to childcare responsibility.

Gender also appeared to interface within the micro-interactional level between male and female employees. Not only did informal social network activities construct a pattern of gendered social relations within the University culture (instead of creating connections and mutual understanding among women and men in this University) but it was felt that interactions were mediated by hierarchical networks and processes which were seen to be racialised.

According to Acker (2006b) the interaction practices that create racial inequalities are often subtle and silent, and thus difficult to document. There was a reflection among interviewees that their work contribution was unevenly valued (such as the way in which translation work was seen to be undervalued), and that such undervaluing was racialised and caused a sense of resentment. There were assumptions that the lack of support and advancement of African workers (especially those who work at faculty offices and the HR department) can often, according to many participants, be imputed to their lack of English language skills, while, ironically, their ability to speak another language (such as isiZulu, the main language for the Minia province) is not

acknowledged. Most of the African interviewees reported that their languages (mainly Zulu and Xhosa – dominant languages in this province) were taken for granted and viewed as a resource that the University could exploit for free. For example, as Jabu, a female lecturer explained:

> The majority of the population in this province speak isiZulu as their first language. I am a Zulu, I speak isiZulu. Obviously, when one of the parents approaches me, especially those accompanying their children for registration who are from rural areas, they cannot express themselves in English. They tend to express themselves in their own language. Well, they need people to translate. I am happy that I have got that skill. I can speak two languages but it does feel, you know, not appreciated by my supervisor. In fact they undermine our language. They will say the medium of communication in this institution is English. I do not think that is right.

The majority of the African participants in this study felt that the undervaluing of their skills resulted in an increase in workload, yet the increased workload remains unrecognised in formal and informal appraisal processes. However, if African women do not freely donate their linguistic skills in the course of their work, this may impact negatively upon their performance ratings as they might be perceived as non-compliant, as well as unreliable and unhelpful to the African community. Thus, this imposition of expectation upon African women leads to the re-construction and rationalisation of gendered and racialised under-valuations and processes within the University culture. In the following section, I will examine the visibility of inequalities within the University structures, processes and practices, in order to understand the degree of awareness or the lack of awareness of inequality by the employees of the case study university.

7.3 The visibility of inequalities

The previous section focused mainly on the first component, namely, organising processes that produce inequality, of the remaining four components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3. In this section we have moved from organising processes to the second component of the theoretical framework that forms the main focus of this chapter, namely, the visibility of inequality.

According to Acker (2006b) visibility of inequalities cannot be accurately measured through quantifying the extent to which managers and employees are aware of

inequalities in organisations as a lack of awareness may be intentional or unintentional. Acker relates how practices that generate gender inequalities may be fleeting and difficult to see. In this section I will examine two aspects of awareness: the visibility of equality and The University's equity policy, and the general awareness of inequalities within the University culture. This will help to understand how, for some, racism and sexism was institutionalised, while for others it was not seen to be evident to any significant degree.

7.3.1 Awareness of equality and employment equity policy

In most cases policy documents are important as they present the organisationally espoused commitment to an issue and provide legitimacy for actions taken to challenge and amend unreliable or conflicting practices and processes. LUT has an equity policy, which was intended to be a highly creative strategy for fairness, non-marginalisation, empowerment, transparency, accountability and consistency in the promotion of people regardless of their gender, race, class, disability or any other bases of inequalities in line with the Constitutional mandate.

7.3.1.1. Visibility of the University's Equity Policy

Many of the African interviewees felt that senior management's support for LUT's equity policy was minimal and they dismissed it as being mainly 'window dressing'. The majority of African interviewees perceived management to be more focused on a desire to be seen to show good management practice rather than on their feeling any sense of urgency to address what was perceived by the African participants to be significant racialised culture. As Sipho, an African male, commented:

> I don't get a sense that the equity policy is properly administered. I think it is left up to individuals as to how they interpret the policy… It has a very little support in management. I get a sense that its main function is to make sure that the University complies with legislation in terms of the equity plan. For every three years, at least, a piece of paper or documents are prepared and submitted to the State [South African Government], so that we are seen as complying with legislation in terms of having a plan …

It was also felt that there are many irregularities in the recruitment and selection processes, which leads to the employment equity policy failing to achieve its intended objectives. Mpume, an African female, commented:

> I don't get a sense that the equity manager is … at present is doing something. The equity policy is not in force in this Institution. I don't know how many people know who the manager is. What are the functions and services of the equity manager, of the equity office?

These excerpts suggest that, despite the existence of an equity office and equity policy, the function and management of this office is not openly known to University employees. However, the lack of support for the aims of the equity office from top management exacerbates this invisibility for employees. Thus, this has created confusion and stagnation in the implementation of equity initiatives within the University. Furthermore, in this way, the legitimacy of inequalities has been reproduced at different levels within this University. As Beverly, a White female, commented:

> If you have very ambitious employment equity plans, I don't know if you are going to reach it because there's a lot of confusion about equity in this place. In my department there are six of us who are at the same age and so in twelve years' time for sure our department can be totally Black, but for now you can't get rid of us. You can't come and set goals that are not going to happen. If they [University management] did their jobs properly they would have done research and found out about… We got twelve people in this department. Three of them are due to go on pension in two years' time, five in five years' time. I mean as an employer, you can set your targets according to that but again, you know, if you are going to get people in terms of affirmative action then you are at risk of losing the good candidates with intensive academic experience. This in turn will affect the quality of learning.

However, when reflecting on the state of equity policy, the perception of Africans interviewed was that it was merely paying 'lip service'. It was felt that the University espoused the ideals of equal opportunities but there was little evidence of this in terms of meeting the equity policy's stated objectives.

Other visible examples of the equity policy in practice emerged from the varied perceptions based on the race groups. Some responded positively to the Employment Equity Act. To some interviewees the issue of equity in terms of race was regarded as being an opportunity to place members from one particular race group in powerful positions at the expense of other groups. Helen, a White female manager, commented:

> As a White female, I actually feel a bit threatened sometimes by the equity policy of this country because… I sometimes feel that we, I mean the White community, are being asked to do things… I mean appoint people in order to

fulfil the equity requirements of this country. I mean employ a candidate from a target population, which in my view is not the right way or reason to appoint someone for the job.

Similarly, Anand, an Indian male and former head of the department, commented:

I think within our department there is a strong feeling that the labour department of this country is putting unnecessary pressure on Universities to comply with [national] equality policies. To me, while they say they are doing away with gender and racial imbalance, in fact they are certainly creating racial imbalance. For instance, if you have two good candidates for the job, and one is Black and the other one is an Indian, according to these equity legislations, you will definitely have to employ a Black candidate. What does that say?

Some White interviewees without a University degree or formal qualifications found it hard to cope with the increased pressures whereby African employees are starting to have University degrees. For example, Kate, a White female commented:

Equity at this institution has turned into a race issue. Although it is not supposed to be like that you know. I understand that in terms of employment equity the first option is a Black female, then a Black male, then a Coloured female, then a Coloured male, Indian female and right at the bottom is White. Although some White colleagues do not have the required qualification, they do have experience, which the other race groups do not.

Similarly, Jerome, a White male, commented:

There are people who have excellent experience, which this University needs, but these people are being subordinated and pushed to one side because they do not have qualifications.

Elaine, a White female, commented:

Not all the qualifications are equal. Some are more recognised than others and that's a bit of a sad thing, so yeah…Black people who qualify to lecture, though they might have the required qualification, they don't have experience…

Some of the White participants in this study felt that employment equity is a good strategy that seeks to achieve equity in the workplace in University and in other organisations in South Africa, especially considering the country's history of apartheid. However, at the same time it was viewed as a tool to exclude White people from the workplace and replace them with Black employees. The majority of White interviewees argued that Black people do not have enough experience to handle the

task assigned to them, which inevitably leads to a poor quality of service and teaching. As Thomas, a White male, commented:

> I think Blacks are appointed to either fill quotas or for window dressing. Owing to employment equity, the country is experiencing a well-experienced professionals and academic skills drainage. Skilled whites are leaving the country as there are no chances for advancement.

Tania, a White female, commented:

> The efficiency and quality of education decreases because the most suitable employees are not hired or promoted. Most black qualified employees lack the necessary experience, especially in the professional disciplines.

Implementation of the University's equity policy: However, African interviewees, on the other hand, do not see the benefits of employment equity, and they raised the issue of inconsistency in its application, as Nandi, an African female commented:

> I feel frustrated about this employment equity thing. I personally have not benefited. They often say that African females are preferred, but during interviews, African now suddenly also means Coloured and Indian females.

Nolwazi, an African female, commented:

> Implementation is not done in accordance with the terms and conditions of employment equity and affirmative action, that is, same job-same pay. The evidence shows that it is implemented effectively in pockets, but is not consistently.

One of the female participants[18] recently appointed as one of the Heads of Department commented:

> My white colleagues said to me: 'Pity you are now an equity appointment because we did not see you as an equity appointment before.'

The experience of this woman is replicated amongst other women and men from subordinate race groups. There is a perception that Africans and women do not

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[18] The race group of this woman is withheld for the purpose of confidentiality.

perform as well as their White and Indian male counterparts because of the perceived prevalence of racism amongst White staff. Sicelo, an African male, commented:

> There is an underlying tone of racism amongst academics. I am not seen as part of the White and Indian lecturers because I do not have a 'proper' English accent. I mean, I do not sound like them.

In contrast, some of the interviewees from the dominant race groups and those who were previously advantaged (under the apartheid system and before the merger) tried to justify why the University could not achieve their equity targets, as Amit, an Indian male commented:

> The equity policy speaks about conforming to targets, you know, for transforming the Institution. It speaks about complying to the Equity Act as well. I think we do make attempts to achieve equity which will reflect the demographics of this province. It's not always easy at the employment level to have. I mean the idea is that it must reflect the demographics of Minia which will mean largely eighty percent Black are employed. That is not possible, you know.

Similarly Kate, a White female, commented:

> In my opinion, South Africa is no longer a country for white South Africans because we are being treated unfairly. Only Black people will benefit from this and will be able to survive in this country. This is no longer a place for White people, and this is made clear to us in many ways, not only in the workplace.

Lisa, a White female, commented:

> Structural sexism also exists. If you are white and a woman it is doubly painful ... it is equally marginalising and stifling.

Lisa's view of the University's equity policy reveals the intersectional nature of inequality regimes and thus highlights the way in which gender intersects with race in promoting the unequal usage of such a policy. In general, White participants felt that the equity office was there to make sure the targeted race group was being selected at the expense of White candidates. Others expressed this as a type of reverse racism and this assertion is explored more fully in the following section.

Reverse discrimination, racism and victimisation: As alluded to above, some interviewees argued that the University's equity policy represented a tool to advance Black people within the University. It was felt that the issue of Black advancement has a downside, and was considered reverse discrimination: a view generally held by

those previously advantaged employees (under the apartheid system and before the merger). As Julie, a Coloured female, commented:

> We [Coloureds] have become the very thing we despised. 'Whites only', now it is 'Blacks only' and is justified in the law in the same way. It is actually appalling. This is what I think. Do not give the man a job, because he is Black, give him a job because he can do it, regardless of his race or skin colour.

Julie added:

> I feel stagnated in my current position. If employment equity had never been implemented, I would be earning more money and would be in a higher position.

Interestingly, most White as well as one Coloured participants felt strongly that employment equity, at both national level and within the University, was a form of reverse racism which has the effect of perpetuating and maintaining racial inequality among University employees. When reflecting on their day-to-day working relations within the University, White participants expressed feelings of isolation and reverse discrimination. As Thomas, a White male, commented:

> I don't go to these recruitment things any more. It seems the equity policy is an act to put White men at the bottom of the scale and it tends to end up that you recruit Indian males, partly because of the academic background and the qualifications and so on.

Ben, a White male, commented:

> The White race has been completely shut out, just as it was in the past with Black people. There is no solution. I am white and male and employment equity creates barriers for me.

Kate added:

> White men in particular are experiencing the effects of this employment equity thing because they feel completely ignored. White men with years of service feel disappointed when they expect promotions and affirmative action appointees from outside their organisations are given the positions.

Elaine, a White female, commented:

> White males are the worst guys at getting jobs in South Africa now. Hmm, yeah, I know a friend of mine who works at the auditing firm, a very well-known auditing firm, and she's the only White female left out in the group as such. And she has, their organisation has a thing that, if you are Black, Indian or Coloured you get a race performance bonus, race bonus to try and get their equity sorted

out. And then she says they got a lot of Indians, and I hate to say this, but I don't see how Indians are in any way disadvantaged. They are pretty much made up to be advantaged very quickly and then she has to do the same amount of work as the Indian guy next to him, and the guy next to him gets an extra bonus because of the colour of their skin.

White participants, in particular, expressed deeply conflicted views about the fairness of black-white relations. The Employment Equity issue reflects and expresses this aspect of LUT culture, that of reverse discrimination and racism. However, the majority of White females quoted below all indicated their unpleasant suspicions of the effects of employment equity with regard to the intent it shows towards the White community in general at LUT and nationally. For example:

> But people say that Whites are racist. I think that the Blacks are. I'm generalising, Blacks are more racist than us. Again I can understand why because they were denied things. I wasn't denied things, I understand it. Like when people say that, like [she referred to one of the politician's statement] says that Whites are racist, he's making it like we're the only ones (Beverley).

> I agree that the discrimination of the past was wrong, but two wrongs do not make a right thing (Lisa).

> I did not discriminate against anyone because I was still at school when the apartheid system was in place and during transformation [of South Africa] had occurred at the end of the apartheid era. In my opinion, presently I feel I am being discriminated against and I see a role of reversal is taking place (Tania).

> I am still positive about employment equity even though I had not yet received the promotion I was expecting. I had experienced the reversal of discrimination, even if it was to a lesser degree. I had to go on with my life. I believe that we now have to pay for the sins of our fathers and I always live by the principle - live and let live - and now I suppose it is Mr 'Black's' time to live (Helen).

The majority of White female participants considered the University's equity policy and initiatives as merely a replacement of White labour with Black labour in order to redress inequality and injustices. They also argued that employment equity, instead of creating harmony and equality among different race groups, has had a detrimental effect on the quality of teaching and competiveness within Universities in South Africa as it has forced the University to employ incompetent people because of skin colour. The insight gained from these responses reveals that most of the White interviewees in this study believe, and view, employment equity as a strategy for reverse racism. White participants think the equity policy was developed and implemented to deliberately discriminate against White people, whereas their Black

counterparts see it mainly as a corrective measure to rectify past wrongs. Although the majority of African interviewees in this study considered employment equity as a way of correcting the racial inequality of the past, they felt that its implementation was very slow in practice.

To summarise, there was an overwhelming perception amongst White participants in this study of a strong reverse racism culture. This changing culture, driven by wider governmental changes in the Labour Relations Act (No.66 of 1997) and Employment Equity Act (No.55 of 1998), was seen to have had a negative impact on the nature of job opportunities and the career development of White people. White interviewees, who were previously advantaged and privileged under the apartheid system, now feel there is positive discrimination in favour of other racial groups.

7.3.2 Awareness of inequalities

For some interviewees, racism seemed to permeate the very structure of the University organisation. Moreover, expressions of racism were often indirect and subtle in nature, rendering them much more different to address. As Nandi, an African female, commented:

> You feel it but can't pinpoint it. Talking to [White or Indian] colleagues and you feel a wall coming up. It exists but how can we deal with it?

Jabu, an African female, commented:

> There are direct manifestations of racism which were, by and large, a thing of the past. Racism has become subtle. The victims can smell it a mile away. The problem is how to articulate it so that the pain can be expressed.

Lungile, an African female, commented:

> Racism is ubiquitous, [but] it can't be seen and then you feel you must be mad.

Sicelo, an African male, commented:

> As a Black lecturer at an English-medium Institution, I have been at the receiving end of subtle racism. However, in all honesty in many situations, I do not know how to deal with it.

The difficulties of articulating or identifying racism forms part of a broader development in which racism is perceived by the majority of the participants in this

study, especially those who previously enjoyed race-based advantages and who are still continuing to be privileged, as an individual phenomenon that functions only within the individual's mind. The fact that there is covert racism is accepted by most individual participants in this case study university. In this context, the issue is not so much that the legal route for seeking redress or to address racism is inappropriate, but rather that there is both an intentional and unintentional lack of awareness of race-based issues. There are also different perspectives regarding the efficacy of the Employment Equity initiatives which are aimed at correcting the systemic racism of the past and the setting of new guiding principles. As a result of these different views, the day-to-day racial processes and practices are re-embedded in the institutional culture.

Intentional and unintentional denial of inequality: The participants in this study expressed the awareness of inequality in different ways. For instance, the majority of Indian participants felt that there was no little or no racial or gender discrimination within the University, with equity policies serving to protect staff members from being discriminated against on the basis of gender or race. For example, Rahul, an Indian male commented:

> It is possible that one might discriminate against someone unconsciously due to the history of our country. But this will be an isolated case.

Some interviewees reflected on the aspects of working life at the University which they think exacerbate racial inequality at LUT. As Thomas, a White male, commented:

> The conflicts in the department are often being handled on a race basis where people say that you are doing this because you are a racist. And I think it is an incredibly sad way of approaching life. I don't think that in the department there are people that are absolutely, openly racist. We are here to teach our students. It doesn't matter which race or background they come from, it's our job. There are people who can't see that. They want to maintain their position. They can't do it any other way, they use race.

Interestingly, other participants were less likely to accept that there was a high degree of inequality and disadvantage within the University. As Samuel, a White male, commented:

> I never really noticed anything. People communicate well among each other with respect. They interact very well. And I never noticed any race or ethnic groupings, but if it happens it will be grouping based on previous institutions prior the merger.

Amit, an Indian Male, commented:

> I think with inequality you know on a large scale it would certainly be an issue at the Institution. I must admit that from my interaction with management at [LUT] etc. there hasn't been any complaint about unequal treatment of people you know. I also think there are safeguards in place to protect different groups.

Based on the participants' excerpts provided in this section, there was evidence of the visibility of gender and racial inequalities, which seems to take place within the University structures, processes and practices. The following section will focus on the legitimacy of inequality within LUT.

7.4 The legitimacy of inequalities

In the above sections, two of the remaining four components set out in the theoretical framework in Chapter 3 have been discussed, namely, organising processes that produce inequality and the visibility of inequality. This section will on the third component, namely, the legitimacy of inequality.

It is argued that it is not only the invisibility but also the legitimacy of inequalities that is crucial for the maintenance of inequality regimes. According to Suchman (1995, p. 574) "the legitimacy is an assumption that actions of an entity are desirable, proper or appropriate with some systems of norms, values and beliefs". In work organisations the legitimacy for change normally obstructs efforts to change, and varies with political and economic conditions (Acker 2006b).

For example, South Africa, at the end of the apartheid era in 1994, passed legislation (such as Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998) to address and reduce racial and gender inequality. All organisations are now bound by law to outlaw discrimination on the grounds of gender, race, age and religion. The public sector has additional duties and responsibilities to promote equality.

Looking at the LUT staff profile, it appears that the power and hierarchies of the University contributes to the legitimacy of gender, race and class differences. Acker

(2006b) argues that organisations are often places where the legitimacy of inequality is created and sometimes challenged. Indeed, in this case study, it was noted that those who seem to be powerless and subordinated recognise gender, race and class inequalities, such as grading and pay disparities, inconsistency in promotion processes, unfairness, favouritism and nepotism. However, while recognising this, there was a reluctance to challenge these inequalities. As Mpume, an African female, commented:

> I do understand that there is discrimination in this University. I mean most of the Black people here do experience racism within their department, but for the sake of peace, they keep quiet.

Those who felt powerless believed that their co-workers from what they perceived as the dominant race group viewed them (the powerless) as incompetent and deficient, even if these beliefs were unarticulated. Consequently, this may contribute to the legitimacy of processes that exclude people from promotion and work-related opportunities. As Jabu, an African female, commented:

> The strange part is, you know, there is one of the [Deputy Vice-Chancellor] DVC [an African female] and whenever there is a crisis at this institution or whenever somebody has wanted to act as the VC [Vice Chancellor], she has always opted to act [this African female was an "temporary acting VC"]. My point is she is good enough to act but will never be appointed as a Vice Chancellor for this University. Whenever the post is advertised, she has applied, but she never gets the appointment. She has already acted two or three times, if I am not mistaken. For me, this does not make sense. If I am good enough to act for more than six months, this means I am capable of running the Institution. But then when the final appointment is made she is never considered. I'm not sure what the selection process is, I'm not sure.

The staff profile presented in Chapter 5 reveals how gendered and racialised images of the University and its structures reinforce the legitimacy of inequality. For example, LUT has six faculties, each headed with an Executive Deans: one African male, one Indian female and four Indian males. The Senate, where the University's strategic decisions are made, is constituted of 66 Indians, 2 Coloureds, 33 Whites and 17 Africans. It was noted that these different images cut across gender and class to exclude certain racial groups, rendering them inappropriate for certain positions, thus legitimating racial stratification, both vertically and horizontally.

Despite the various equity programmes in place, gender and racial disparities still exist within the culture of LUT. For instance, those who traditionally occupy top hierarchical positions and senior administrative roles (namely, Indian and White men) continue to hold or dominate these senior positions within this new University. For example, the researcher attended an equity workshop in August 2011 at LUT which discussed the lack of clear diversity or employment equity initiatives to attract a workforce that reflects both the national and provincial population of South Africa. At that workshop it was also perceived that current equity measures did not question the basic legitimacy of race, gender and class practices within LUT. In contrast, it was felt that, in general, national measures such as the Employment Equity Act (EEA) (No. 55 of 1998) could be interpreted as mitigating the most severe damages of the apartheid practices. Thus, if equality strategies are not in place and are not championed by top management, their legitimacy will be undermined. Moreover, the legitimacy of equality policies lies in the rhetoric that surrounds such policies and, crucially, in the level of commitment to enforcement and implementation strategies. However, at this workshop it was also revealed that diversity appointments are constrained by a lack of management commitment. As Nobuhle, an African Female HR officer, commented:

> Top management does not have any interest in equality issues. This makes it difficult, especially for us who are involved in equity issues, to tell the managers, Heads of Departments and Executive Deans to buy in or to practise equity policies when they make selection decisions. I mean, presently the equity issue is like it is for Black people… because even the Director of Equity is Black. He is not even sure who he is reporting to. Recently they moved his office and squeezed him into one of the offices at the ground floor of HR building.

The above quote also highlights the lack of commitment to equity from senior management and the confusion that lies at the heart of the diversity role. Through this lack of commitment, the equity provisions are not imposed and those charged with encouraging their application seem to be left with little or with no real power to effect change. This palpable failure bolstered the power tensions between the HR officer and equity director and other counterparts. Nobuhle, an African Female, also recognised the potential for her to become a token within the organisation:

> The Equity Director in this university is an African man who is supposed to lead the diversity plans and strategies if they do exist. At the top table is full of White and Indian populations. To me, White and Indian people are the ones who should

really take it on board because they are the ones who need to learn to adjust and accept diversity.

Furthermore, during the equity workshop, it was observed that the Equity Director appeared to be constantly challenging stereotypical images of himself. He often found that his efforts only served to reinforce his otherness and further legitimise the inequality within the University. As Zodwa, an African female, commented:

> I think Indian and White communities in this University see us… I mean Africans, especially Black females, as a threat to them, I mean especially, if you are more educated than them. Primarily they think we are loud, brash and aggressive when we are educated more than them and they think we know too much and we are not supposed to. Which is not the case, you know. Those days are gone.

The majority of African participants in the case study felt that, in their work environment, they are indirectly told their behaviour and attitudes are deficient and unprofessional for those working in an institution of higher education. Such indirect communication or informal conversation has the consequences of excluding Africans from particular positions. As Lungile, an African female, noted[19]:

> I remember in one particular year, the person I report to… I mean a faculty officer who was a White woman… resigned. They did not advertise her post but it was filled internally. They appointed one of the White women who used to work in the other faculty. I remember, before we were told about this new faculty officer, the White male, who was the Dean at that particular time, came to me and said I know you are a good worker, but I do not think you are ready to take over as a faculty officer. You still need more experience to handle a faculty officer's position. Thereafter, he made me sign the competence form, which says that I am not yet competent enough to take the role of faculty officer. You know, I signed it without thinking because I respected him but after he introduced this new faculty officer, he asked me to help her because she is not familiar with the job. I used to handle everything in the office, except that I did not attend any faculty officers' meetings. What does that say? Not competent enough to take

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[19] I recognise that this is a long quote but it is needed in its entirely because it illuminates the point well.

responsibility of being a faculty officer, but at the same time good enough to teach my boss how to run the office.

In this study, the key indicators of a shift to a more balanced equity were identified by participants as the levels of trust and legitimacy invested in the processes, systems and cultures of the University and the existence of good personal or individual relations. It is worth highlighting the point that a good personal or individual relationship plays a major role in the University. Based on the interviewees' experiences this study has shown that access to intangible and non-formal academic and administrative practices and processes depends on reasonable personal relations among different race groups working at the departmental level. The crucial challenge, therefore, becomes how individuals from a race group generally not represented across University departments obtains the resources they need to carry out their work in the absence of these personal relations. Thulani, an African male commented:

> If I request something from the finance department, I do not get it immediately. It takes ages, but if I ask one of my junior staff [an Indian employee] to do a requisition for me, he gets a response immediately. What does this say to you?

This study shows that there is a crisis of trust and legitimacy within all race groups in both academic and administrative sections of the University, most evident in the degree of anxiety around tenure, promotions and work arrangements. Given the highly stratified nature of the University, the quality of participation in and the degree of influence over the functioning of the Institution are, to a large extent, determined by levels of racial domination and professional rank. The following section focuses on the final component of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3.

7.5 Control and compliance

In the above sections, the three remaining components of the theoretical framework have been discussed, namely, organising processes that produce inequality, the visibility of inequality and the legitimacy of inequality. This section focuses on the final component of the four remaining components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3, namely, control and compliance. The basis of this study which holds that power within the organisation is based on control and compliance within workplace cultures. Acker (2006a) refers this as a primarily to class-based organizational controls, which may be either obvious or unobtrusive, direct or indirect

(p. 122). She argues, however, that these controls can also be derived from hierarchical gender and race relations. In this study, evidence of this was reflected in the fact that African employees felt they were under 'dominant race group scrutiny' (referred to above).

The perceived legitimacy of the subordination, fear and intimidation or of the processes promoting calculated self-interest among particular individuals or groups maintains a conscious compliance with inequality regimes (Acker, 2006a, p. 123). Ironically, compliance at LUT was seen to partially account for the reproduction of unfair practices through informal control systems, some of which were seen to be underpinned by gendered and racialized stereotyping.

This research also revealed that compliance takes place through a reluctance to challenge the status quo. Many of the African interviewees made it clear that they did not want to stand out as being 'different' or a 'troublemaker'. They were more likely to rationalise unfair treatment or to comply with it, thereby ensuring its reproduction. While recognising this trait in themselves, African interviewees proved reluctant to challenge perceived or real discrimination. As Mpume, an African female, commented:

> I do understand that there is discrimination in this university. I mean most of the Black people here do experience racism within their department, but for the sake of peace, they keep quiet.

Jabu an African female added:

> The majority of Black people do experience racism in this University, but they never report it. This is because even if you report the racist behaviour nothing happens and so they don't report it anyway. Again, the person you have to report to this unfair treatment is from the same race, so what is the point of reporting? Instead of making peace it generates more conflict and unpleasant work environment, which we as Blacks we try by all means to avoid.

Sindi, an African female, commented:

> Sometimes I can be too direct and some of my colleagues think I am being too confrontational. And I've known other Blacks who are upfront, ambitious and direct and found themselves in situations where the only way they could move on is to get out of the University, because those in power can and are able to make your life very difficult around here. But with me, because I wasn't prepared to

> take any chances because I had a mortgage bond and a single mother of three children, I sort of took the easy road and just kept my head down.

It is recognised that self-interest accounted for much of this compliance, as African interviewees know that individual resistance comes at a cost. It is evident here that workplace interactions are mutually constituted in situations of control and compliance. The following section will examine the intersection of gender, race and in constructing inequality at LUT.

7.6 Interconnections: Gender, Race and Class

Chapter 6 focused on the first two components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3 in order to understand how gender and race function as the bases of inequality and how the Case Study University hierarchies produce and maintain gender, race and class inequality. This chapter has focused on the remaining four components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3. The previous sections in this chapter have examined how the organising processes of the University create an ideal worker, affect the visibility and the degree of awareness of inequality and underpin the legitimacy of inequality and the control and compliance of inequality within the case study university.

This section explores the interaction of gender, race and class. The main focus is on gender and race as two influential systems that form mutually constructing features of the institutional culture which lies at the heart of this study. Gender and racial inequality seems to be a persistent feature of the University culture. The gendered and racialised processes centre on two broad explanations: stereotyping and discrimination, and organising processes within the University setting.

7.6.1. Stereotyping and discrimination

The discussion in the preceding chapter on the division of labour, symbols, social relations and self-identities suggests that gender inequalities are racialised. Thus, race and gender intersect to construct inequalities within the University culture. The sex and gender role stereotypes identifying women and Africans as suitable for lower level positions was particularly stigmatising. The material presented in Chapter 6 and in the previous sections of this Chapter provide clear evidence of gendered and

racialised cultures which suggest that Indian and White men have been constructed as the 'ideal worker' for high status positions, more so than women and Africans. In this way, it is evident that gender and race intersect to create an ideal worker norm within the University processes and structures.

7.6.2 Organising processes

In this study the organising processes that produce inequality with respect to workplace interactions were resilient. It was argued that workplace interactions, culture, gender and race are critical in the reconstruction of inequalities. The intersectionality perspective revealed how both formal and informal interactions produce and reproduce inequalities within the University along the axis of culture, gender and race. For example, one of the African female participants commented on the difficulties they faced when socialising with the opposite sex due to cultural influence and differences. Jabu, an African female, also found that:

> This sort of social networking thing is very difficult for some of us, especially the married African women. A married African woman cannot just go to these short notice evening meetings without the permission from her husband. For me to be able to attend these evening meetings and events I need to plan days before the meeting or event. I need to ask permission from my husband. I cannot do it at the last minute and over the phone each time I have to attend these meetings. It is not acceptable at all. Therefore, these evening meetings, which are organised at the last hour, do actually exclude women from attending and being part of the decision-making because most of the things are discussed in those informal meetings and then during formal meetings they just endorse the decision which was already taken.

As an African married woman, Jabu is acutely aware of her membership in two historically disadvantaged social categories pertaining to race and gender. This conscious recognition of her social location seems to be in the forefront of her interactions with individuals in the professional setting of her department. Jabu as an African married woman with domestic responsibilities feels she has limited opportunities to take part in social activities, especially if they take place in the evening. This corresponds with the male decision-making culture, and the ideal worker norm, where women feel excluded.

 It was also perceived by the majority of women that the University's culture controls and restricts women's behaviour, especially that of African women. Zodwa for

example, an African woman, commented that the broader societal culture had influenced both her behaviour within the workplace and how others have interpreted that behaviour. She said:

> You know it is amazing how our culture takes control of our lives. When I first started working here, this is my first job after my first degree. I know I used to have similar experience during my student life. When I first joined this office, which is male-dominated, as well as White and Indian male. As a Black woman, I have to learn to behave like a White woman. You know our culture: I am not supposed to be direct when talking to men, and not supposed to look at them directly. It was very difficult because those White people thought I am not listening to them and am very rude you know. But now I have overcome that stage, I am pretty direct. I find it difficult, because this direct approach does not work outside the work environment, especially with African men. Now I have to learn to adjust, which sometimes can be very difficult.

Here, Zodwa eloquently expresses an understanding of how the culture of the organisation affects her behaviour in the workplace and of how she is consciously aware that she has to obey and follow the cultural norms and values of the University. This suggests that culture and gender relations can construct individual identity and the ways one should behave and act in a given organisation or situation.

An African male commented[20]:

> Yeah, Black people, especially those who are in leadership roles, can get the reputation for being attitudinal, unco-operative or unprofessional. This is because other race groups expect you to behave like them, [and they expect you] to be accepted as the great leader. It is very difficult being in the leadership position in this diverse University. For instance, if you try to change existing process, some people will not usually take it well coming from a Black person. I remember one time an Indian colleague was justifying himself and he said something incredibly inappropriate to me. It was so outrageous it could cost him his job if I took the matter further. He was surprised though because I dealt with it immediately. It was swift and to the point without even getting frustrated and angry.

Ntombifuthi, an African female added:

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[20] The name of the participant is withheld for confidentiality purposes.

> Sometimes I feel people offend you intentionally because of the colour of your skin. From my experience working in this Institution, as a Black woman, people think that you do not have feelings or to question any discriminatory behaviour towards you. I have noticed that most of our Indian and White colleagues, they still have that old perception about Black people. They still see a Back woman as their home helper or office cleaner and tea girl. So it is difficult for them to respect and accept us as their colleagues.

In the quote above, Ntombifuthi recognises that there is a culture of offending one another unintentionally, but this is gender and race-based. In other words, she is constantly reminded during in her day-to-day working activities that she is a Black woman. Similarly, Sindi, an African woman commented:

> As a Black woman in this office, I have to work very hard in order to gain a good reputation. I find it very difficult to get recognition if you are a Black woman in the University. Everything depends on the colour of your skin.

Nikeziwe an African female added:

> You know, when I make any mistake, it is because I am a Black person. Some will even say: "Shame; is because [he/she] is not used to do this kind of work. Oh, she lacks work experience." If you are a Black person you do not have human errors like others, your mistake is referred back to the colour of your skin. If you are reporting to a male boss, he will normally say: "Oh do not worry. I know women are not used to these things. You will get there, but it is not easy." So to avoid all these nasty comments you have to work much harder and learn to take in all the offence and discrimination, since it is very hard to voice or challenge that kind of offence and discrimination.

The quotes above reveal that African and female participants feel that they have to accept and legitimise the historical assumptions and ideologies constructed about them. It was felt that they not only have to work hard to hide feelings of frustration and anger, but they also find it hard to show this anger and frustration to their colleagues.

In all, it was felt that organising processes and workplace interaction constructed and reconstructed a racialised and patriarchal culture at LUT. As Sicelo explained:

> The majority of Africans and women, from my observation, are treated as if they cannot think for themselves yet they are expected to do all the hard work. There is still a continuation of discrimination in terms of traditional belief systems as well as the apartheid regimes, but this is invisible.

In summary, the participants of the study highlight the difficulties that women and Africans face when they do not adhere to the 'ideal worker' norm regarding how they should behave. This often leaves them to ignore the discrimination that takes place within the University setting.

7.6.3 Promotion and opportunities

Some of the African interviewees in the study reflected on the intersection of gender and race in relation to the University's promotion and opportunities processes. There was a negative view associated with the dominant race group promoting themselves to senior position within the University hierarchical structure. For example, Sindi, an African female, mentioned that opportunities, especially in the academic sector, are sometimes available, but that;

> Once you are hired as a junior lecturer, however, there is little effort to help with achievement of goals for promotion to senior lecturer. You stay as the junior lecturer forever.

Here Sindi indicates an awareness of being underrepresented on the basis of both gender and race and this highlights the degree to which Africans have little or no opportunity to be promoted to senior academic positions.

7.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have examined the last four components of the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3, that is, the processes and practices, the visibility, the legitimacy of ongoing inequalities and the control and compliance that create and maintain gendered and racialised cultures within work organisations. This chapter also discusses the intersection of gender, race and in constructing inequality within the University culture.

The first section of this chapter focused on the organising processes component, which revealed that University processes and practices seem to produce an 'ideal worker' norm. This was achieved by examining the participants' experiences and assumptions with regards to the general requirement of work, recruitment and selection and of wage-setting practices.

The second section of the chapter focused mainly on the visibility of inequality. This section examined two aspects of awareness: the visibility of equality and the University's equity policy and the general awareness of inequalities within the University culture. This helped to explain how, for some participants, racism and sexism was seen as institutionalised, while for others it was not seen to be evident to any significant degree. Based on the participants excerpts provided in this section, there was evidence of the visibility of gender and racial inequalities which seems to play a significant role within the University structures, processes and practices.

The third sections of this chapter focused on the legitimacy of inequality. This study shows that there is a crisis of trust and legitimacy within all race groups in both academic and administrative sections of the University, most evident in the degree of anxiety around tenure, promotions and work arrangements.

The fourth section focused on the final component of the theoretical of this study, namely: control and compliance. The participants' experiences, processes and practices in this study reflected that compliance at LUT was seen to partially account for the reproduction of unfair practices through informal control systems, some of which were seen to be underpinned by gendered and racialized stereotyping.

Finally, this chapter examined the intersection and interaction of gender, race and class. Based on the interviewees' experiences and perceptions, it was felt that gender and race intersect to operate as organising principles of inequalities within the structures and cultures of this University.

In the final chapter, the key observations and conclusions from both empirical chapters are pulled together to show how gendered, racialised and classed University culture are constructed, especially in a developing country that is in transition such as South Africa.

Chapter 8

8. Discussion and Conclusion: Analysis of Cultures of Inequality

8.1 Introduction

The substantive conclusion of this study is that the University culture is both gendered and racialised. This means that despite the equality initiatives and organisation equity policies the power still remains in the hands of men and minority race groups. This final chapter will start by providing a brief summary of the main findings of the research. Following this, the main contribution will be presented. This chapter will close by outlining the limitations to the study and areas for future research.

8.2 Cultures of Inequality: Synopsis of Key Findings

To recap, this study aimed to investigate the relationship between gender, race and class inequalities within the hierarchies, processes and practices of a South African University as told by its employees. The study set out to explore the role of organisational culture in producing, perpetuating and maintaining gendered, classed and racialised cultures within an organisational setting. The study also sought to extend and develop the understanding of organisational culture as developed in academic literature, especially through combining it with gendered organisation theory and the intersectionality perspective. Existing literature on organisational culture on the subject of intersectionality and cultures of inequality was found to be lacking in several important respects. Most notably, it lacked a detailed consideration of gender, class and race inequalities within the structures and processes of organisations. This thesis sought to address these outstanding issues of inequality within the organisational culture analysis. The study's key findings are structured by six components of inequality regimes which served as the study's analytical framework within a broader interpretive and qualitative research design.

The bases of inequality - this first component, which consists of four sub-components, were used to explain the gendered and racialised nature of the University cultures.

Firstly, the gendered nature of the University's culture was revealed wherein this study found that hegemonic masculinity had a great impact on the way in which employees were placed within the University hierarchies. For example, the majority of senior positions were dominated by men. It was also found that the broader societal norms and values of South Africa had a major influence in re-constructing and maintaining the gender-role stereotyping within the University's structures and processes, which in turn constructed a gendered division of labour. This was evident by the majority of women employed at lower level jobs, such as secretary, filling clerk and receptionist. Female participants in this study felt that were traditionally and culturally seen to be reliable, dependable and ideal for domestic work. The second sub-component of the gendered nature (of the University's culture) was that of symbols. This study found that the gendered division of labour constructed men as more suited to hold senior management positions, whilst women played a supporting role. The third sub-component was based on the social relations within the University. It was found that the gendered division of labour at LUT was reinforced through social relations and interactions amongst employees which were patriarchal and masculine in nature. The fourth and final sub-component of the bases of inequality was that of self-identity. It was found that the majority of women interviewed crafted their identities through gendered cultures of the University. These gendered meanings resulted in female employees thinking of themselves as less able in their professional role as well as feeling excluded from the decision-making structures.

In addition to using the first component of the theoretical framework to explore the gendered nature of LUT, this study also applied this component (and its four sub-themes) to explore and explain the racialised nature of the case study University. This study found that the complex University hierarchy was manifested in a range of racialised processes which determined the extent to which some members of staff were marginalised and excluded. It was found that the University's processes and practices produced and maintained race-role stereotyping. This was evident by the majority of Africans who were employed as gardeners, cleaners, tea makers and support service workers. This indicated the continuation of the race-role segregation in place during the apartheid regime. This race-role stereotyping was found to construct the culture of exclusion, marginalisation and domination within the University. Using

the second sub-component, that of symbols, the study found that, the image of senior academics and senior management reflected Indians and Whites as appropriate for such high status roles. This was evident through the University's staff profile, where most senior positions were occupied by Indians and Whites employees, with only a few Africans. This was seen to perpetuate the power relations within the University's culture, and represented Africans staff as not legitimate members for senior academic or senior management positions. The third sub-component, that of social relations, was used to reveal how the majority of Africans and Whites participants expressed a feeling of being excluded in informal social interactions, where most of the decision-making takes place. This constructed a gendered and racialised social relations within the University. The fourth and final sub-component of the bases of inequality concerns self-identity. In terms of race, this study found that race played a significant role in shaping the work identity of employees. Some of the African interviewees, for example, identified themselves as being incompetent and lacked self-confidence and thus reinforced a racialised self-identity within the University's culture.

Shapes, Degrees and Patterns of Inequality - applying the second component of the theoretical framework, this study found that class inequality was constructed and embedded within the gendered and racialised patterns. These patterns were seen to constantly shape the hierarchies, structures and processes of the University, hierarchies which were constructed in the image of a male and also reflected a significant racial imbalance.

Organising Processes – this study found, using the third component of the theoretical framework, that the University's organising processes in terms of the general requirement of work, recruitment, selection and promotion practices, reinforced a culture of inequality. The participants' excerpts suggested that the meritocracy principle is not applied universally at the University, in that it tended to be suspended or amended to allow patronage of the 'ideal worker' to prevail in relation to race and gender.

Visibility and Awareness of Inequality – in relation to the fourth component of the theoretical framework, this study found that the visibility and awareness of equality was expressed and structured along racial lines. The majority of participants expressed

their views of inequality through referring to and discussing the University's employment equity policy. For example, Indians employees (the dominant race group at the University but only 9% of the total South African population)) perceived employment equity as unnecessary and a waste of time and resources. Africans employees (who make up 79% of the total population of South Africa)) perceived employment equity as not doing enough to change the legacy of the past and instead those who were previously advantaged were able to maintain their high status at LUT. In contrast, White participants perceived employment equity as a tool to exclude them from progressing, considering it a weapon for reverse discrimination and reverse racism.

Legitimacy of Inequality - applying the fifth component of the framework, this study found that although those race groups who were marginalised and felt excluded, were reluctant to challenge LUT's power relations that produced inequality processes and practices. It was suggested that this reluctance contribute to the legitimacy of the culture of inequality within the University.

Control and Compliance - the sixth and final component of the analytical framework revealed that African and White participants felt they are under the control and compliance of the dominant race group (that being Indian employees).

Whilst the six individual components of the theoretical framework revealed the gendered and racialised nature of the University's culture this study also shed an important light on the consequences of the *intersection* of gender and race, particularly that of the conflict between work and family life. This inter-role conflict was expressed notably by female African participants who described how their professional culture and their personal (African) culture can often not be met simultaneously as each makes separate and often conflicting demands on them. This represented an on-going problem, particularly for African women at LUT. Whilst men and women both recognise the need to balance the demands of work and home life, women still bear the primary responsibility for domestic duties in South Africa (Higgins et al 2000). However, the study found that LUT fails to appreciate some of the issues associated with combining work and family commitments, and those in

power and authority, particularly men, tend to treat family and work as completely separate entities.

Another finding that emerged with regards to the intersection of gender, class and race was the informal interactions that took place at LUT. This study found that there were racially-based, class-based and patriarchal-based forms of discrimination at play within the University culture. It was found that the intersection of gender and race marginalisation resulted from the struggle of, in particular, African women, to reconcile the racialised and gendered daily interactions within the University. The majority of the female African interviewees reflected on the way they were able to reconcile LUT's racial and gendered culture of exclusion with their personal values by exhibiting a form of gender and race intersectional subordination. For some of these African women, the working culture of LUT often required them to hide their cultural identity to better fit the organisation's culture. Crenshaw (1991) calls this 'intersectional disempowerment', where women of colour find themselves torn between adopting a 'correct' work identity and one based on their individual cultural identity.

To conclude, the intersection of gender, class and race observed in this study, corresponds with that of Acker's (1989) "bureaucratic technique" where the formal arrangement of positions and people within organisations are constructed to reproduce existing class, gender and racial inequality. Through revealing the hidden inequalities within the structures, processes and practices of the organisation by which gender and racial inequalities are constructed, and by providing an alternative view of organisations, an emancipatory analysis can ultimately lead to the identification and positing of organisational forms which are non-exploitative and non-hierarchical, and embrace difference, mutuality and reflexivity (Acker 1990, 1991, 2006).

8.3 Research Contributions

This section outlines the contributions the study makes to the main bodies of knowledge and research outlined and discussed in the literature chapters.

8.3.1 Bringing an intersectionality lens to the study of organisational culture

The first important contribution this study makes is bringing together the intersectionality theory with the work of Joan Acker (1990, 1992, 2006b) to offer a more sophisticated exploratory lens for critically analysing cultures of inequality. There is now a considerable body of research highlighting the ways in which organisational cultures are gendered. In addition, an emergent stream of work can be noted highlighting the racialised nature of organisational cultures. This study contributes to the growing line of research emerging from the US and UK (see Anthias 2001; Adib and Guerrier 2003; Browne and Misra 2003; Ramirez et al. 2006), on how gender, race and class *intersect* to form the bases of inequality. Specifically, the research offers insights into the complex, multiple and differentiated ways in which different races, genders and classes intersect in the (re)production of cultures of inequality. In doing so, the research provides a more nuanced and sophisticated understanding of the complex way in which cultures of inequality are constructed, perpetuated and maintained through hierarchies, processes and practices within the workplace.

As highlighted in the literature review, this study is firmly located within the emerging academic field of cultures of inequality in relation to gender and race, and makes an important contribution to this developing body of knowledge and research. It is also this body of literature that inspired and motivated the current study, in that it aimed to address the gap left by academic literature on organisational culture studies, with its focus on shared meanings (see Deal and Kennedy 1982; Peters and Waterman 1982; Schein 1999; Schein and Pettigrew 2005; Sackmann 2011), and organisational effectiveness which has ignored the hidden inequalities within those cultural shared meanings and values (see Alvesson and Willmott 1992; Willmott 1997; Alvesson 2002).

This study adopted an emancipatory approach, an approach to the analysis of culture which has been taken up by critical management and feminist writers and offers new insights into understanding employee experiences in the workplace and the discrimination to which women are subjected. This view serves to overcome the limitations presented in the technical interest and practical-hermeneutic perspective.

However, emancipatory interest is, in contrast, aimed at revealing the negative features embedded within the shared beliefs and values. This study, then shares the emancipatory approach to culture which states that within cultural values, power relations exist which produce and maintain inequalities within the workplace, such as gender (see Alvesson 2002). Despite the fruitful efforts of the emancipatory interest approach to reveal the hidden agendas and employee experiences of suffering constructed within the shared beliefs and values, it can be criticised for being too Utopian and not offering a practical guide or focus for organisational culture researchers. It was noted that the emancipatory approach to the analysis of culture has largely focused on gender but has not considered how gender *intersects* with other bases of inequality such as race and class. To address this limitation, this thesis adopted and applied the work of Acker (2006b), in particular her notion of inequality regimes which, in turn, was informed by an intersectionality perspective. Acker's work provides an epistemological basis for understanding employee's everyday experiences of gendered and racialised cultures as a first step towards challenge and change. This study adds value to the emancipatory approach to culture by empirical data that suggests gender is not the only social category that forms the culture of inequality and that race also forms an integral part of the culture of inequality in the workplace, particularly in a South African context. This study bridged this gap by drawing on gendered organisational theory and an intersectionality lens to explore *in situ* how understandings and attitudes towards gender, race and class were mobilised and managed within work organisations and from the perspective of those experiencing discrimination and marginalisation. This also serves to provide an insight into how gender, race and class intersect to construct culture of inequality within the workplace. This was achieved by adopting an intersectional perspective to explore the individual's day-to-day experiences whilst working in a diverse University setting in South Africa.

Given, then, this dearth of intersectionality academic literature in regards to gender, race and class, this study is viewed as providing a general picture, an overview, on how gender, race and class intersect to form the cultures of inequality within a South African University. The intersectionality approach to University culture analysis provides us with a much better idea of how employees are simultaneously excluded

and marginalised, in most cases through informal processes and practices, in relation to their gender, race and class. Having highlighted this broader point and general contribution to the study, the discussion now focuses on and highlights what are considered to be some of the key findings of the study interspersed with some further observations, comments and reflections.

The key observation to make is that the gendered and racialised division of labour was discovered to be a key determinant of constructing cultures of inequality. This complex gendered and racialised division of labour was revealed to be a unique and customised experience of individual participants in the study, owing largely to a myriad of the internal processes and external inputs that influenced the gendered and racialised division of labour at the University. The intersectionality approach to the analysis of culture played an important role; by helping to explain the ways in which gender, race and class simultaneously operate as organising principles of work within the University setting. Indeed, intersectionality scholars have documented the primary importance of the intersection of gender, race and class, with its primary focus on women, professional women and minority within work organisations (see Crenshaw 1991; Adib and Guerrier 2003; Browne and Misra 2003; Maboleka 2003; Maboleka and Mawila 2004; Jordan-Zachery 2007; Hurtado and Sinha 2008; Shields 2008; Holvino 2010). This study contributes to this growing line of research emerging from the US and UK by demonstrating how gender, race and class intersect to form the cultures of inequality in a University located in a country that had previously formalised racial segregation in all spheres of social and economic life. Furthermore, this study also make an important contribution to the intersectionality approach by instead of focusing on the women, professional women and minority, it focused on the experiences of all employees regardless of their gender, status and ethnic belonging. By doing so this study was better able to understand the experiences, attitudes and perceptions of individuals from all social categories and it also conforms to the intersectionality perspective that is near impossible to ask a person to separate their gender, race and status when they talk about their experiences, given that these social categories are socially and culturally constructed (see Acker 2006b).

8.3.2 Understanding Racialised Organisational Culture

The second major contribution this study offers is its more direct focus on the exploration of race and organisational culture and argues for the importance of critically interrogating racial structures of organisations. Previous research has tended to focus on ethnic minority and ethnic racial groups within organisations (Ogbonna and Harris 2006; Proudford and Nkomo 2006; Zanoni et al. 2010; Van Laer and Janssens 2011), while neglecting the dominant racial group. In doing so, such work problematizes the minority while rendering the majority as the norm, failing to put the majority under the same critical scrutiny. By recognising that all organisational members are 'raced', this study was able to better understand different individuals' attitudes and perceptions of other organisational members in regard to race. The research thus contributes to the critical analysis of racialised organisational cultures.

Given the lack of in-depth research on race and organisational culture, this study drew heavily on the early work of Acker (1990) of gendered organisation to argue for the importance of critically interrogating racial structures of the organisations. This study is viewed as also contributing to the ethnic minority/ethnic racial groups within organisational culture research. This study is also part of the movement towards a more inclusive culture which focuses on the development of equal opportunity processes within work organisations. It also relates more specifically to the race discrimination research / knowledge contribution within the cultures of the organisations, by highlighting that within an organisation's cultural beliefs and values there are structures and processes which construct and maintain racialised organisation life. It further adds to the existing research on ethnic minority research on cultures of inequality / discrimination, by recognising that all organisational members are indeed 'raced'. By doing so, this study was able to improve our understanding of all organisational members' experiences and perceptions of other organisational members in regard to race not only ethnic minority.

Crucially, this study also shed light on how *race* is not just an issue for a previously disadvantaged race group/s, but also for those who were seen to have been previously advantaged. By applying gendered organisational theory to identify and analyse racial inequality in the workplace, it was noted that whilst a growing body of knowledge is

emerging on gendered cultures, little has been written on how to analyse racial inequality within organisations. Acker's (2006b) research on inequality regimes, whilst highlighting that gender, class and race are the bases of inequality, she does not, however, articulate clearly how to unpack and analyse racial inequality. This study, then, used and adapted the four sub-components of the first component of the theoretical framework of this study in order to understand how racialised organisational structures operated within a South African University. This study thus adds value to the critical analysis of racialised organisational culture, by including and subjecting the majority race group to the same scrutiny in the concept of everyday racial discrimination. Specifically, this study highlighted the need to incorporate a more modern perspective, one that recognises how all organisational members are raced and one that better captures different individual's attitudes and perceptions of other organisational members in regard to race.

A further key observation this study makes was the sense by participants that racial discrimination had lost some of its importance within the University setting as it operates under a new (democratic) Government in which racial segregation is no longer legally sanctioned or in-built within legislation, and where there are a number of government initiatives intended to eradicate racial or any means of discrimination. Firstly, it was observed that the University's hierarchy and structures presents a portrait of racial imbalance. Secondly, the majority of African and White interviewees expressed the feeling of being marginalised and excluded from the University decision-making structures. In terms of the latter example, whilst existing studies (see Jawitz et al. 2000; Norris 2001; Maboleka 2003; Maboleka and Mawila 2004; Shackleton et al. 2006; Jawitz 2012) have increasingly challenged the embedded inequalities found within South African universities, most have tended to focus on female marginalisation. This study builds on this literature and adds value by revealing the processes through which race (and the *majority* race group) had been excluded and marginalised in the workplace. Thus, the study contributes to the literature on contemporary discrimination by demonstrating and analysing alternative perspectives on discrimination. There was also the widespread perception from the study that Africans lacked the experience and/or qualifications to take on academic and senior roles. This study, then, makes an important contribution to the growing line

of research emerging from the US on how perceptual errors are linked to demographic similarity and how ethnic minorities suffer disproportionately from this (see Park and Westphal 2013).

8.3.3 Discourses of discrimination

The third major contribution this study offers is its focus on discourses of discrimination and it take into consideration the different attitudes and perceptions towards employment equity and why equality initiatives can fail to achieve their objectives. Previous research on employment equity has tended to focus on the manager's vision of what their organisations ultimately aims to achieve through employment equity policies (see Jain 1990; Raskin 1994; Jongens 2006; Booysen 2007; Bendix 2010; Booysen and Nkomo 2010; Jain et al. 2010). Simply put, it highlights how the endeavours by managers to implement equity policies efficiently has tended to result in persistence of unfair discrimination and exclusionary measures which are embedded in organisational structures and processes. It further suggests that there is a need for organisational members to better appreciate the purposes of the employment equity policy, and the need to involve the entire workforce in employment equity discussions. This study contributes to this literature by highlighting through exploring different raced, gendered and classed individuals and groups in the culture of inequality, the ways in which questions of employment equity are mediated by an individual's own understanding and experiences within an organisation and wider society. By exploring organisational members' subjective attitudes, experiences and interpretations towards equity policies, this research was better able to understand how discourses on discrimination are mobilised by different groups in ways that prevent employment equity policies being effectively implemented. Indeed, the research on discourses of discrimination such as Booysen (2007) and Booysen and Nkomo (2010) focused mainly on the causes and effects that have an impact on effective implementation, whilst this study contributes to this emerging field of complex research by focusing on the different attitudes and perceptions towards employment equity as well as to understand why equality initiatives fail to achieve their objectives from the perspective of employees at different positions within a University. In doing so, it contributes to Acker's inequality regimes framework by adding value to the third component of that theoretical

framework, namely, the visibility of inequality. Having highlighted this broader and complex point and general contribution of the study, the discussion now focuses on what is considered to be some of the key findings of the study on discourses of discrimination within the organisational structures.

The first key observation to make is that, interestingly, these perceptions and understanding of employment equity can be seen to be more structured along racial lines. The study indicated that employees from the previous advantaged (White) group perceived employment equity policy as the *Government's role as watchdog.* The dominant race group within the University structures (that is Indian employees), who are seen by other race groups as the major beneficiary, seemed to perceive the University's equity policy as unnecessary. On the other hand, African participants perceived that reforms and employment equity had not gone far enough and that the equity policy has proved ineffective. For previously disadvantaged race group employees, the main concern was lack of training and development on career advancement, whereas for the previously advantaged race group, the primary concern was *reverse discrimination*, racism and victimisation by the employment equity system of South Africa. Furthermore, reverse discrimination and racism were demarcated as the main experience of the previous advantage race group (*Whites*).

Another important issue in relation to the employment equity policy was the way in which some employees at management level who also belonged to the dominant race group believed that employment equity is simply a political imperative they are compelled to fulfil. As a result, management do not invest much effort towards the implementation of such policies beyond that of compliance with Government legislation. This sentiment is exhibited in the previous data chapters in that the major beneficiaries, that is, *Indian* employees, appeared to perceive the University's equity policy as unnecessary whilst *White* employees saw this policy as punishment for the advantages they received under the previous apartheid system.

Another imperative contribution this study offered in relation to discourse of discrimination was the better understanding the ways in which different individuals have different meanings and interpretations about employment equity, but more interestingly that these meanings and interpretation portrayed along race and class.

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The study revealed that some employees at management level who also belonged to the dominant race group believed that employment equity is simply a political imperative they are compelled to fulfil. As a result, management do not invest much effort towards the implementation of such policies beyond that of compliance with Government legislation. This sentiment is exhibited in the previous data chapters in that the major beneficiaries, that is, *Indian* employees, appeared to perceive the University's equity policy as unnecessary whilst *White* employees saw this policy as punishment for the advantages they received under the previous apartheid system. In particular, White participants saw the equity policy as a mechanism to demote White employees to the bottom rungs of the hierarchy. Given this, a key contribution this study makes to the inequality regime framework is the notion of *reverse discrimination*. That is, whilst historically White South African citizens have long been located at the top echelons of society, and particularly in its higher education sector, often discriminating against others, the equity policies were perceived by White employees to represent a tool that discriminated against them by advancing Black employees. This study suggests a significant reversal of this, in that Indians are in more powerful positions (in this particular University setting) and the historically privileged White employees perceive themselves to be victims of racial discrimination. This may have implications for our conception of discrimination in that this study suggests that these conceptions are not stable or fixed and that victims in one context may become oppressors in another.

This study also added value to the discourses on discrimination by understanding that those who were once privileged see change processes as a weapon to take away their privileges and as a way of exclusion. In this case study the attitude and perceptions of the majority of the White participants towards employment equity is that it is a sound strategy that seeks to achieve equity in the University, especially when considering the country's history. This is more relevant in the current predicament facing the University management, namely, less Africans with PhDs and academic experiences.

8.3.4 Understanding Racialised Trade Unions

The forth key contribution this study makes is its focus on the role of trade unions. Typically trade unions represent a critical force in campaigning against

discrimination, and previous research has tended to focus on the positive role trade unions play in shaping people's working lives (see Lambert and Webster 1998; Hyman 1999, 2001; Jose 2002; Deitch et al. 2003). This literature, however, has neglected the negative impact that trade unions can have with regards to the effectiveness of employment equity initiatives in the workplace. For example, this study uncovered how the country's racial segregation of the past still wields a significant influence over the make-up of LUT's trade unions, with its three major unions informally organised along racial lines. This tends to operate against the typical purpose of trade unionism globally, which is considered to be a critical force towards addressing discrimination in the workplace. In contrast, this case study found that trade unions appeared to perpetuate long-standing racial segregation and acted as a means to legitimise racial discrimination. Interestingly, the senior management of trade unions were also male-dominated, which suggesting that trade unions are not actively pursuing employment equity within the University with regards gender, and perhaps where they do act as a catalyst for change, it may only be for addressing racial discrimination and other social categories. By recognising, then, the negative role played by trade unions in terms of employment equity, this study provides a key insight into how trade unions are structured along racial lines and thus can serve to facilitate and legitimise discrimination within the structures and processes of organisations.

8.4 Limitations and Further Research

As with any academic investigation, there are some limitations to this study. Those that follow are considered the most significant and are discussed alongside recommendations for further research as also a way of addressing these drawbacks. The first limitation relates to the sample of Coloured participants in the study. As highlighted in Chapter 5, they are viewed as a minority race group within the University's staff profile. Only two Coloured employees participated in this study. Reflecting on this drawback in the context of further research, it may be worth focusing either solely or on a large number of Coloured participants. This could be best achieved by recruiting them in advance using a snowballing technique, since they are not visible enough and are very few in numbers within the University. Doing so would enable research to capture their views and experiences on the culture of the

University in a South African context. This would provide a true reflection of the insight into barriers and discrimination that Coloured people face in the hierarchies, processes and practices of the University. This would also enable a more in-depth exploration in terms of race, the cultures of inequality, than was attempted in this study, by examining the experiences of all four race groups which make-up the South African population.

The second drawback of this study relates to the limited exploration of class inequality within the case study University. It was noted that most respondents, when asked to reflect on issues within the University processes and practices that might construct class inequalities tended to change the subject. Instead, they guided the discussion back towards racial issues and racial experiences that they had encountered within the University. Again, this indicated (to the researcher) that University life is still embedded within the historical racial segregation of the apartheid era. Class, in South Africa, is not as significant an issue as race which still dominates in national discussions of inequality. It was noted previously that existing literature on class inequality in the workplace, lacks a clear framework on how to unpack class inequalities within organisations. It was observed in this study that a racialised division of labour automatically constructs class inequalities. This discussion points to an avenue for further research. Given the study's focus on a University setting in a country that in significant transition in terms of gender and racial inequalities, much could be learned by accessing how race and gender differences construct class inequalities amongst different race groups in a University setting.

The third drawback of this study is its focus on a single case study in a developing country. To further elucidate the insights gained from this case study, it would be useful to replicate its aims and objectives in different higher education settings, where it could prove an ideal basis for teasing out the extent to which of the themes which have emerged in this study resonate elsewhere. It would be particularly interesting to compare these findings with those emerging from other large Universities within a South African context, and in other countries in Africa as well as in the UK, US and Australia. We could then ask the important question: do commonalities exist across cultures in terms of the intersection of gender, class and race inequality? To this end, there is a range of different avenues of research on race and University culture in

South Africa. One dimension of this work could compare the UK, US and South Africa situations. This need for comparative work in this area has not yet been articulated in the emerging literature on the culture of inequality in work organisations. Most existing studies on inequality remain focused on a singular nation state or country. Scholarship could develop further knowledge on multiple University cultures and race, building on US research which has investigated the impact women have had on policy making and the processes and practices of the organisations. Furthermore, it can also build on the intersection of gender, class and race which again builds on US research which has investigated how gender, class and race intersect to form the culture of discrimination and exclusion for women and minority race groups within the workplace. More comparative work could also be undertaken within the South African context itself by documenting and comparing gender and race relations in universities at the national, provincial and local levels. A second focus for further research on race and culture would move beyond the national sphere and investigate new forms of global patterns of racial inequality. This research would look to other Universities to explore new patterns of race relations within universities globally. Another focus for research is adopting a longitudinal approach, wherein the same University is revisited to investigate of racial inequalities over time This would enable research to see how patterns and degrees of racial and gender inequality changes (either negatively or positively) as well as tracking the effectiveness of University's employment equity initiatives

8.5 Conclusion

To conclude this thesis, it seems fitting to end with some brief reflexive thoughts of the researcher's 'journey'. I would like to argue that whilst South Africa is a democratic country in terms of formal legislation, the reality on the ground is a vastly different picture. As a Black woman, born and raised in the apartheid regime, during interview sessions I was sometimes incredibly emotional to hear the impact that South African's historical legacy still has on people's lives. One of the reasons that motivated me to take up this research is to understand better what people think about our newly merged University and how they identify themselves within a democratic country. Yet, I did discover that most people are very emotional about the way things operate within the University and in the country in general. People are still holding on

the past, which I think it will take a number of generations for its hold and impact to lessen. In 1994, South Africa was released from decades of an apartheid regime. All South Africans gained equal rights to vote in a democratic manner. Today, the majority of politicians are of African descent, which makes up some 80% of the South African population. Despite this representation of South Africans at the political level, in work organisations this is not the case with the majority of native South Africans still underrepresented in senior management positions after more than twenty years of democracy. This thesis, therefore, attempted to investigate this significant gender and racial imbalance within the employment sector in further depth and in doing so has made a unique contribution to the scholarship on the subject of the intersection of gender, class and race.

A further aim of this thesis was to draw on my own experience as an employee of the case study University, and challenge the orthodoxy of racial and gender inequality research as objective and lacking any engagement with the personal. I interviewed both men and women employees of this University from different race groups in order to assess their views on the culture of the University and the gendered, racialised and classed nature of University life. Much of the earlier work on gender has argued that White men dominate positions of power in work organisations. However, this thesis recognised that not only do White men dominate positions of power in higher education, but in this case study University Indian men were also critical in espousing the values by which the hierarchy and processes of the University were perpetuated. What is now required is further work which continues to interrogate one race group domination as racialised beings and explores the heterogeneity of male and female from different race groups so that we may learn more about how race and gender intersects with other social demographics such as class to facilitate or limit one's participation in a South African University.

8.5.1 Some lessons learned

I have learnt that doing a doctorate is a training opportunity to develop knowledge and skills as well as build networks which maximises the opportunity to share knowledge, ideas and opinions. I have learnt that in research, there is much to be gained by reflecting and exchanging ideas with others. Throughout my writing up period, I have

learnt how to conduct robust research and use an objective voice, whilst also recognising particular areas require improvement such as the structure and transitions. The PhD 'journey' equipped me with a number of skills; not least it enabled me to cope, that is, to be patient, persistent, to keep on holding, and to take criticism positively. I have learnt to understand myself better, much better than before and (I think) I know who I am. I am able to face difficulties and not dwell on the past or my inner demons. I am able to deal with people from different perspectives, backgrounds and nationalities. Above all, I have learnt to deal with, accept and embrace cultural differences as a force for good in society and organisations.

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Appendix A: Key Models of Organisational Culture

Paradigm	Orientation	Implications
Functionalist: Smircich (1983) Culture as an external and internal variable Alvesson (2002, 2013) Technical interest Martin (1992, 2002) Integration perspective	- Identification and manipulation of variables - Organization-wide consensus and unitary culture - Development of knowledge of causal relationships - Tight control of subordinates - Removal of anything that obstructs the achievement of the desired goals - Requirement that members of the organization meet specific, defined needs	- Advancement depends on a few powerful organizational members - Focus on order, rationality and procedures - Promotes invisible domination - Task-oriented culture - Concerns about capability override considerations of gender, race, age and disability - Creates class, gender and race division and inequality - Downplays individual values and goals - Allows the dominant group to impose its values and beliefs on the minority group - Establishes and perpetuates power relations and the division of labour - Promotes manipulation and the control of various resources by the dominant group - Issues of organizational equality are not considered
Interpretive: Smircich (1983) culture as a root metaphor Alvesson (2002, 2013) Practical Martin (1992, 2002) Differentiation	- Interpretation of symbolic communication - Subjective experience - System of shared cognition - Recognition of subcultures - Inconsistency	- The manipulation and control of culture become more invisible - Allows the dominant group to control and guide the behaviour of others - The formation of subcultures allows inequalities within categories: gender, race, class, occupation, age and ethnicity - Shared meanings act as conduits of exclusion and discrimination by silencing, and also bring people together - Surface harmony is maintained through silencing the voices of the minority though mutual understanding
Radical & Poststructuralist: Alvesson (2002, 2013) Emancipatory Interest Martin (1992, 2002) Fragmentation	- Manifestations of unconscious processes - Identification of any element of confusion and contradiction - Exposure of domination and exploitation - Recognition of conflict and ambiguities	- Allows members of the organization to express their unconscious mind - Reduces manipulation and control, exposing the hidden agendas, conflict and ambiguities - Enables the identification of the existing power relations - Helps to maintain justice, equitable resource allocation, and the provision of opportunities, and creates good interpersonal relationships - Exposes elements of confusion and contradiction that exist within the organization's culture

Organisational Culture Paradigms derived from Martin (1992, 2002); Alvesson (2002, 2013) and Smircich (1983)

Appendix B: Participants' request

My name is Ntombenhle Nombela, a PhD student in business studies. My supervisory panel are Professor E. Ogbonna, Professor R. Thomas, and Dr. S. Jenkins.

My research is based on organizational culture of the higher education institutions in South Africa. South African higher education institutions during apartheid era were segregated by colour, but after 1994, transformation took place, higher education institutions had to be merged to fit government transformation plan.

The present study is qualitative in nature, which requires me to conduct interviews. I therefore request you to participate in this study which will be in the form of an open-ended interview with respect to your experiences, beliefs, and perceptions in regards to culture of TUT. The interview will take approximately +-1 hour of your time. Would you please spare 1hour of your time for this exciting study.   Looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Appendix C: Cardiff Business School: Research Ethics

Consent Form

The current study is based on the impact of the organisation culture on equality/inequality in terms of gender, class, ethnicity and race relations. I understand that participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

I understand that I am free to ask any questions at any time. If for any reason I have second thoughts about my participation in this project, I am free to withdraw or discuss my concerns with [Professor Emmanuel Ogbonna: sbseo1@cardiff.ac.uk].

I understand that the information provided by me will be held confidentially and securely, such that only the researcher can trace this information back to me individually. The information will be retained for up to for one year and will then be anonymised, deleted or destroyed. I understand that if I withdraw my consent I can ask for the information I have provided to be anonymised/deleted/destroyed in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

Date:

Appendix D: Brief Information about Myself

I am a full-time PhD student at Cardiff University, UK and I am researching 'the role of organisational culture in maintaining equality and/or producing inequality in terms of gender, class and race in a higher education sector in South Africa'. My PhD research proposal is supported by Cardiff Business School and sponsored by National Research Fund (NRF) which is the South African leading government funding concerns with uplifting the qualification of the majority of South Africans and Openhemier trust which is the prestigious scholarship. Furthermore, this research is fully supported by my supervisors at Cardiff Business School, Professor Emmanuel Ogbonna, Professor Robyn Thomas and Dr Sarah Jenkins. These supervisors have extensive research experiences in Human Resource Management field.

About My Research

The overall objective of my proposed research is to examine the role of organisational culture in the production and maintenance of gender, class and racial inequality in a University setting in South Africa. This university will be employed as the single case of the research. I am interested in employees' experiences of the processes and practices of the University. This study is important because, by directing this inquiry into important areas of employees' experiences of the University in terms of gender, class and race, the findings will be expected to be useful in understanding employees' perceptions and assumptions about the University structures, processes and practices and in developing management strategies to deal with diverse workforce in sector which is experiencing a radical change. The findings are expected to help other similar universities who are operating in this context of transition. This study is employing three methods of data collection, namely, semi-interviews with employees of this University from different race groups, University document analysis, and observation.

In conducting this research, I would like to assure you that the information provided to me will be held confidentially and anonymously, and data will be used to assist me for the completion of my PhD in Cardiff University.

Appendix E: Interview Questions Guidance

The bases, shapes, and degree of inequality

In what ways do organizational values impact on equal access to and control over resources?

How do symbolic structures reflect the culture of the organization? (e.g. parking space etc)

In what ways do interpersonal values influence the access to and control over resources?

Tell me about your understanding of the equity policy of this organisation

How do individual members perceive the values of the existing equity policies in terms of gender, race, ethnicity and class relations?

In what ways do organizational norms, beliefs and ideas shape the degree of inequalities?

The organizing processes and visibility and legitimacy of inequalities

How do individual members perceive the top hierarchies and structures of the organization in terms of equality?

What are the individual members' perceptions with regard to the levels of inequalities existing within the organization?

In what ways are the processes and practices that produce inequality visible to individual members?

How effective are organizational strategies in dealing with issues of inequality?

Is there any consistence in maintaining and controlling inequalities?

How do individual members perceive those strategies in terms of consistency and harmony?

In what ways do individual members deal with the informal interactions that occur while doing their work that might produce inequality (e.g. language, stories etc?)

In what ways do the processes of the organisation legitimise, control and institutionalize inequalities in relation to gender, race, ethnicity and class?

Appendix F: Sample of Participants' Narratives

Narrative 1: Tania

Interviewer: Thank you for giving me opportunity to talk to you about my research. As I indicated in our telephone conversation that this research is about the University culture, would you please tell me from your experiences the culture of this University?

Participants: Okay, what I would say to you is that *[LUT]* is a confusing place, why I am saying this is because it has incredible positives and some very severe negative aspects to it. So if I talk about the positives, oh before I even start *[discussing the positives],* and I have found that, week to week, I am shifting between what is negative and what is positive. It's an environment that changes constantly, so there is no point in time where you can say, this is *[LUT]*. I think this turbulent environment is linked to the fact that VC [Vice Chancellor] does not finish their office terms. On average I would say the maximum time they spent in this University is 2 years, instead of 5 years. Every time there is new VC, there is a change, there is a shift in terms of values, there is a shift in terms of strategic focus; there is a shift in terms of the whole processes of the University. Not only change in VCs but the executive management team members also do not normally serve their full term. Which I feel by and large related to the people in those positions, and their particular value systems, how they operate, where the lay emphasis, what they see being important, what things they can let it go, I think management style, all those kind of things. So there are always those changes, and around that, the council members also do not reflect the Republic of South Africa's population. Council membership is dominated by one particular race group which also are the majority of employees in this University as a whole. I am going to call that "kitchen cabinet" okay, eh, the whole kind of kitchen cabinet, in my thinking, there is executive management team leader; this person is the VC, as you know. But, I have noticed that no matter who is the VC, there is always a "kitchen cabinet".

Interviewer: Okay, can you please clarify, what do you mean by kitchen cabinet?

Participant: What I mean about the kitchen cabinet is that people actually hold power. I mean, there is a kitchen cabinet operating outside *[LUT]* formal structures. What I mean about the kitchen cabinet is that people actually hold power, not organisational positions, and okay. But they have their own ways, or they have the ear of the executive management. These people, I mean the kitchen cabinet, most of them do not sit on decision-making committees, such as the senate, or any other formal university structures, but they still have power and the ability to influence decisions and university culture, because they are wealthy. They invite the executive management for dinner in their homes after hours.

Interviewer: Tell me from your opinion, how these people able to influence decision making since they are not part of the executive management team?
Participant: The kitchen cabinet group are the ear of the personnel, of the executive management, and won't be just one person who is having that ear; but it is a group of people who are having that ear. So I think what happens in or within *[LUT]* in kitchen cabinet, I think there are groups of, there are groups who have particular agendas. There are groups who have, who want to see particular outcomes. And I don't know how they get together; I don't know how they become a group. But they become a group and then they go as a group to an executive member, and talk, and you know, and I am not saying, am not saying that they do, they do in threatening manner, whatever it is, but they go and present a strong position or whatever it is. And particularly if they don't have, if members of the group are not on any of these decisions-making structures of the university, they become, they almost become advocates for their own benefits. Okay, so this is why I am saying that I find LUT culture confusing. This is because, when we look at this, we have new VC, and you know I hear him speaking same particular things, we have got two technical new DVCs, I heard two of them speaking, and so, from what I heard and what I see on paper I have been having expectations of things happening in the particular manner, or particular values being coming into play or, and then things don't happen like that. So that is why I found it confusing, then I

think maybe is my perception, it is not because when am talking to other people, they have the same perceptions. They would say, how when we have been having this discussion, decision is made about particular issue, you know, but when it comes to the implementation, things no longer follow that particular decision made in the previous meeting. My assessment is that, it is because there is this kitchen cabinet or this advocate groups whatever everybody calls them working behind or outside of the decision-making structures of the university. It is very difficult; I find it very difficult to really buy into some of the decisions that are made, because I don't know how they have been arrived at. If I can understand the process, if I could see it as fairly open process of consultation, and understand the consultation doesn't mean that you know what the common voice is or what happens, but at least you know, is out there, it's open, you heard the discussion, and you heard the debate. You might say, okay you know you were consulted, and I or we understand that our voice wasn't heard, whatever and that is the decision that was agreed upon. But it is not happening like that in [*LUT*]. There is a lack of transparency on how decision are made, it is always been a problem at [*LUT*]. Every now and again there is kind of openness about something and suddenly things get closed, and I think really, yah, [*LUT*] is a coda of personalities, power conflicts of, yah, lack of transparency, hidden agendas, yah it is. Which is really unfortunately because time and time again, when there are big issues to be dealt with it's a personality credit; it's a personality power player that affects how things happen. Power conflict is by and large across, but I do think, I do think that there is a particular racial group that pushes things, pushes people, there is a lot of that kind of cabinet, there is a lots of kitchen cabinet staff. I think, the whole situation is not helped by the fact that, there are instances, I mean things happen, and you can see to it and say okay, but again is always when there is a real issue that is when you see people splitting, and by and large, split on racial lines. Like the kitchen cabinet is dominated by one racial group. In terms of the organisational culture, I said that by and large, but not completely, one of the cultures from the previous institution do dominate, in terms of the organisational culture, and really I think, if I think about it, it is one influential sector of the university that was almost unaffected by merger. When I say that, there is hardly any change in their staff component, most of their staff remained after the merger. It was assumed that their services will continue and so those people never had to really experience the new organisation because their business carried over as usual. I think it was more of a takeover than the merger, but not completely. You know, but this particular ambit I am talking about had incredible influence, on how things happened, and how, and so there were very relative to change, you know the whole change management that was put in place. That was just unaffected, they didn't participate, they just as I said, they carried over, to the point where 3 years after the merger, some University documents were still have the logo of the previous institution, whatever, whatever, so a lot of this is still happening today. I think it is incredibly sad, when I meet people which I never seen for years, who were at the previous institution I was before the merger, they say: "Don't you long for those days?" and that is regardless of race, I mean, that is the thing I find sad, and it is so sad. If there are so many people who still long for the old days, as I said, it is not about class, not about race, it's about people who still have a sense of belong to the previous institution. And [I] find it very, very sad. It shows that to me that we haven't created a home; we haven't created a culture where people feel they belong. Where they recognise that they are part of the university, it is not there. Very few sense of identity, very few sense of commitment, and what I have noticed ten years after the merger, when you speak to people who were not part of the merger, who came here post-merger, it is different because they don't recognise that and I can say that the only way that this [is] going to change as people leave. There is no culture; it is largely faculty, department and office-based. For example, in my previous department we really work hard, as I was one of the managers, we were trying to create one culture, one common goal and common identities. Where I am now is a new department created far away after the merger. It's got nothing to do with merger; it is something to do with new executive management team. It is difficult to know or pinpoint its commitment towards achieving University objectives, you know, it is difficult to commit yourself with this university, because there is no sense of common purpose with any other department trying to operate with

.**Interviewer:** Tell me in your opinion about the effect the mergers have had on individuals and the implications it had on the University culture.

 Participant: My previous position was affected by the merger, so I find myself operating at a lower level than I had prior to merger, and I find it extremely difficult in terms of getting up at the level of operation, as well as extremely frustrating in terms of seeing things that really need to be done but *[are]* not done. I really feel that I am reaching the ceiling, and I could carry on being frustrated and see things winkling down. In terms of the merger, there was no improvement in terms of the department and for myself. There are lots of inequalities that have not yet been addressed after the merger which causes a lot of unhappiness among the staff members, especially the issue of salaries. You will find that people are doing the same

jobs, but one is earning R5000 *[very low income per month]*, the other one is earning more than that but doing exactly the same job in the same office or department.

Interviewer: Okay, tell me from your experiences working here at LUT, in terms of processes and procedure is there any consistency the way things are done around here?

Participant: my previous position was affected by merger, so I find myself operating at a lower level than I had prior to merger, and I find it extremely difficult. It wasn't difficult in terms of getting up at the level of operation, but extremely frustrating in terms of seeing things that real need to be done but not done, doing what I could do, but I really feel that I am reaching the ceiling, and I could carry on being frustrated and see things winkling down. In terms of the merger there was no improvement in terms of the department and for myself. This department was newly created and I have to see body and I said look things are really not good, and I just need something new and I am looking for something different. And the executive level that decision was made, I was approached, and asked whether I would be interested in coming over here, and I started. But having done that, this department was started by the executive management of the university, and was suggested a short life of three years. This department has an acting DVC, this department has been affected by lots of changes in terms of people within the senior management of this department. At this stage there isn't really concrete understanding, you know common understanding, of what we are really supposed to do as a department. Particularly at the beginning there was no DVC, and then the acting DVC was put in charge, you know just try to get things going. Presently, we are in the process of formalising process, we just been to strategic planning conference outside the [LUT], where each individual was given an opportunity to feed in any contribution. I am hoping that this will result in something that is missing. I think this will start giving people feeling that, they are part of the department, because they were actually being asked to contribute to the strategic planning of the department. We have been consulted. When that plan comes out we will have been part of it. So am hoping that this will start the process of common purpose. What I can say presently, the University as whole, I am quite certain that, there is the male kitchen cabinet. This cabinet meets privately outside campus. They have power to influence the decision-making processes of the university.

Interviewer: Tell me from your opinion about the processes and procedures on this university, in terms of consistency, decision making, resource allocation, equity, and the way things are done around here.

Participant: Let me put it this way, I don't see great inconsistency, okay. It is difficult to answer because it comes back to transparency. I don't know how the budgets, I don't how the budget is allocated. I should know, I mean there should be transparency. In terms of resources allocation, if you think of resource allocation that should be linked to [a] strategic plan. We have got the strategic plan there, and then we should be able to say okay, this section has this amount of money how that happened. I am saying that because in terms of the resource allocation for research we never get enough allocation in terms of the strategic plan. So that can raise a question mark: why? And really no one can answer why. I think Deputy Vice Chancellor is responsible to ensure that the request for a particular department is provided. If there is [a] particular reason for what is requested is not going to be given; he should explain the reason for not approving the request, not just reject the request and not indicating why it was not approved. I think if there was that kind of explanation, will allow people to prioritise in their budget plans. By this, I am not saying it is totally dismal, but I think it create energy for people to say okay these are obstacles.

Interviewer: From your opinion what do you think tends to block this type of communication you just mentioned in your conversation?

Participant: This is all about job security. There are a number of people who are getting paid very good money and, therefore, they always want to make sure that they control everything to maintain their power. I think there are far too many people, and I am one of them, who have been here too long. In my example, I have to go and collect a long service award the other day. It was very embarrassing to realise how long I have been around. But in that instance I have had far different positions, jobs, at the university. Okay so from pre-merger, I think six different positions. So for me there has been a lot of going around. But I have different challenges. There are a lot of people who have worked at the same job for a very long time and that this was their first and only job they ever done. So they never had any experiences for other different environment, to think differently. So their thinking has never changed, their thinking is entrenched. There is a huge resistance to any kind of change. And I think the merger forced a lot of people to change, even if they report to a different boss, new environment, the thinking is still the same. They have no mind-set, so that is why it is like this. So the other thing: they see change as a big threat to their job. So instead of focusing on solving the problem and accept new change, most energy they spend in protecting their jobs.

Interviewer: In your discussion of the University culture, you mentioned about inconsistency, confusion and power. In your opinion what impact do these issues have on the employees of this University?

Participant: I see a lot of inequality, yah, I think, yes, I am thinking of a particular department, where there are some incredibly capable young black women, incredibly capable, and what I see, when am

engaged with them, the way they handle issues, their foresights, their thinking in terms of what could be done all that kind of thing, and then how they are just overlooked time and time again, in terms of fitting them into the department meetings, or fitting them in other meetings is not happening. I mean, it is not there, absolutely not there. In terms of report, writing annual report, they don't even mention the work that has been done by these individuals, you know, that is just one department. And I have no doubt that it is replicated again and again to other departments and across the university. And I haven't looked at the latest, equity profile of *[LUT],* that I am just constantly amazed that appointments keep on going to Indian people. I was expecting to see now again and again a new Black woman, Black man appointed, you know. I am not aware of any kind of sustained programme to say, in terms of Black academics, what do we do to assist people to upgrade? I think our Black academic profile, if is not going down, it is remaining static and it should not be like that. And our Indian profile, both academic and administrative, is growing instead of going down. So you ask yourself: What does *[the]* Equity Policy of this institution do? Do we have equity targets in place to meet? Why aren't we meeting them in terms of new appointments? Why aren't we meeting them in terms of promotions?

Interviewer: Tell me in your opinion; do you think staff members are being valued within this university?

Participant: You know value comes at different levels. I mean there is instance where you as an individual you want to feel that your peers value and appreciate you, I mean your supervisor also recognises you, and management etc. I think our VC is outstanding in terms of recognising. In [the] newsletter he will say "well done" to this department for doing a wonderful job, for good achieve, and he also appreciate the supervisors who has done well in their ambit, he is very good in that. But across the board there is nothing like that. One of the HoD *[heads of department]* said to me: "We have given you a certificate of long service award." I don't want a certificate, there is also a financial thing which is nice, but that's not am looking for. I appreciate the certificate and money but…

Interviewer: Tell me, from your experience, how the University handle staff issues, in terms of job allocations, conflict, procedures in terms of equality in relation to gender, class and race.

Participant: Things in this University are handled differently based [on] who you are, and who you know. Yes it does happen. For example, I can think of about 5 situations, within faculty, faculty and HoDs, so yah from different part of the university. Definitely where people were unfairly treated, there was lack of consistency, into the same issue different candidate, and in all but one of those races seems to the factor of difference. Secondly, you will hear people saying "am that" and "because am not that". And the other instance, it wasn't a race issue, but it was an instance where the supervisor disagrees with good friend of the person who receives a preferential appointment, so there was the issue of nepotism. Oh nepotism, that's another issue, it is used to wow, but it is declining now. It used to be huge thing, you know, we have family and family and family. I am not aware of it being such a big thing now you know, it might be simple because I am, but certainly at one point it was. Nepotism in the true sense of the word, there were in terms of the family, but also in terms of who your buddies are.

Interviewer: Tell me from your experience: Have you ever felt that because of who you are, you are being more privileged or disadvantaged than others?

Participant: To be honest with you, I definitely feel that I am a bit of both in terms of being privileged and being disadvantaged. Which is quite interesting, but it hasn't consistent in that because I am white and being a female, there is no doubt, and I know that I am being advantaged in the past on account of that, but equally I have, there has been instances of being disadvantaged. Within *[LUT]* it has been more of the disadvantage and, when I think about it, was going to say is not gender but in fact the gender thing is coming in as well. I had experience of being the only female in meetings, where I know that my input has been good but has been totally side-lined, and that is very bad, being white, yes that has worked against me.

Interviewer: Tell me what makes you feel that you are being treated differently because of who you are.

Participant: It was actually said to me, in one of the meetings, when I questioned why something happened and I was told face to face you are a white woman and there is not much place for people with that profile. It was a person at the same level as me, and it was a person from the dominating race group. There is a lot of bullying and discrimination around here; people just do things in silence. I heard of instances of where students have issues with their lectures on race issues, students have been marked down because of their race, whatever it might be the feeling, that lecturers come clear with ideas of racial expectancy, whatever, that aren't transformed.

Interviewer: Tell me in your opinion about the staff interaction at this University.

Participant: No, I don't think so. There is no unit. We don't work for a common organisational goal. No, I don't think we work as one organisation, each unit or faculty work. We are not aligned at all to the vision and mission of the university. Every now and again you see that packet happening and it might [be] around something, for example, XXXXxx you know, that is coming to Xxxxxx, let's say, people around

the university starting to work together on that particular project. But in terms of day-to-day, function as a university; I don't think there is much of that at all. I think within faculties, faculties do work together. And I think each of them they do work together. As I say even within the ambit there is no concurrence. I think the biggest problem is that we just not aligned or to the vision and mission of the university. And even in this point of time, if you ask people about [what our] vision and mission is, some of them they will go back on what previous VC had you know, and some of them they would say our new VC is different. You think of, if it is different why we hearing about it? If it is different, you know let's hear about it; let us know what it is so that we can align ourselves to it. So you find within that, if that is true, I don't think the new VC has a different vision for *[LUT]* than from what the previous one has. If you go to any big meetings, it could be senate; it could be the VC talking to staff about activities, what do you see? I see white man sitting with white man, you see, oh there is interesting thing for me is that first of all you see people sitting by race and then within that there are grouping, I went to farewell lunch last week and all [the] men were sitting in one table, there was one or two men who were sitting else but, so what, and you will see staff. Now I remember, you asked me earlier about my gender and race. In the present department where I am at present, a colleague of mine recently two months ago she said you need to watch out yourself. I said: What on earth you mean? Then she said: "You the only white woman in this department and you are at risk." So I said: "What do you mean?" I said in terms of equity that should put me in a good position, and then she said: "Don't you know that there is no place for white women in this ambit. So that was shocking, you know. I went home and said: "I actually can't believe this." I have seen, and I have seen something happening [which] is the recognition of Black African within my department, that I am aware of, but I never seen that process as a threat to me, you know, so that was very interesting you know. I don't know what that person was thinking was, although I was not threatened, that statement makes [me] feel that oh, I am not accepted here.

Interviewer: Tell me from your experience working in this University, what you think about equity in terms of recruitment, selection and promotion processes.

Participant: I think there is weakness in terms of policy implementation. I think *[LUT]* has good policies by and large, but pretty much remains the paper you know, the paper exercise. Quality department, they on the other hand try to get people to implement quality policy, they become so regulatory, you have to comply with this you know, you have to produce a list to comply with this, and you have do this to comply with that. Equity office on the other hand is pushing for equity in terms of race. I think the efficiency and quality of education decreases because the most suitable employees are not hired or promoted. Most Black qualified employees lack the necessary experience, especially in the professional disciplines. To be honest with you, Ntombenhle, I do feel that the employment equity legislation of this country is a way of throwing us out of the equation. I strongly feel that it is a way of reverse racism. I think instead of creating racial equity, it creates more racial imbalance.

Interviewer: What makes you think that way?

Participant: Look, Ntombenhle, in real terms, yes, I do understand how Blacks in this country were treated, and all that racial discrimination that was in place prior to 1994. But Black does not understand that. I mean, I did not discriminate against anyone because I was still at school when the apartheid system was in place and during transformation *[of South Africa]* had occurred at the end of the apartheid era. In my opinion, presently I feel I am being discriminated against and I see a role of reversal is taking place.

Interviewer: Based on the racial segregation of the country you just mentioned previously, how does this impact you as a woman employee of this University? Participant: What I have noticed is that the traditional norms and values of the country also exist within the culture of this University. For example, male academics are more interested in maintaining their status and career advancement. With them it is easy to do that because they have full support here at work as well as in their homes. Their wives and secretaries do almost everything for them. Mostly, I had experience of being the only female in meetings, where I know that my input has been good but has been totally side-lined, and that is very bad, being a White female. Yes, that has worked against me. I think as women, we perhaps think that we are not quite as good as our male colleagues. Male colleagues are very go-ahead and say what they think. I mean they speak out their minds. But we women, we do not. At least I know myself. I hardly say a thing to these meetings, and *[in]* my experience, many women don't.

Narrative 2: Jerome

Interviewer: Tell me your experiences about the culture of LUT.

Participant: The views I express are my own views and are not intended to influence other people. I do sometimes have negative feelings about the institution. I personally have done okay here; I don't see that I have been marginalised or discriminated against because I am White or anything like that. I have been

fairly treated in terms of my lecturing allowances and promotion etc. but by the same token I think a lot of that has been a result of my own effort. As a university-wide issue, I certainly think discrimination by colour exists, but this is probably on individual bases in individual departments, from anecdotal evidence that I have heard from other people - but again that's just hearsay. I haven't personally experienced that.

Interviewer: Tell me from your perception what makes LUT unique from other university.

Participant: This may be difficult to explain. There are so many factors. I actually don't think we can put our finger on any one reason. I think that one of our problems is that we have gone through something like 8 different Vice Chancellors in 8 years and everyone either has a different idea or they have no idea. Those who are holding this post are acting in the position and a large percentage of them actually don't appear to do anything, other than day-to-day management of the institution, but then we have someone like (name not disclosed) who has a definite view that the institution should be a UOT, and we have to focus on practical stuff. And now we got Prof XXXX who is very different again; he is saying we now focus on research, that this is the "proper role of the university"., So I think that in terms of who we are and what is our culture, what type of university we want to be, we haven't had a real discussion about that for ten years. We are very confused, a defined 'culture' is what we actually lack; a culture of service, for example - we don't have a culture of serving the student and of doing the best for student. It's a culture of selfishness at present, many people do things that are only for themselves, and to find somebody in the organisation that actually goes out of their way to help the students is unusual. Obviously the situation in other faculties and in other departments I cannot comment on, I don't have direct contact with them, but I personally see a weakness in defining culture; I believe that's what the current Vice Chancellor is trying to do. He is promoting the concept of student-centred culture. That's what he brought with him from the United States. He is trying to bring that in I hope, provided he stays here for a long enough period to introduce a student-focussed culture, one that supports educational objectives and nourishes learning. At the moment we don't have a direction in culture and I think this is a big problem.

Interviewer: Tell me from your experience, do you think there is still that feeling of "us and them"?

Participant: Yes, I think so; there is still very much the feeling of the old institutional stratification. Perhaps if we stayed Technikon xxxxxx it would be different. There is still the sense of "us and them" after 12 years of the merger. People stick to old ways of mixing and socialising. When you walk around the campus, there are still signs and logos of previous institutions. These need to go, else how can you build a new institution when you still have all those visible signs from old institutions around? When UJ merged remember they merged Afrikaans University with Wits Technikon. They were given about 3 months to get all the visible signs of the former institutions to be removed – they put up new signs, new stationery, everything and [it] remain[s] a disciplinary offense to use any of the old stuff so they very quickly get rid of all the evidence of old organisations and replaced it with the new integrated culture. That did not occur here, so we are still in a sense living in the past.

Interviewer: Tell me, in your opinion how would you describe the way things are done in this institution?

Participant: I believe there are different cultures in different faculties. For example, a culture in one faculty might be very good because the dean of the faculty might be driven and build a culture on that. In our case, I don't think culture has been a strong point because we had a dean who is not a strong personality. In many respects I think he was a reasonable dean but he wasn't a strong personality, and was afraid to put his stamp on the faculty. We have had acting deans who, because they are in an acting capacity, are not strongly motivated to take control, and introduce new ideas or initiatives. If you take a faculty like engineering there has been a very strong dean, but for two years or so he was also acting deputy vice chancellor, so with his role as acting dean there has been no real leadership and direction. If you look at the deans in different faculties they tend to be weak characters - not necessarily weak deans, probably good deans, but with weak characters. They don't have dominant characters, so they haven't been able to drive and build the faculties. Because they have been acting nothing changes because they don't have the full authority to exercise their power.

Interviewer: Tell me in your opinion: What impact does this lack of leadership and management instability have on staff?

Participant: You can't grow, you don't do new things. We have been coming to this recalculation process, for example, with great difficulty, because we are not used to making changes - everything just continues to roll over the way it always has. And I have a fairly strong suspicion - this is just my feeling - that those departments that are strongly-driven by let's say XXX type people, will define XXX culture, and those that were YYY people I don't know I can't think of an example off hand, maybe in the Health area, would have a more YYY-type culture. The difference in those cultures is that XXX culture personalities tend to be more authoritarian, measurement-orientated, finance-dominant, whereas YYY ones are much looser, much more centred on individual responsibility, which means when you got ex YYY people in a XXX culture they feel frustrated because they are now controlled much more tightly, and

of course the reverse applies to XXX types within a YYY culture. So yes, the inability, I think of the institution to develop a consistency in its own culture is a significant problem.

Interviewer: Tell me, in your opinion which culture do you think dominates the new institution?

Participant: XXX without a doubt

Interviewer: Okay, what makes you say that?

Participant: The institution is dominated by the finance department. This basically controls what can and cannot be done in terms of funding, so when they control the funding they control the university. And with the finance department controlling the funding, then for example the head of research of XXX (Black Male) can only do what is allowed by the budgets approved by the finance department; and it has been said to me that there is no money for research. So he will not be able to assert his vision for greater research if there is no financial capacity to do so. I have also been told that there is plenty of money in the institution - you just don't know where it is. Apparently it is held and controlled by finance people. The other thing you have is international competition for students, and you probably know this, which leads to the argument between collegiality and managerialism. This is a big debate in the UK at the moment. Universities in the UK are being pushed into managerialism that measure student numbers as a source of funding. I understand this is also happening in South Africa. Which may very well be the type of culture we are heading towards and those people (finance-driven) will predominate. I believe that a large number of academics and administrators from Technikon Natal find this very frustrating; because it is a culture they are not used to, and is at odds with their interpretation of the pursuit of excellence in education. They are used to being given greater freedom, responsibility etc.

Interviewer: In your opinion is there any consistency in the way things are done in this institution?

Participant: I have no idea. I don't know. I think they do apply the policies of the university. I know a lot of what finance do has been brought in because of the auditors. Auditors said that this has to be done, and I think it goes back to probably 5, 6, 7 years ago when a lot of money was lost I think, through a lack of rigour in the financial system. I think it was inevitable. Is it fair? I don't know. I know there are cases, there have been cases, where people said:, "it is not what you know it is who you know"; "if you know the right people you get the funding." Last year I tried to spend some of my research fund to go to a conference without presenting a paper and I was not allowed to [do] it. Subsequently I discovered that there were a large number of people who have done just that. I know, for example, the previous head of research, people said of him: "wow, if you are his friend and if you get on with him you will get funding; but if he is against you or does not like you, you have no chance of getting any funding." But I generally got what I asked for. Was I his friend? I don't know!

Interviewer: Tell me in your opinion: Is there any balance in terms of equity and gender within this university?

Participant: I think in terms of gender [it] is fairly balanced, I am trying to think in terms of HoD [Head of Department], the representation of women in the department. I can't think of any. But I that doesn't mean that there is any discrimination. If somebody want to be HoD and is female, I believe she could be HoD. Xxxxx for example, if she says tomorrow she wants to take over as HoD she would become HoD. I think there are more males, but again I think is just in terms of who applies. I don't think there is any discrimination in terms of gender. We would employ the best person without a doubt. In terms of race, it is totally a different issue, and is not discriminatory. I think it is historical, because if you look at the merger of XXX and Xxxxxxxxxx Xxxxx, and XXXxxxxx was predominantly Indian, and Whites. And [a] lot of people who were given redundancy packages were White. I was one of the few who were not given a redundancy package, but quite a lot [of] White people left the institution. There has since been an attempt to employ more black people, if I think about it since the merger. Prior to that e of the problems is that a black person with a masters [can] get a much better job outside the educational institution, and it was proving quite difficult to employ qualified black people here, and I am not even sure whether it is the right thing to do. The reason I say that is that in my view it is better for those people to be out in business contributing to the economy. That creates a problem for us in that goal is to achieve the same proportion as the wider population, but in this regard we are falling behind. I think, in general, there are more male personnel in senior positions. But, again, I think it is just in terms of who applies. I don't think there is any discrimination in terms of gender and we would employ the best person without a doubt, regardless of gender or race.

Interviewer: I understand there is a high staff turnover. Tell me: In your opinion what makes people leave the institution?

Participant: I don't think that is true. If we think about this department, in this office, when we merged, I can't remember, we had a black guy; Xxxxx was employed as a junior lecturer. We also had Stella, and there was this other guy I can't think of his name, but they were brought in on contract, and they basically replaced those who went on study leave.

Interviewer: Tell me: In your opinion, is the university consistent in the way things are done?

Participant: In my opinion the university works very close to the policies; I think our HoD works very close to the policy

Interviewer: Tell me from your experience, how issues affecting staff members are being handled by the management of the university.

Participant: Generally, for example, we all get reprimanded if somebody comes in late, which is a little bit unfair, but it is across the board, which is fair. There is one member of staff, I am not sure of the issue, but I heard that there are problems with that member of staff and disciplinary action was taken. That staff member then accused the HoD of discrimination, so for that reason now the HoD doesn't handle the problem, and he said the rule is that all staff need to be here at 9 O'clock. This to avoid being seen as discriminating against one person, which is a little bit unfortunate. Heard lot of other people saying that if there is problem sort out the problem with that particular person, and if you can't, that other person can go to the dean and lay charges against discrimination. There is a channel here for discrimination. However, it is difficult for a HoD to handle these problems. There are discrimination issues, but generally, again it is hard for me to comment because I am probably the least discriminated against person. I probably get a lot in anyway, and when I got my doctorate, I was one of the few people with [a]doctorate, and at that stage you could [do] anything you wanted and get away with it. First I am the only professor within the department. I certainly get treated very reasonably and very fair. I think if it happens, it's [in] specific areas. I know of one department that had a problem where one lady refused to lecture at night, so she was taken to a disciplinary hearing; now she is saying she has been discriminated against. There are specific issues and specific cases. Probably I mix with more people because of my role as a research co-ordinator. There are a lot of people who work in the department who are not mixing with other people. They do lecturing, go home and don't have occasion to mix much with other personnel.

Interviewer: Tell me, in your experience how you feel being a staff member of this university.

Participant: I feel appreciated by the leadership. Promotion is an issue for the majority of the staff members; I know there is a lot of unhappiness about promotion and promotion policy. Most people feel that certain rules are for certain people. Guidelines are set for promotions, so people strive and do what is required for promotion based on the guidelines at the time, and when they get to the level that was required for promotion, they are told: "No the rules have changed." So they have to change the whole process again. I know that one of my colleagues has applied twice for associate professor and has been turned down. Also, people are complaining of workload, which is a barrier to achieving the promotion target. I think this leads to a level of demoralisation but probably more important is that for the institution, that person, and there are [a] couple of them, should be professors. We need more professors in the institution. There are people who are saying: "I am discriminated against because I get given too much work. I don't get given time to do my doctorate, and we need people to get doctorate." We are supposed to have 40% of staff with doctorates by the end of next year. I know we won't achieve that. There is a level of discrimination, and it's not discrimination because HoDs does not want them because they are black, or because they are female, or whatever, it is because we don't have the ability to give time off for people to do the additional study required to complete a doctorate. There are too few staff members basically. It does influence the institution because we are not getting enough numbers of professors, number of doctorates that we need. The issue of informal rewards is a difficult one again because that will be unique in terms of the particular Head of Department; our HoD for example could say to me: "Take a day off. You did a lot of work for that conference. Have a day off." He does those sorts of things. People get highlighted in meetings. So there is a degree of appreciation. In terms of the faculty you know when people get a new qualification they get highlighted in faculty board meetings. I just been made a NRF [National Research Foundation] rated scientist. Yesterday I received an email from the Vice Chancellor, and the Deputy Vice Chancellor, as well as the Director of the Research Office so it is nice in that sense. I think a lot of this is also coming from the new Vice Chancellor; he is very good at that sort of thing. Within a couple of months of him being here he knows a lot of people by their first name. I met him once and he knows my name, it's amazing, absolutely amazing. And he is very good in thanking people, congratulating them. I am hoping that this is going to carry on, getting this much more supporting collegial approach, culture. Of course the problem is, does he stay here, because he already said if he knew the problems [he is] going to face he would not have come. But I think he is here for a five-year contract.

Interviewer: Tell me: From your understanding and from your experience, how is the relationship between staff members, for example in meetings, or while doing work?

Participant: People tend to sit in departments, probably within the department; probably by race. In meetings you tend to sit with people you are friendlier with. In meetings, people tend to sit probably by race. In meetings you tend to sit with people you are friendlier with. It's a difficult one. If I go to a *[Senate]* meeting for example, I tend to sit… with Indians guys. Why? This is because there are lot of

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Indian people in the senate. There are no Black guys in my department who goes to those meetings. In terms of White people, for example *[a White colleague]* he attends when he feels like it. I think it will take generations for that to go.

Interviewer: Tell me: From your experience, is the physical layout of this university conducive for student, staff and community it serves?

Participant: The location is fine. I mean, we are the city university; the actual location and the nature of the buildings I think they are generally good. I think there is some discrimination; there has been a lot of discrimination in terms of allocating of facilities. I will give you an example. When we merged, and we were one of the first departments, marketing was one of the first department agreed to move to other campus, and we moved with an understanding that, and actually we were **brought across here and** shown the fact that there were computer labs etc. here, because we as a department at Technikon Natal, marketing department had invested, I think it was half a million rand in building a computer lab on that side, and it was agreed that we would hand over those computer labs to engineering and we will come here and get computer labs here. Within six months of moving here those computers labs were gone. The engineering department took them and moved them across to the other campus and they left us with one computer, one computer for 5000 students. And that was just server discrimination. I argue about it and they said is management decision, so yah that eh, left us as a faculty in not a very good position. The other issue is the whole issue of maintenance; we just do not look after our facilities. Windows get broken and they don't get fixed. Computers backup takes up three days for somebody to come here, and I know in the UK, if you have a computer problem you phoned they will be there within an hour. The new Vice Chancellor is saying we should integrate our postgraduate students to our department. They should have offices, they should be in our tea rooms and we don't do that. That's a cultural issue that is. I don't want to say it, but I think is a legacy of apartheid. I think very much so. 95% or 90% of our students are black, and the staffs are dominant Indian and White. [It] is not just an apartheid thing is an authoritarian thing where you don't mix with the students. In the UK is totally different. We used the same tea room, same cafes, and there the student will call you by first name, so it's a, I think that is a cultural issue, is that superiority. I think it happens everywhere in South Africa, and all universities are the same. It is an Afrikaner thing because they are, Afrikaners, they are very status-conscious; who mix with yah, so I think is that legacy is come through from apartheid.

Interviewer: Tell me: In your experience, are there any issues that you would like to raise which we didn't mention in our discussion?

Participant: To me probably the biggest issue is the inefficiencies. For me, I know for colleagues here as well, there are inefficiencies in administrative functions. For example, if I have a human resource problem, I will put it into my email for human resources office and I wait a week and then nothing. Then send another email and I will hear nothing. And then send a copy to her boss or to somebody else within HR department and then I will get response. I put through to purchase a new laptop with my research funds and I queried something and purchasing lady went through to finance and said is my application amongst those application went to finance and came back, she said no is not there. That's all I heard in two weeks. I emailed her and said have you found out where my application is? No response. I haven't heard a word. That's [the] sort of stuff, which, we say it is important that finance strong and perfect control but that they not doing anything. They can't get anything done. If I want to purchase something I have to have three quotes. Fair enough. Should I, as a professor of this institution, should go out and get quotes or should I give it to someone at purchasing and they should do it? [It] is their job. This thing is so frustrating. So you know the issue is what I talked about previously - moving of the goal in terms of promotion, for other people that is really important. For me is less important because I have met those [requirements]. I think everybody is frustrated by all this administrative, and people don't do what they are paid to do. They are very much of this attitude of "is lunch time now". Our secretary: Student phoned in to say, she wants to find out about the supplement exam. She tried a number of times to phone our secretary and she said she doesn't know. I know that secretary normally put up the exam timetable on the notice board, but she doesn't care enough to bother to help that student. I said to the student there [you] are, she doesn't know how to do it. They just don't care. That's what the Vice Chancellor is trying to address. Too many of the staff members who just don't care. They come in and they do their job and then they go, and that is a really frustrating part and it demoralizes people. And you think what the hell am I doing here?

Interviewer: Tell me: How do you feel being part of this university*?*

Participant: It is a quite interesting question that, because I would [have] said couple of years ago, I don't know, somehow I feel I am treated differently, maybe because I am one of the few workers who are still here, maybe because I have got a doctorate, maybe because, but certainly when I became a professor everything changed. All of a sudden people listen to me, people took my opinion into account, and I am the same person. It wasn't as if I am different, so yes [I] feel that now I belong and I have more important

role to play. Whether I want to play that role or not, that I am not sure. I am only two years away from my pension; I don't really need the whole lot more work.

Interviewer: Tell me from your opinion: How do you think other people feel by being members of this university?

Participant: I think there is a lot of feel not being part of the university, certainly the issue that I said about inefficiencies of administration. It's an issue for lots of people that I know. Nobody say anything about salaries issues, younger people say they can't see themselves sitting here for the next 20 years. Yes, they will go and look for other jobs in businesses, maybe other universities. But the older people, the closer you get to your pension, you want to stay.

Interviewer: From our discussion you raised lots of issues that need attention. Tell me: If it happened that one day you become a member of executive management what issues you would like to address with immediate effect?

Participant: First of all I wouldn't accept it. I can't think of anything worse. I think what the Vice Chancellor is pushing in terms of student-centred, treating the student decently, not treating them like dirt. Lot of them are people too! Improving facilities, maintenance things like that, and a lot of that, I think particularly at maintenance issue they are signage not visible. I think probably is one of the first thing I will do. To make visible changes, so that people can see something is changing, and create the visible image of the university that people can see, feel and be able to say I am part of that. Because at the moment, I am part of this place, is that is run down, is paper everywhere, there is broken windows. I think you know that New York City has broken window policy. It says that if the windows are broken people look at it that the place is run down. Look at the windows are broken. So they don't bother looking after the image, they don't care. If it smart the windows are fixed, they don't throw rubbish, and if you fix that, you don't get much crime, small crime start happen for the big crime. So yah, if we could, nice gardens, people get respected, of course the whole toyi toyi [student protest] thing contributed to the low image of the institution, but that we could live with us, the way things happen. But I think that physical visibility is needed, individual grasp will never go wrong; they will be always be some of those. Yes, I think probably that is the first thing I will do.

Interviewer: Tell me from your experiences: Is there any sense, or feeling of being subordinated within departments or offices?

Participant: I don't think so. I know that there are people who have excellent experience, which this University needs, but these people are being subordinated and pushed to one side because they do not have qualifications.

Interviewer: You mentioned earlier in our discussion about the autocratic style of management. In your opinion what impact does this style of management have on the individual employees of this University?

Participant: It is a difficult question; I am just trying to think about other departments, the current acting Dean of the faculty, it's a bit like that, and he in my view, he expects to know everything that takes place within the departments. He wants things to be done in certain within the departments. I mean his way. He asks questions like exactly what are they doing, things like that. Previous Dean was free. People used to do what they want as long as they are responsible from what they are doing, but maybe too much freedom. He should have more control. I think the heads of departments feel that they are being watched over the shoulder. Maybe there is lack, a feeling of lack of trust. Xxxxx she is a top librarian. It's a huge job, but she left, she went to America to do her masters and she has two masters. She came back and applied for managerial post and she was turned down, so she left. She used to say that the head of the library is the most evil person she ever met. I mean, she is good enough to manage the big library in UKZN, but not good enough to manage just one department in this institution. This is crazy. You touch on the issue of mob; what they call them, and there is a word they use. There is a head of maintenance, finance, etc. There are five of them. Apparently that is the reason why our Vice-Chancellors leave the Institution within two years without completing their five-year terms. It is because there are those five, including our finance guy, who have all the power to influence the Vice-Chancellor or decision-making committee. So unless the academics dominate and take over that power I think we will continue to be in the hands of *(non-academic people – referred to finance department)*.

Narrative 3: Amit

Interviewer: What is your opinion of the culture of LUT in general?

Participant: Look I can say is eh working at LUT does offer any new potential, any new employee lots of possibilities you know, to learn to grow and to contribute, you know, because it's a growing university. There are a lot of areas that need to be developed and certainly one is never better than [when] one is enthusiastic about work that one can make an impact on the institution, so from the first point of view that

will be in joining the organisation. What impact would I have, what kind of contribution? And I think this university does provide for the people who care and who are enthusiastic to make the contribution and who are eager to learn. We do have many people who aren't interested in making [a] contribution [to] employment as a simple contract worker. It's a living too many people will view. If you are not one of those and you want to make a contribution and this institution can certainly provide you with that. Whether you are an academic or that administers to a person.

Interviewer: Okay, are you saying it is more of what a person wants to bring in or contribute to the University, rather than what they receive in terms of personal gain in income?

Participant: No I'm not referring to that at all, not specifically; I'm talking about contribution to the organisation.

Interviewer: Okay, contribution to the organisation.

Participant: In fact if you wanted to bring in personal gain in this climate you'll actually not be working to the interest of the organisation. So if it's personal gain and if you mean personal gain you mean like salaries and benefits, no. I'm talking about making a contribution to the overall development of the university.

Interviewer: Okay, in your opinion if someone were to ask you about the culture of LUT, what would you tell that person?

Participant: You know the term culture can be approached in so many ways. One can talk about academically term culture of growth, culture of renewal you know that kind of thing. There is a culture of, of enterprise as it were, in the university where academics are encouraged to produce. Certainly that is being encouraged by the university to pursue higher qualifications to contribute to research and that's and I think that many academic staff follow that. Hmm I'm not sure about the administrative staff whether there is similar culture present in terms of developing oneself. You know I don't think the university encourages or rewards that eh to a large extent, you know. On the other hand if you approach culture from a community kind of perspective, you know and I beg a distinction. I find that there is a culture among the staff, the kind of culture that binds all staff together irrespective of race for example. I think there is a common DUT culture and values and norms that people share which can be discerned. I wouldn't say the same about the student population; I think there it's almost like racially constituted in a sense. If you can just walk out you hardly find mixing of the races, let alone on the ground even in lecture rooms. You find that, I don't think institution integrated to any meaningful extent.

Interviewer: What about from the point of view of the staff?

Participant: On the staff side I think that within departments I can only talk about my department. I see a lot of interaction and integration between members. I would say there isn't something to suggest there's disunity.

Interviewer: In your opinion is there any consistency in the way the institution deals with processes, functioning or issues pertaining to staff members, and to student issues?

Participant: Consistency?

Interviewer: Yes.

Participant: A difficult one to answer because I'm not really at the receiving end of policy application. I mean this office is the xxxxxxxxxx'x xxxxxx, say for example disciplinary policies, disciplinary right, I would say without a doubt there is consistency in the way academic irregularities and disciplinary proceedings are conducted, certainly. As far as other policies like HR there's a high level of confidentiality with regard, for example, to pay or benefits and all those things. I'm not sure whether those things are applied consistently; quite frankly I'm not sure, I'm not alarmed by any discrepancies not at all; the only thing that bugs me directly is I'm not the one to make that kind of accusation. I think, as a university, I think we must not forget this is a university, a place of higher learning and it's not effective if you want to compare those two. So people who are on board, for example, in the academics are generally highly qualified and they ought to be sharing a common goal which has been proved by a lot of graduates and the quality from the university. And I think that is pretty understood as the mandate of the university, or of any university and certainly that is the goal and there is no doubt about that. Probably there are inefficiencies in the way those goals are achieved or discrepancies in the way they are achieved. Maybe some departments are not committed than others to that but broadly speaking I think there is a set of assumptions that are understood. But obviously you may get deviance of people, who don't actually sharing that common goal or whatever but I don't **think that's worth considering**

Interviewer: Okay, you mentioned that the academics share a common goal. Do you think employees receive enough support from the executive management?

Participant: Well one of the problems is that there isn't sufficient, there is always resource issue which is insufficient at this university to achieve goals comfortably. One looks at the conditions of lectures, the conditions of students, you know in a cramped room in some cases it's not entirely comfortable. The

resources are not the best available if one compares to one universities that is more advantaged one. We are not like, you know, traditional universities, and there is a lack of facilities for both staff and student. Now I don't know if that is an indication of insufficient support from management, or management pays scantily towards those things but certainly resource constraints prevent management from achieving delivery to large extent on the issues.

Interviewer: In your opinion, what do you think are contributing factors to the lack of facilities you mentioned earlier?

Participant: This University is a public university highly dependent and the resources of income are quite limited in this university and it's largely dependent on the government subsidy and to the student fees. The increases of student fees are always curbed by student protesting against high increase in fees. So obviously that is the area which can't be increased too much. Government subsidies are not increased in real term over a number of years. They just barely make, the increases barely keep up with, the inflation. There hasn't been real growth in terms of the university. That's a problem that is clearly a problem the university doesn't do enough for income that is probably constraint can do ability. I'm not sure equipped to do that. That is why we have this constraint issue.

Interviewer: Okay, as a staff member of this University, how do you feel being part of this diverse university?

Participant: You see this is a difficult question to answer. Let me be honest with you; it is a very complex question that you just asked me. Like you want to simply look at it from the job, you know, coming in as an eight-to-five job, yah, if one does can fit in etcetera. If you look at it from the perspective of making a contribution and appreciated by the people you are serving, maybe the students, I don't believe that eh that is necessary, because, I'm referring specifically to the recent spate of unrest things that are going on at this university, it seems that students are not entirely appreciative of innovations and changes. In-fact they are generally opposed to changes that are being introduced. A classic example, you know, the project I'm involved in, you know, it is something that we want to do for the benefit of the university. But when we discuss this with the student leaders they are not entirely happy with the process, saying that, and provide reasons why they're not happy with it. The most notable one is that it will curb students from being employed temporarily in the registration field which might be selfish reasons for that. So, yes, those are the things that can bring one down in terms of making a contribution because even if you do try to apply yourself as an individual you know it is not going to be well received by the people.

Interviewer: Okay, from what you have said, I take it that you are saying people, both staff and students, tend not to appreciate and accept change.

Participant: I will say yes, this is what I think from my experience dealing with different members of staff and student representatives. Let me give you a specific example of this. I was appointed as the convenor of the task team to revise our registration and selection processes and our VC has been very supportive and always was enquiring about the progress and that. I've also been overseeing the lab registration project there too. Management has been very happy to meet with me and my team to discuss issues so I really feel the sense of support. Again I do not expect people come out and say Xxxx thank you so much for the progress you are doing, or a marvellous job, if you have made your contribution you must not expect people to come to you to say "well done". I think just being heard, and not being directly thanked is good enough for me.

Interviewer: Okay, from the executive management of the university do you feel that they pursue a common goal and do you see the direction which they are pushing self-interest, or is there any problems that you see?

Participant: You see I don't sit with executive management directly together to make any meaningful conclusion about that. I haven't and again I must qualify this, Most of the policy directives or progress reports that are given by the VC [are] right and if there is any report coming from any other management member, nothing contradictory, they seem to be portraying a common goal and I can't respond to rumours. I have heard the rumour but it's not for me to make any conclusions to believe it or to give it credibility, cause there is always talk that goes on in the university about the management and people almost wish for things to fail and for them to be regarded as disunity and I've heard those comments, I've heard that gossip I must say. But to my knowledge, and I've attended a few meetings, I haven't seen any tensions manifest itself, I haven't seen anybody clash. No, I've heard gossip about the management problems and that entire but then again, I haven't seen any of those things. And as an individual I try not to involve myself to those gossips. I think it's very dangerous if one gets into that kind of thing.

Interviewer: Okay. Tell me, in your opinion, why is it that appointed VCs of this institution do not finish their contract term? What do you think might be the cause of this, not having a stable executive management?

Participant: Okay, you see at the moment, part of the dis-functionality, if you call it, over the years has been all the posts have not been filled with permanent people and we have that now. Like we've got the permanent DVC XXX, a permanent DVC academic, we've got a permanent DVC admin and cottage services and a VC. So for the first time we see management as a fully appointed body. And prior to this DVC being appointed it has been an acting position, you recall. So I think we are moving forward as a policing of a permanent member in the past. The changeover or turnover of management was partly due to that in the past. As far as VC is coming and going I think one has to look at that in context of VC positions all over the country at universities generally are pressure points that they experience and maybe they leave because of that. And when I say it's a tough job to managing a university in this climate, especially with students and their demands. So I think the previous VC left. I understand there was some kind of conflict between him and the council which led to his resignation, the details of which I am not aware of but I think it was a personal decision that he took to leave.

Interviewer: So, maybe there's something behind that which make them not stay on?

Participant: It could be the challenges, you know. Maybe you'll find that they are not up to achieving then leave and further than that I can't offer any credible analysis.

Interviewer: Do you believe that the staff members of the university are committed to the university?

Participant: Yah, I understand your question. I think I'm going to repeat what I said about the academics now, generally, and I'm not saying this as if there are no exceptions, 'cause you will find academic staff members that are not committed. But I find with my interaction with the academic staff at meetings that there's a very strong commitment to what they do. I can't say the same about all admin staff. Admin staff generally provide the receiver as a career, as just a job that they come to without necessarily sharing the goal of the institution. And I'm not talking necessarily about my department as, well, I would hope that isn't the case. But certainly there are individuals who don't necessarily share the goals of the institution - it's simply a job for them. And that's something maybe need to be addressed in terms of getting a committed workforce as a whole. Maybe academic staff members are not blocked and bored, admin staff rather are not blocked and bored with regard to the rules of the university they feel they are excluded from the process.

Interviewer: Perhaps they lack a sense of belonging?

Participant: Possibly, possibly. Because of not being informed about the goals of the institution, or seeing the benefit or the contribution that they are making towards achieving the goals of the institution.

Interviewer: In terms of communication, do you think the University has a good level of communication between management and staff and amongst staff members, do you think people are informed about issues that concern them?

Participant: Okay I would say there has been a problem, for example, this institution hasn't had a head of Corporate Affairs for few years now since the resignation of Xxxxxx.

Interviewer: Oh she has resigned?

Participant: Yes, she resigned. And the division was allowed to continue without a director for a while. A director was appointed. I think its two months now since the director was appointed, so I feel that the problems we had before will be now, I mean hopefully they will be addressed. Having said [that], there has been regular communication, coming from the highest governing body of the institution council, every council meeting there is a communication posted on the web, I think staff portal, so people can view what's being discussed on the higher level, you know, at the governance level. There are regular communications that has been issued by the VC in particularly this VC. I mean it will be fair to the previous VC, Xxxx Xx Xxxxx where staff members are kept informed about everything that is going on, so there is a high level of transparency in terms of general development. There's also regular updates on our web page about events, you know one would normally not know about, achievements in academic departments. We have a conduit that is being distributed not as regularly as one would think; it's a newsletter that keeps people informed. So I think, and I'm not judging any hallmark of standard of what should be the standard of communication. But I would say there is a high level of communication.

Interviewer: Okay, let's just say that you were given the opportunity to give your view about putting things right and that you'd like to see happen and make changes. What would be the things that need to, to be done to be able to take the university to the next level?

Participant: Okay, I think one is the resource issue again. I think we've got to really beef up the facilities being given to students. The majority of the students feel that they are given value education. The resources at this institution, I feel, are quite problematic, the condition of lecture rooms, the furniture: it's clearly not up to par, right. If given a chance of leisure activity, the sport and other facilities if one looks at these campuses, and I've been at universities students, I'm speaking from, I've been at the historically disadvantaged university that I went to, the UDW, I mean the facilities for the students are far superior and we don't have those facilities here. Not enough certainly for the student body of twenty-two, twenty-three

thousand. So that is something that needs urgent attention. And certainly one creates the impression that it isn't a student-centred university. The focus is not on the student. You know because of what I'm saying, and that is something that I would give priority to. But then I must qualify: it is not something that is easy to achieve. It's a huge resource issue which needs to be addressed and I think it can only be addressed by government. Hmm the next thing I would do is to, and it's probably related, is to provide training to our student leaders, because I think they are irresponsible. I don't feel that they have the interest of the student body at heart when they disrupt the university. I have a feeling that it's about selfish gain. While they're thought to be talking about helping the masses and all of that, I have serious doubt about that. So I think the students really need to be, be, we need to engage regarding the impact of what they do, you know what I mean? As it is the strikes that went on this year in January and again in July, it's embarrassing statement, it puts student leadership in a poor light and people look down upon us as a university and it creates a bad image for us. That's something, that's another one that actually needs attention at this university. And again it's, it must qualify, there must be a level of frustration for students to do what they do. And I think it isn't the students as such, we have twenty-two to twenty-three students, thousand students; it was under thousand student which cause, influential students. I wouldn't say generally that was a general mass action. What do you call it? Good reluctant tactics used by the students, those are the things that can be irritating. I mean, I think management needs to be firm with that kind of action in the future. I'm not saying they mustn't engage with students, they must [at] all times, but then when you have disruptive elements you have to be firm as we were recently.

Interviewer: So, in your opinion what do you think motivates this small group of students to behave destructively?

Participant: One of the reasons could be student leaders can't perceive that there are limitations and problems affecting the infrastructure of the university [and] that probably adds to the level of the, I'll tell you, anger. But I think over and above it could be a minority of people. I believe that there are politics at play, you know, at the national level, student level, and it will be played out at this university and that causes the problem.

Interviewer: Tell me: In your opinion what makes LUT different and unique compared to other Universities of Technology?

Participant: okay, in a positive way I think that there are unique things done by certain departments. You know, for example, if you go to health sciences and look at dental technology there they have manufactured prosthetics for people, community members with the real problems like disfigured faces; they've developed these copies, they have done things, eh, that help people with vision etcetera. Other departments are looking into health sciences. So those are the unique things that we do. They seem to have a sense of community in some departments and there is that outreach thing that I personally see, where we do make a difference, where the work that we do is directly related to the needs of the community and that should be the hallmark of what University of Technology is. One of the pillars is a strong sense of community purpose. I wouldn't say this is across the board, certainly that will be exaggerating, but you do see pockets of that existing. I think that by and large there is a high level of interaction with the industry at this institution. There seems to be, I can't say this with certainty, but one hears or reads about it in reports, that people in the industry need us a lot. And that is something that defines us. Compared to other tertiary universities, for example, what makes the university unique is that we also have an unpopular reputation of lots of disruptions. You know, students here tend to have too much control over things. It does make us unique. People have commented on that high level high education in South Africa. For example, we're not condemning the students here, so we have been singled out as one of that institution that are perpetuating student's protests and that is not a good thing.

Interviewer: Looking at the issue of working here as an individual member, do you think you have access to sufficient resources? Based on your understanding, perhaps not just to yourself, but maybe in a general sense, do you feel there is equality or inequality?

Participant: I think there are checks and balances as well as structures in place at this institution which gives voice to inequality to any staff member. I am not alarmed by any racial or gender discrepancies, no, no. There isn't anything that bugs me directly, you know, although there are gaps in terms of experiences. But personally, I wouldn't discriminate in terms of race. The feelings are there *[unconsciously]*, but it depends on the individual. The effects of apartheid, I think it is important for the management and the employers to be mindful of that, those issues do occur. I don't have a strong feeling of racial issues as an identity here at *[LUT]*.

Interviewer: If you find because I'm gay I might not feel accepted, or I feel discriminated because of who I am, just for example.

Participant: Like I think maybe that maybe those things do exist. You know in some departments maybe they do. I think we have a complex organisation and certainly I wouldn't rule out the possibility of

prejudice and all of the things creeping into the lecture room you know. I wouldn't say they happen but if you're asking for my personal view on how it happens I don't think so, I wouldn't say so. I also think there are safeguards in place to protect different groups, interest groups at the institution. Like if one was being discriminated because he or she is gay in a workplace. I mean unions will take that up as one of the issues, and remember that rights of employees are a prominent thing. Unions look forward to taking up the cudgels on behalf of workers here. I feel there are checks and balances and structures in place. We have a gender forum at this institution which gives voice to equality of women and we know that is an issue, certainly something that the country is grappling with because of the way women were treated in the past. In this country they were not, like; there are gaps in terms of access to employment and all of that. Everywhere, yah, so I think those structures do exist as a reminder for everybody to be on check, yes they do exist, but personally again I must say I have no experience of inequality. Personally I wouldn't discriminate against a female in my department for appointment or allocation of duties or treatment. I wouldn't discriminate on the basis of race or age or whatever on those things, so you know that's the best I can comment on the situation but our level I think there's that those things don't exist. Now it's possible that staff members may feel different especially when you are a subordinate and you have perceptions about the way you are treated and all of that and I think of myself as a young employee and you feel like you are not given enough treatment and I wouldn't imagine that those feelings are there. It could simply be a kind of perception rather than anything real. You know quite often one has perception about that and yah.

Interviewer: So do you think the culture of LUT does or does not shape the degree of equality?

Participant: Yah I think that, it will be a unpleasant for people to go against those policies. That's why I say they actually serve as a safeguard people even if one has a cruel or wilful intent to not treat anybody unequal discriminate, you know discriminatory practices. I think those tendencies would be curbed by the existence of these structures and where it's not a nice thing to say because it assumes that people are bad people at heart and the only reason those bad tendencies will manifest themselves because there are sufficient in place so it's difficult one to answer. I mean if one has to look at the simple effects of apartheid is still here with us.

Interviewer: Yes

Participant: I'll give you an example: Somebody speaks harshly to you and you happen to be black or female. You can think this person doesn't really like me. And I think it's important for employers and managers and all that, you're mindful of that not to treat people differently, but just to be mindful that those perceptions do occur in the interaction. Even one is white, for example, you think this is like staff, they don't like me. I must say I don't have that as a strong identity at LUT. I think one has to say that personally, I think it will be an exaggeration survey result but certainly our little microcosm here I'm unaware of those things. Certainly you find it in certain departments and all that there.

Interviewer: The University has an equity policy do you understand fully what it entails?

Participant: The equity policy speaks about conforming to targets, you know, for transforming the institution that speaks to equity act, about the complying to the equity act as well.

Interviewer: Yah, based on the legislation

Participant: Based on legislation. So there is a lot of reference to that, it is. I think we do make attempts to achieve equity which will reflect the demographics of this province. It's not always easy at the employment level to have. I mean, the idea is that it must reflect the demographics of Minia, which will mean largely eighty percent Blacks make up the staff profile of this University, which it is impossible to achieve at the present moment. Since the majority of Black people are not yet qualifying or have good experience to take on academic position or be involved in senior executive team, you know.

Interviewer: What do you think can be done to change the current situation? Can you suggest a plan to try to move towards that direction?

Participant: Well, I think the first can be to have a stable organisation so you don't just employ people because they are Black, or female or and all of that to achieve that. The university must be strong on that: That you are selecting good candidates to take this university forward. So the possibility is that you may not achieve. I know the academic staff and this is a known fact: there are not many African staff members coming forward for interviews for certain fields or disciplines.

Interviewer: When you say African, what do you mean?

Participant: I'm talking about Black South African. You see Black when you call Black in the legislative sense would be African, indigenous African. Indian, Coloured I am not talking about that, I'm talking about African, indigenous African, that's the term. 'Cause if I say Black it will include Coloureds and Indians and we have a number of staff members at the university, and I'm saying that we need to transform this university to have more academic staff members who are African.

Interviewer: What do you think of the employment equity legislation, which I believe is the government initiative to address what you are talking about? How effective is this? Do you think the University management is sufficiently involved in the equity initiatives of this University?

Participant: There is an equity policy in this University. This should always be, and I do not think that the executive should be championing the equity initiatives; I don't think one should rely on the VC to necessarily drive those things except to announce all those things. So far you think individually are treated the same from in the wider view and there is no, I mean, inconsistency in dealing with issues. I certainly don't want to create the impression that there is harmony because that is also misleading; you don't want to say. I think people get on with their work, you know, without the culture of racial differences being a factor. I think that for me is an important thing that maybe we are not as conscious of race and, eh, as people want or maybe imagine or want us to be. I don't believe we are. I sit on the disciplinary panel with people of different race group, I act in meetings and, I wouldn't say harmony, I don't mean I love the person sitting next to me or whatever, no, but I mean we can work together as colleagues without any overt or underlying feeling aggression towards somebody because she's of another group you know. I don't. I think it will be unfair to say that. Obviously you will get individuals who harbour racial stereotypes and all that, which means they don't want to change. I think with inequality you know on a large scale it would certainly be an issue at the Institution. I must admit that from my interaction with management at *[LUT]* there hasn't been any complaint about unequal treatment of people you know. I also think there are safeguards in place to protect different groups. Which they won't change and, as long as if it is not allowed to manifest, I would be quite happy at the institution. You know because it is so, even taking out of this context in a social setting, I mean you can wax lyrical about any race group how much as you want but you can't do anything about it in the legal sense, you know. We are all here to stay and we have to work together achieving the university's goals, and I think focusing on these issues actually detract us from the achievements of goals. First just put it in context: What I'm trying to say is that I don't believe that it's an, that it's a prominent picture of how we interact, you know, being a member of a race group or gender or whatever. I don't believe that maybe it exists but certainly not to my knowledge.

Interviewer: As now we are now almost eight years or nine years into the merger now, do you think there is still an "us and them" mentality?

Participant: I don't think so; I honestly believe that we are LUT.

Narratives 4: Jabu

Interviewer: Okay, as I briefed you before about the study, it's about the organisational culture of a multicultural organisation. That's why I chose LUT as a case study, because it's a multi, it's a very diverse, university. So this is nothing. So, yah, I just want to find your perceptions, your understanding about the culture of LUT and also your experiences while you are working here. Do you feel you belong? Do you feel accepted by the people around you? It's also about feeling; also your gender, race, your ethnicity, maybe also how people identify you in terms of those things. It's just a broad… Let me maybe break it down: What can you tell me about the culture of LUT?

Participant: well as an outsider person, you know that LUT is made over a merger between XX Xxxxxx and Xxxxxxxx Xxxxx and all the changing of the South African education in the state, all the Technikons are now referred to as university of technology. That is what we initially we were called LIT now it's LUT. So the universities of technology are career-focused. You know, that is where they started. However, we also do research and also do other things like, you know, like with traditional leaders. So I started here when it was XX Xxxxxx and the culture, yah, at that time the university, let me say the staff ratio, the race or the profile of the staff at that time it was predominantly Indian. And we, the Africans, were in the minority and the majority of the African staff was at the junior level or in the supporting structures and, you know, in the maintenance or cleaners or something, and very few in powers or in higher positions and on management. The majority of Black people are at the lower level because I will see them because I was a union member. I will see them when I was at the executive of the union. In the masses, you know, the people, I must say the ratio the majority were males because of the maintenance and so on and only few females. And then in terms of, eh, management there was no African leader and that I can say I want to be that leader when I started. So it was only Indians and maybe one White or so. So when we merged at least then with the two institutions that merged then, you know, there this a colour change because I can say there are two females at least in management so that maybe the [fact] that we've got the Africans that we thought could be in management, they took the exit package. They couldn't stay on and then they left. So, yah, and the university culture, it's supposed to be multicultural, multiracial. I suppose it is depending on, you know, irrespective of the race but the student profile looking at it now, our student profile, the majority are Africans. And they are multilingual and unfortunately the medium of

instruction and the communication medium in this university is English so there is that mismatch. It's also something that somewhere we should be, we should reflect what we are as a department and say that we are a country in, Africa in Minia province and, as you know, my background is in languages. There are four official languages in Minia as it was approved in 1998, 2008, and 2009 by the MEC. The majority of the population, I mean about eighty percent, more than eighty percent or seventy-three percent plus. I might not have accurate figures but more than eighty percent are IsiZulu-speaking of the population now in the entire province and thirteen percent they speak English, and only four percent, three or four percent speak IsiXhosa, and then only one percent speaks Afrikaans. And the university is still carrying on as if we are even but fortunately last year the senator is in support of multilingual policy sort of its bilingual and in support multilingualism and I was actually instrumental in getting the, I was involved in the central project in trying to get the university to say that "look we are a university in Africa" and all of that so surely we should be known the centre of languages of the majority of this because students the majority are Africans. Be it they speak IsiZulu, be it they speak IsiXhosa or be it they speak other languages but that is that. So in terms of the culture that is that and the profile of the students is that. But in terms of management, wow, I don't know there's only one person. There's one African in executive management who's in leadership, yah.

Interviewer: Are you talking about DVCs?

Participant: Yah, executive management, oh yah, there's two now. Because recently we had one and now there's two DVCs but the other one was recently appointed. But all along we had one DVC who was African. But then the strange part of it is, you know, the other DVC whenever there was crisis at LUT or whenever somebody was wanted to act as the principal, that person was good enough to act. And for me it makes sense if I'm good in that, good enough to act for more than six months it means I am capable of running the institution. But then when the final appointment is made that person was not considered. I'm not sure what the process and that; I'm not sure what the other, what the other candidates. But I would have said, I would have thought that in support of an African female from that matter in support of that. This month, as it is the last day, I would have thought that LUT would have seriously considered an African female. It changes the culture of the students, of the executive so that also that can addressed the issues of the majority of the students and people, I think the perception, people think that is that when we say that we need to Africanise or we need to reflect culture, the African culture, they think we want to do apartheid in reverse and that is not what we're saying. That is not what I believe.

Interviewer: So what are you saying?

Participant: What I'm saying is that we're thinking about I always think back to my background as a linguist that we don't say as much as for instance at school level when the minister said all learners must learn for instance in this province, IsiZulu by the same token at the university level it's there. And if you go to the Eastern Cape IsiXhosa is an African, so they will do IsiXhosa, and again in the Western Cape IsiXhosa. IsiZulu by the same token we expect the schools are starting somewhere, you know. The university should do the same. I must say in terms of that I haven't enquired because I have started to run some short courses, the Siyakhuluma course where I lecture IsiZulu to staff members but I sort of like try to co-ordinate a lot to facilitate and I get other people to facilitate that. And I also tried to provide the interpreting service that is piloted with the other assisting lecturers whereby lecturers, the lecturer in that programme said that lecturers who are English-speaking and our students are predominantly Africans and they feel that the failure rate or the performance rate of the student is attributed to the language. And then as I said you, we probably need to learn IsiZulu and you run the short courses you can do that. And probably what you can do because you cannot learn a language overnight it can take you long to master a language, so but in the meantime we can provide the equipment. Fortunately the then principal supported the project and bought the mobile interpreting, simultaneous interpreting equipment. Initially the students will come in here, the lecturer will deliver the lecture in English and the employed interpreters will interpret whatever he was saying simultaneously. So when the students appreciated that, but then the issue they had was that you know it's a pity with the exams they are going to write they are in English, you know. It will have been nice if we can do the lectures in Zulu, at least now we understand the content we appreciated that and now we continue in English. Maybe a little percent, maybe less than five percent, said: "Why bother if we are going to write the exams in English? Let us continue in English. It's a global language" and so on, but the majority still said that, you know, we want to learn in our African language. If we are given the opportunity, we get the books, the textbooks and so on. Like all other countries in fact, they use their native language for business and as a medium of learning in schools and at tertiary level. For example, when I was formerly collecting data in Belgium I visited one of their institutions called the Hooger Insitute Capitalia, it means the Higher Institute for Translators and Interpreters. And I asked them what their official language is. They told me that the country has three official languages. They've got Flemish, German and French. It's either you have those three languages, no English nothing like that, all

the original. And the students they go there learning their home languages and they are doing so well. And I would attribute the high failure rate in matric to the language issue.

Interviewer: Okay, you think the language contributes to the high failure rate?

Participant: Yah the language. And also the performance, I'm not saying it's hundred percent even here at LUT I would attribute that to, you know, the seventy percent to the language. So I'm hoping someday somebody will see the light and so on. But at least the good start is that LUT last year it was the first of September approved a bilingual policy. At least it's the right step towards the right direction and the senator approved, ag [ash] man the council approved it in November in LUT. So now we're in the process of calling out the, but unfortunately because of my studies I was busy writing and so on, so some of the things that I started providing the interpreting service to the graduation ceremonies and the parents appreciated that by the way and when they were ululating when their children you know. All the proceedings were in English and they wouldn't understand a word. All they see is their son or daughter walking across the stage. Then they think "now we must do this" but you know when we provided the interpreting service they appreciated that. And we provided the interpreting service during the faculty of art and design conference, we piloted for the staff members who are IsiZulu-speaking and they appreciated it because, you know, being lecturers they understand both the languages. They appreciated that for a change the conference at the university they were able to follow the proceedings, you know, in Zulu. And also we're assisting with the piloting for the students, so yah that is it. So in terms of management, we have 2 African females who are in executive management team. So I'm not sure if we are moving as fast as we're supposed to be. At least it's one step at a time but we're getting somewhere and as you know now the Deans and the executive Deans. The executive Deans only one African female, the rest for me it's still the historical White university and the historical Indian they are merging and then we have the Deans still somewhere there. It's one person and it's only one person who is African. So the other Deans that are Indians, oh and there's also one coloured. So it's one coloured, one African, we have six Deans, one African and one coloured and the four yah, gee are Indians. Yah because there was one White, so but I'm not sure in terms of the HoDs when we sit at senate as the Head of the Department when you look around I can count the number of Africans who are Heads of Departments. At the faculty, all the staff members, all the academics from lecturers, the senior lecturers, the HoDs, and so on, they sit at the faculty board. Now at senate, which is higher than the faculty board, at senate the Africans are less than ten. And the senate is constituted by more than I don't know; I don't know how many departments and how many people are there. So but we're more than fifty, close to hundred I don't know. So yah there, all the Africans that are there both males and females are less than ten. So yah, it is the culture of this University, so but we survive and I feel that sometimes because I'm me I'm African maybe for me the language I'm expected to be perfect whereas other people, you know, when they make a mistake it's a human error, it's fine, ag [means ash] shame they tend to be sympathetic towards that, for the other person of the other colour and so on. But with me I feel, I may be wrong, I feel that I need to always continuously sort of prove myself that, you know, I am as good as the other races. I don't want to see myself sitting at senate as an African woman, I want to sit at senate as a senate member and forget about the rest. But yah, you know, sometimes I don't know it's there, maybe it's something with me or it's just my perception. I do not know, but yah. But anyway, being who I am I sit; I try always to do the right thing because I need to work twice harder because I must prove a point.

Interviewer: In your understanding do you think the university is consistent in the way they do things, the processes, allocation of resources? Do you think there's any consistency in the way things are done around here?

Participant: You know, we just had a programme reviewing evaluation. We need to know always our capex, you know, the capital expenditure is always cut. My feeling is the support structures they don't get evaluated only in the academic sector. And then we are expected that we must do this, we must provide the teaching; the area must be conducive; the environment must be conducive for teaching and learning. But when you put your budget line for your capital expenditure it's been chopped. And you told by the executive management that there's a university subsidy cut because of the students are not paying and the NFSAS and so on and so on. You know the resources and the resources, so you need to have strategy for things to happen. For instance, in the previous evaluation identified that our students couldn't type for translators. You supposed to type your translation so on and, when we seek placement for them for work integrated level, our students are not good in typing and when I ask the student: Why can't you type? The problem is that they only, they do computer usage which is serviced by the IT department. I told the IT department that look this is the criticism that we've got from the industry that our students though they do computer usage they can't type. And then he said: "No, what you expect? We service almost the entire institution." When we request the budget for more staff we're not given. So obviously we only use what we have. So, you know, the complaint is there that it becomes my problem; that if my students are not

performing and so then I decided that, look, when they can do that also the computer lab during certain times they hours were open they couldn't. During certain times they closed, students will stand in long queues because they were centralised. So what I then did was say we need to have our computer lab. Since then after that I started to have computer lab for our department, not department for the then department before merger. But for the two programmes at least, so at least we have our students on the first floor they have their own lab.

Interviewer: So, eh, there's also student destruction here and I understand it happens frequently. What can you tell me about that?

Participant: Wow, I don't know. Maybe it's my feeling. I feel that sometimes with the students you should be able to, they can have destruction in the first year and you identify the problems. Second time around as a manager you become proactive in trying to address the student issues. But it's just that unfortunately we get the management know the students this is what they want and then because it's a national crisis, management say we can't. But my take on the matter is if other university student from other universities can do it and if their students are not toy-toying all the time. So how is it that, can't we copycat if I can use the term and why can't we do what the other students are doing?

Interviewer: What the other universities do?

Participant: Maybe it's true the government - it's a national crisis. Yes, we acknowledge that, but I think the way you manage that. Surely you should be able to say that if the students in the other universities are not toy-toying, communicate with the managers there and say: "You guys, your students, you only have few students' destruction after five years and so on; for us it's becoming a trend. I would if I was in management; I would approach the other universities and advice. So my feeling is that there's a complete overhaul of middle management because we can change managers as much as we can if there is no support from the leading management. But unfortunately with us, the academic department, we are not changing but the same time whenever there's a new manager the new manager decides let's merge this department. I think the new crew they and to prove a point to say that now I've made a change there. I've made my way and so on but unfortunately with us we still lecture. Our students, the student numbers strange enough; I receive more than five hundred applications just for first years and I can only take forty. That means despite all that, despite the strikes everything so it means our programmes in the department, surely there is something right they are doing. But when people toyi toyi [protests] and all the destruction on the media you'll think maybe the following year.

Interviewer: In terms of equity I understand that the University do have equity policy and equity office. Can you briefly tell me your views of the equity policy and its impact on staff members of this University?

Participant: I've been out of the loop for a long time but when I see, back in the loop now I think in the five, six interviews that I sat in as the Head of Department, always the equity manager or the equity officer has tendered an apology. I'm not sure whether there is understaffing or whether the person in charge is not committed. I don't know, but there is something wrong. I mean you can understand if it's one, I don't know maybe it's a coincidence whenever I'm going for an interview in my faculty, I have never sat in an interview with an equity person. It's always it will be myself as the Head of the Department, the Dean as the chairperson, the unions and they will say that officially, oh when the chairperson is asking before we start with interview if there's apologies, always apologies come from equity. Surely if there's a problem there's an equity manager, he'll be able to say: "I am understaffed, I'm unable to you know to so." I think there's a complete overhaul in our equity office and I believe there's a workshop. I don't know maybe he doesn't get support from senior managers or from elsewhere, I do not know. I don't want to know, I never probe. I realise that in terms of our equity officers and so on. There's a huge, huge problem. You know it's in my capacity or jurisdiction to go and probe and say: "Do you have a problem? "He doesn't report to me. As far as I see there is a problem. Unfortunately you know I've just finished, submitted my doctoral studies. We had a programme evaluation; there's another one coming for the journalism programme because the department is merged. I'm stretched. Hopefully we'll be one big department then we can work better. Unfortunately I could not spare the whole day, if it was an hour or two hours, but I did not want to go and attend for an hour or two hours unfortunately. That's the thing. They said I must hold the lecture it's official and unfortunately I need to lecture and unfortunately for me now there's a staff member who got injured maybe a week before we had a programme review evaluation because he fell from the he can't drive he can't walk; he can't do anything unfortunately. I had to take his workload. So I teach there and I lecture, so with all this workload that I have, I realised that it's pointless for me to get a part time staff member to come only for two months. I think it will reflect badly to the students. I'll rather overwork myself for two months. I haven't recovered from my work you know when you submit after a research you just, I just want to go.

Interviewer: Yah, let's touch on your experience. Do you ever feel maybe your gender, your race or your ethnic group, hmm, identity makes you somewhere, somehow maybe people not accepting you or feel treated unfairly within this community, LUT community?

Participant: Well personally, I don't know maybe because I started at UDW, which is now UKZN, and it was the ratio, the profile of the staff, you know, gender and so on and so on. Maybe I developed a thick skin. So when other people say when we are sitting in a meeting: "Why did so and so do this, why did so and so do this?" and I will say but I didn't see it like that. You know, after sometime I realised that there was some racial connotation; there was that gender issue there. But for me I tend to say that when people they are asking me a question or when people challenge me and so on they're asking me as a manager who is responsible. Until the other person says to me: "Why did this person say that?" In our faculty, it's a small faculty, a happy faculty and I must say that our Dean is very supportive in terms of equity and so on but unfortunately for him he can't change things overnight. There are only two Africans. I'm the only African and the other Professor of communication and the rest it's White males. So he tries, he's very supportive whenever there's a staff meeting and so on and so on, but unfortunately there isn't any, there aren't any people who apply for the jobs or there are vacancies and so on. He can only support us this much. But I can say that strange enough if you go in those programmes there are students that are there. LUT started, you know, with the late DVC academy. He started what we call GOOT - growing your own timber. Yes, so growing your own timber and I'm sorry that's not an excuse for me if you say that you have to grow your own timber. For instance, I have students here that accept me, this is a good student. I have two students that I'm sort of mentoring. They are now registered for masters. Surely in their student body and so on they shouldn't say this is a good student, because they pass. We see them graduating and they are grabbed by the industry and so on. So why can't the HODs in these departments say that, okay now there's one or two Africans say if one Head say okay I realise that I'm of another colour let me groom, because of the profile of my staff, one or two, you know, people. One male and one female of another colour that I can share mentor that person, groom my own timber and that person to be a junior lecturer, lecturer, senior lecturer. Just one not even many, you know. I think people just don't like to let go.

Interviewer: Tell me: In your understanding what can you say, what is it the culture that makes LUT distinct from traditional university let's say around the region and or the university of technology that makes it different from others the unique culture of LUT that you are proud of, as an employee of LUT?

Participant: Wow, well I suppose I can start with my, in terms of firstly in the province as one of the UOTs, the university of technology, there's two universities of technologies and from what I gather from the media and so on and fro what I hear people speak is very good, and that our students, once they complete work, they do get employment. It's a national crisis, employment. But then if you at each and every government department or else our industry, whether I'm going to the mall and so on, I'm bound to see students who say aren't you at LUT because they see us when we are at the procession. Aren't you a staff member? You know, this is people this year I studied there and so on. I think LUT has got that potential, not potential: it is producing good students and it is really supplying the market the... the industry. And also I think, you know, that they work for creative learning. For instance, we had at the University of Natal, we had students there, and they talk about my programme for instance. They teach interpreting but their students are theorising they say you know that equipment that we see on TV, you see that one. So the lecturer unfortunately there you almost as an interpreter myself you interpreted meeting someone, she said my students theorise about the equipment. At least to a certain extent all that it is the equipment but at least our students do have it, they are hands-on. They can do the work they can; they do get good feedback you know. And when you place them for in-service training the industry speaks so well about them such that they become victimised sometimes by the so and so. But what I've heard the perception is that in the engineering is that, yes, they know their work but they stay at the same level. When there are promotions because we focus more on, we're more hands on, we're career-focused sort of like our students don't go up. But I would say it depends on certain programmes because I can count four or five of my students who are directors. So it depends on the programme. I would say that LUT is producing, yah, despite the entire negative image. Yah, the students that are from LUT I can say from my department, journalism, we see them on the media, we say oh this one is making progress. There are products from the other depart, programme fashion what is it Deon Chang, the product fashion he's from LUT, so and the actors from...I can pinpoint and say that LUT produces good students.

Interviewer: That's good. In terms of norms and values and beliefs, what do you think are the values of LUT?

Participant: Wow, with the change, change in management and so on, I would say it varies. I mean we teach our students that, you know, because of different cultures it becomes a very relative term. Because some people what they regard as of value to them, when we toy-toying for a cell phone damage property

or when you are unhappy you don't speak loud or when you are in the lecture hall you do xyz, yah when you are attending and so on and so on. So I would say that you know we have all of them but our students sometimes our students are always students so we've got communicators to the principal I don't know students are always students.

Interviewer: Tell me: In your opinion, is there any consistency in resource allocation, promotion and in the processes and practices of the University**?**

Participant: I think our culture, I mean South African culture, do play a major role in terms of job allocation and promotion in this University, especially if you are Black and moreover, if you are a woman. Women *[in a]* cultural *[context]* always have been viewed as caretakers, housewives or maids. This is continuing to take place even here in the institution of higher learning. Our male colleagues still see us as care-givers. What is harder for African staff members, this is across the board, is to carry any authority or weight for what you do. I think there is an assumption on the part of the White or Indian staff members that if you are an African, you are either there to make tea, or clean their offices. Mostly an African person cannot even be trusted to be a secretary or a receptionist because of your language. I mean you cannot speak proper English and your accent is not like theirs. In many occasion I find myself being excluded in decisions that have huge impact to my department because there is a tendency here to organise at the wrong time. I mean wrong time because they clash with my family responsibility as a single mother. Most of the time there are events such as meetings, I mean informal meetings, which take place after office hours. Mostly, I fail to attend those meetings as I have a family and children. It is very difficult for me as a married woman. This sort of social networking thing is very difficult for some of us, especially the married African women. A married African woman cannot just go to these short notice evening meetings without the permission from her husband. For me to be able to attend these evening meetings and events I need to plan days before the meeting or event. I need to ask permission from my husband. I cannot do it at the last minute and over the phone each time I have to attend these meetings. It is not acceptable at all. Therefore, these evening meetings, which are organised at the last hour, do actually exclude women from attending and being part of the decision-making because most of the things are discussed in those informal meetings and then during formal meetings they just endorse the decision which was already taken.

Interviewer: So do you think gender and race play a major role in the processes and practices of this University?

Participant: Yes, I think what is actually needed is to make it transparent. We have these guidelines, you know. Mostly, these guidelines are not taken into account

Interviewer: Based on the earlier discussion on the feeling of being excluded and lack of transparent, can you please explain what makes feel and think that way.

Participant: There are direct manifestations of racism which were, by and large, a thing of the past. Racism has become subtle. The victims can smell it a mile away. The problem is how to articulate it so that the pain can be expressed. I really feel that Blacks, in particular African women, are experiencing more exclusion in this University. For example, the strange part is, you know, there is one of the *[Deputy Vice-Chancellor]* DVC *[an African female]* and whenever there is a crisis at this institution or whenever somebody has wanted to act as the VC *[Vice Chancellor]*, she has always opted to act *[this African female was an "temporary acting VC"]*. My point is she is good enough to act but will never be appointed as a Vice Chancellor for this University. Whenever the post is advertised, she has applied, but she never gets the appointment. She has already acted two or three times, if I am not mistaken. For me, this does not make sense. If I am good enough to act for more than six months, this means I am capable of running the Institution. But then when the final appointment is made she is never considered. I'm not sure what the selection process is, I'm not sure.

Interviewer: Okay, but tell me how these gender and racial exclusions take place in this University since there is equity office and equity policy in place.

Participant: To be honest with you, most of the time, the majority of Black people do experience racism in this University, but they never report it. This is because even if you report the racist behaviour nothing happens and so they don't report it anyway. Again, the person you have to report to this unfair treatment is from the same race, so what is the point of reporting? Instead of making peace it generates more conflict and unpleasant work environment, which we as Blacks we try by all means to avoid.

Narratives 5: Thulani
Interviewer**:** Tell me, in your opinion, what do you understand about the culture of this university, in terms of its values, how things get done around here? What makes this university different from other universities?

Participant: Well, LUT is an institution that is beginning to find its balance after the merger project and it has gone through a number of unpleasant experiences that sort of militated against its progress. It's a

pleasant institution to work at, and I think it's, it's got a lot of potential to become one of the best university of technology in South Africa.

Interviewer: Tell me, from your experience and understanding, what makes this university unique from other universities in South Africa?

Participant: Well, I would say that it is unique in the sense that its merger was voluntarily, it is unlike other institutions that merged because of an act of parliament. The LUT one Xxxxxxxxx Xxxxx and XX Xxxxxx volunteered to enter into this merger. So that put it in a unique bracket of its own. The university research record is not impressive yet. However they are pockets of excellence in various departments in various cultures and in various faculties, which it's highly impressive. I know that there are departments with programmes in the faculty of engineering; I am talking of the faculty of applied science, faculty of arts. Although there are some pockets where there is substantial research activities taking place.

Interviewer: Okay, in terms of the university environment and the location, from your understanding is there a relationship between university and the community it serves or located to?

Participant: LUT it's placed right in the middle of Xxxxxx and it immediately impacts on the life of the metro and the metro life also impacts on LUT. I know for the fact that there is a lot of community duties, or community engagement, and projects that LUT does particularly [well]: the faculty of arts, have got lots of those, just this morning, I approved request from the organisers of XXXXXX which is the international, conference on climate change, asking, us to provide space for some activities to take place in our art gallery and in our, on our campus, so immediately yes, this is one of the simple example of how LUT engage with the community, or with the local community. There is a strong relationship with the surrounding community.

Interviewer: Okay, in your understanding as one of the senior staff member of this University, what are the core values of this institution?

Participant: Well, the, the core values of this institution amongst others are transparency, honesty, integrity and others.

Interviewer: Tell me, from your perception; do you think that the university is in line with its core values and mission?

Participant: It takes a lot of time to inculcate values, and it takes time for a, for an institution to mature to a level where it is sitting, it is able to define its core values, as an indispensable imperative of its existence. So, well, one cannot at this present moment say that, yes, LUT is living up to its values in total. But acknowledges that there is a, there is a, there is an effort towards the realisation in respect of those core values.

Interviewer: In your experience and understanding, do you think all staff member strive towards the common goal of the university?

Participant: Staff members at their own, the departmental level, executive management, senate, the other university structures are committed towards the goal of the university, there is commitment**.**

Interviewer: From your previous discussion you mentioned that there is a high turnover of Vice Chancellors. In your understanding what might be the reason for that?

Participant: Well, my sense is that LUT is just makes wrong appointments. We appoint wrong people.

Interviewer: What make you say that LUT appoints wrong people?

Participant: The council is appointing the wrong people. Well the past two appointments were definitely the poor appointments

Interviewer: In what way? Maybe if could please explain.

Participant: In the sense that the council did not sufficiently probe into the capabilities of these people, in the management environment.

Interviewer: You mean that they couldn't cope with the management work of this institution?

Participant: On average they are intelligent persons, but their management skills and their relations with staff members and relations with student structures, let's take for instance respect for the rule of law, and are almost non-existent.

Interviewer: Touching on the issue of rules and student structures, I understand LUT has the highest student destruction. Every year there is strike. From your opinion, what do you think perpetuates these destructions?

Participant: The student unrest that we see all the time is due to a number of factors. Firstly, the leadership; that is a critical in making decisions that impact on the student's life, does not reflect the demographics of South Africa. I mean administrative leadership. Like for instance, there is proportionate number of Indians in critical leadership positions that make decisions for, for students, who are the majority of students are Black. And probably there is also a culture issue here,

Interviewer: You mean the people at the leadership position who makes decisions are a certain group whereas students are a certain group, so you mean it's where the problem starts?

Participant: Yes, they operate at a different level; they don't understand the cultural differences

Interviewer: Do you think other members recognise this problem?

Participant: This is just my opinion from my experiences, and this is a very sensitive issue, you know, but sometimes things needs to come out, you know,

Interviewer: Tell me, from your experience working here at LUT as an executive dean, do you maybe feel that you don't belong here, or maybe feel excluded because of who you are?

Participant**:** Yes, there are moments were I will [feel] seriously compromised. If I request something from the finance department; I do not get it immediately. It takes ages. But if I ask one of my junior **staff** *[an Indian employee]* to do a requisition for me, he gets a response immediately. What does this say to you?

Interviewer: That is very interesting. Okay, what do you think perpetuate that king of attitudes or behaviour, or practices?

Participant: It is the culture of this university that perpetuates that kind of attitude of who [you] are before you get something.

Interviewer: In your opinion what do you think needs to be done to stop that kind practices and attitudes?

Participant: I think the council must make means to comply with the national imperatives in terms of demographics. And there would be more Blacks in leadership positions. I understand that management or people in charge of recruiting are saying that senior posts get advertised and there are no Blacks applying, especially in academic positions. That is not true. If you look at numbers of Blacks in South Africa, and the high level of unemployment, it does not make sense to say that Blacks do not apply for jobs.

Interviewer: I understand that management or people in charge of recruiting are saying that senior posts get advertised and there are no blacks applying, especially in academic positions. Have you heard of that and how true that is from your opinion?

Participant: That is not true, If you look at numbers of Blacks in South Africa, and the high level of unemployment, it does not make sense to say that blacks does not apply for jobs.

Interviewer: Or they say Black does not qualify for the job.

Participant: Well, it is possible, it's possible, and you will find that those Blacks that qualify are comfortable where ever they are.

Interviewer: Tell me from your understanding: Are the practices, procedures of this university fair and equal for all staff member working for this university?

Participant: No, I don't think so, no, there is differentially in terms of race, gender and the, the, class, as I have said earlier on, and there are some people had this done very quickly because they talk to the right people in terms of race and gender.

Interviewer: In your understanding is there any means that the university is trying to reach the balance in terms race, and gender in particular?

Participant: There is an equity office which is a unit in HR.

Interviewer: Does this office get support from executive management?

Participant: Yes, not only executive management; there is also a council directing that, the, the equity must become imperative. But the equity office has not been [operating] functionally, and has not been effective. The equity office is a unit in HR, so they are sub-directorate; I think that is where the problem lies, because it should be part of executive management in such a diverse university like which has got a history of segregation by race, to try to balance the situation. Presently its function is to submit annual equity reports to the department of education. It is a condition from the government that every year each institution submits equity annual report. Basically, they provide statistics about how many Blacks are there, how many Whites, how many females, and how many disabled and total staff members - all those things. However, it is just there to make functions, that is, compliance with the regulations.

Interviewer: In your experience, is [there] any case where the university employed someone because of who they are in terms of race, gender, not based on merit?

Participant: Yes, you know that these matters are very sensitive that one might lose job, but there are considerations were made other than merit, were used. Here at *[LUT]*, the majority of Black people are employed at the lower positions, such as cleaning and maintenance. Whenever you raise the issue of equity in these management meetings, they always justify this by saying that there are no qualified Black people to handle senior positions in this Institution. This is not true. When they advertise for senior positions, they always require 10-15 years' experience. Where do they think Black people will get that kind of experience? To me this is a way of excluding Black people from senior positions and from decision-making processes.

Interviewer: Is there anything that you would like to raise which we did not talk about or we did not mention in our discussion which you think impact the lives of people working here and the effectiveness of the university?

Participant: Well, I don't know, but, I think what I want to add to what I have said is that the inculcation of values and norms that we have is not supported by a strategic activity. Which one can say this what the LUT has done, to canvass or to, or to, canvass the values or there is no campaign to make sure that every staff member and students subscribe to those values. As you have seen I also struggled to remember the values, I only mention two or three, yet but they are 6 or 7. So it means that, that element is not taken seriously, at all levels.

Interviewer: Tell me: from your experience working in this university, how you feel being a staff member of this diverse university.

Participant: Yah, yah, I like my job. I am 100% identifying myself with this university. I have got my full allegiance. I do not agree with everything that goes on in LUT but I owe my full allegiance with LUT.

Interviewer: Tell me, from your understanding, how staff members get appreciated and get supported to achieve their work.

Participant: There are moments where I feel I am not being valued, and also there are moments where I feel that I am appreciated and up there in the sky. It depends.   I think also most of the staff feels the same.

Interviewer: Tell me: In your opinion, what impact does the student destruction have to the image of the institution?

Participant: Obviously, as a person who loves LUT, it hurts me to see that there is a lot of, not a lot; there is a major of negativity that has been thrown around in the media. At the same time 95% of the stories that the media covers about it are positive stories. I mean this morning on a daily basis almost, LUT comes up with some positive activity. It's only that bad news spread faster than the good news

Interviewer: Tell me, from your understanding; do the university processes and practices support staff initiatives?

Participant: Well, I think LUT provides unlimited opportunities for people who are destined to improve their own situation.

Interviewer: As an executive dean of this faculty what processes that are in place that encourages staff initiatives, support system maybe for staff development?

Participant: Yes, this is my job. Where I see, or recognise potential I chase it, and make sure that it survives.

Interviewer: Tell me; based on the equity plan of the faculty, does your faculty meet the equity targets?

Participant: I am concerned about certain programmes. Some programmes the equity is fine, in terms of the national demographics. In some programmes, in fact it's only one or two programmes that we still have equity problem. But across the University it is worth to note that in this Institution, we are dealing with ignorant attitudes that do not want to learn and understand Black culture. I mean we are dealing with people who are eager to see a Black person as subordinate.

Narratives 6: Kavita

Interviewer: Tell me in your opinion about the culture of this University**.**

Participant: Currently if I were to describe the culture of LUT, I would hate to do this, but I would describe it in a very negative light.

 Interviewer: In your understanding, as you said it might be a negative, it might be a positive, so you are free to say whatever**.**

Participant: Alright, let me start at the beginning now, to tell you why I'm talking like that. As with any merger that takes place there is uncertainty; there's fear amongst the staff. If these changes take place what will happen to my future? Am I still going to have a job? And also this thought of being intimidated by the stronger organisations that's merging or taking over. So we had that here at LUT - fear and uncertainty. And then with that fear and uncertainty, also people began to behave differently. People that were not so strong in their positions, as you know we were XX Xxxxxx was previously disadvantaged Xxxxxxxx and Xxxxxxxx Xxxxx was a previously advantaged Technikon. When we merged I think what was very evident was the previously advantaged was predominantly White and, I don't know, I think there were fears. When you were in a place of position because of you were White and now you merged with a Coloured institute, and somehow you only got your job because of the colour of your skin. And now you are playing on a level field and are you going to be adequate enough in that position? So we've got that uncertainty; they've got that fear whatever, but coupled with all of that I think that the LUT in the merger and post-merger the important thing in any organisation I would presume communication. I don't think we communicated well because over the year out of control there, [be]cause staff were unsure about their future, staff were intimidated ,staff were anxious and, as a result, because there was no-one specified. Okay we've merged; things are going to get better, will be okay, you don't need to worry. I don't think people have been told that it's going to be okay; they don't have to worry. And the fact that we have changed VCs ever since the merger, I think we have had about four to five VCs, I'm not too sure with

counting. And that also instilled some sense of fear in people. There is no continuity with the person on the top. So how do you expect the bottom level of staff or people to continue with their jobs, knowing that the top position is going to be changed every so often? So as a result of this whole thing that we see, I would say that the culture LUT is very, I would say badly, because that is such a lame way of putting it, but I would put it as a progressive culture. Because I find especially with my conversation with staff, the one thing that you can ask anyone at LUT and they start to complain, they are not happy with what they got, they are not happy with the situation, or they are complaining about someone else. This one has done this and the other person is doing this and they are on the same, they are doing the same job, that person is getting paid more. I worked so hard and why can't I even get a raise? Stuff like that. And you never hear a good thing happening at LUT. So that has been my experience with the culture of LUT. It's like you only find are all moaners. I would think that LUT is a wonderful organisation to work for. I personally feel, I mean in terms of what university offers its staff in terms of benefits, people in other industry will not get that. It's a wonderful organisation to work for. I find that the people of LUT they are the ones that really need an attitude change.

Interviewer: So you are saying it is not about the organisation, but is about people?

Participant: Yes. The organisation is all about people. Yah it's about people.

Interviewer: So which means if people can change their attitude things can be okay? So from your experience or from your opinion what is it that can be done to change?

Participant: Well I think basically at LUT I think there's a basic lack of respect for each other.

Interviewer: Can you please clarify?

Participant: That is my opinion; a basic lack of respect for each other and it also sterns from the fact that if you don't respect yourself, you can't respect someone else. And I find that at LUT there's a basic lack of disrespect for each other.

Interviewer: Okay, in your opinion and experience, does this happened across the board or specific ethnic group?

Participant: It's across the board. Yah I think it's across the board because suddenly at LUT it's like the evils have gotten out of control and people are thinking they are larger than the universe and you know what I'm so hot you can't touch me. Who are you? You know that kind of attitude. So it is, I don't think it's across race, I don't think it's across academic or it's like everyone in LUT is gravitating with this "I'm better that you" attitude. That's what I find.

Interviewer: So which means there's no acceptance of each other as staff members, no matter what race you are or what ethnic group you are? So it's that acceptance of one another that is lacking? Do you think maybe is the, as you said, the management and stability?

Participant: I think that's a huge contributing factor. In fact I think because as you talk about the organisational culture, you know when institutions or corporate bodies merge, each brings his own organisational culture and generally is the one whose organisational culture is stronger and more entrenched in the core of the business that will actually overtake the other one. The fact that we have new VCs coming in and out so often, each comes in with his own organisational style and vision, which for the balance of us who have here for thirteen years. You know change is intimidating, change is not good. So there is that resistance to change. So that's very, now lies the problem when we get a new VC coming in, write this excellent idea on paper, and how he is going to change LUT effectiveness. So there is a culture of resistance, where many come up with the resistance because I'm here thirteen years. God knows, there are people who've been here for thirty-odd years; they are resistant to the change. They've been doing this for thirty years their way and then you get this new person that comes in, that is steering this LUT ship, and they don't want to change.

Interviewer: Do you think, do you think the resistance is at the lower ground or it's at the management itself?

Participant: I think it's at hmm, I would say more management itself and it's also with our senior management who've been put at their post for the past six, eight years. They are entrenched in the way they've been doing things. So if you get a new person coming in trying to provide training to the people who have been here for more than twenty years, is going to be difficult. There is resistance to change in human's nature. It's human nature to do that, to resist the change.

Interviewer: As a staff member and from your experience within this University, how [does] the university value its staff members?

Participant: Okay, personally the university I would say it does very little to hmm, to value its individuals, for that. I know previously we would have hmm on your birthday you get a card and you get a box of chocolates. But then at some stage that turned bad because you were sent an email to say, come and pick up your gift. I mean really, where do you go and pick up your birthday gift from? You know what I'm saying, like that did nothing because we got more of the same. And furthermore they'll, if you don't

collect your gift by a certain date, you're not going to get it. That does nothing for staff morale. And I know that we try a little incentive with HR they have their employee assisting from them if you are on a crisis, you can turn to that. They have done wellness fair, plus they have put in a staff gym, which is very good I feel.

Interviewer: Okay, in terms of processes of dealing with issues affecting people or like also maybe resource allocation and promotion, do you think there is equality there?

Participant: Let me comment from my department, right. In terms of equality from my department you are measured in what you put out. So if you have an output, you'll be given your just due. And if there is such a continuously takes from the university that does not produce any output. Hmm, then you know it is not justified in asking for more and I believe that you invest. When you are giving something out you invest because your investment a year, or two years down the line, it's going to pay out. So with us, I'm sure a larger of the LUT community would say that the VC office is very unfair because we only give to a certain few people. But if you look closer and you look at the fine print you'll realise these certain people have been continuous in supporting are the ones that have been working and producing. LUT and some of them are even sustaining themselves, in their research output funds that are put through subsidy. So, hmm, processes and access and stuff like that, it all depends on which cap you are wearing to make that comment.

Interviewer: Okay, in terms of you now as an individual, do you ever feel, do you ever been in a situation where you felt that: "Oh this was not right for me to be treated like this" compared with other person with a similar situation?

Participant: I've had incidences at LUT where it was a total violation, I wouldn't say of my labour rights, my human rights. There was a total violation of my human rights and, hmm, I was very upset as the union did very little to intervene. In fact if you ask me our union is a total waste of time and also a waste of subscription. They did nothing for me as an individual at LUT. You know I had to find coping mechanism. I had to push myself to come to work every day. So that's my stance from that.

Interviewer: You felt is it because of your gender, or it's because of your ethnicity?

Participant: I believe it was more my level in the university. It had nothing to do with gender. Like you are the administrators, so what? You are nobody; you're not like a Dean, or a director, or a doctor or a professor. I also find that at LUT, now that we are talking about this. Academic people view staff differently from admin people. They kind of see themselves as better off, and maybe, you know, twenty, thirty years ago that was okay, because admin people had, were not educating them. But this day and age you find administrative people sitting with PhDs, so I think they really need to change too. Academics need to view other people in a different light.

Interviewer: So you think maybe the culture in a way is more a classed culture?

Participant: Yah, academic people. Yes, academics do view themselves as being better off than the administrative people that I can tell you from conversations all around. More of a classed than, "Oh I've got an education."

Interviewer: oh, so you think maybe that issue of attitude, maybe is derived from that classed issue, maybe.

Participant: It could be. I'm not going to say yes I'm not going to say no, because I haven't done the psychology of people to understand where the class… I have to say yes, yah. You know lots of, aside from our student's cause they never be that time, because some of them come to classes without having breakfast and anyone who works for LUT can never, ever pull out from their pocket and pay. LUT pays you well, irrespective of whom you are a salary at the end of the month. You are guaranteed a salary, so yes, and class. There's a difference of classes. I don't know if we can categorise, because everyone is on the equal plane. So it doesn't matter if you are Indian, African, Coloured, and White. You really, each of you, has access to something; it definitely got nothing to do with race or ethnicity.

Interviewer: Yah ethnicity. Hmm, in terms of values of the university, is there consistency in how things are done around the university? Across the University or maybe you can look at your immediate environment and from what you hear from the corridor**.**

Participant: Okay, I'll talk about my immediate environment because that's the safest thing to talk about. In terms of value from our offices we try to push up the highest value. You know, like whatever we do we want to do it because it's at the best interest of the students for the research. And in any event, anytime we are helping anyone we do it to the best of our ability because we are providing a service to better delivery to the community and it's also value-added service because we want to help you, we want to help the student to get the job done. Because when there's student that graduates, when there's a research output done, or a journo article that is being published and it reflects well on our unit, because it means that we are providing the support, people are being enabled to do what they need to do. There's an output, there's

a tangible output at the end of the day. Notwithstanding the monetary value that comes with those tangible outputs. In terms of our office I find we add great value to services put out.

Interviewer: Okay. In terms of, you know, when you are with your family or with your, yah, with your family, you always feel you belong to that family. Do you have that feeling?

Participant: A sense of belonging?

Interviewer: Yes.

Participant: Yeah I don't know, do I? You know that when we were the smaller Xxxxxxxxx and I come from XX Xxxxxx which was a previously disadvantaged Xxxxxxxxxx. You know, back there we were like a little family, and you know everyone was so warm, loving and caring towards each other. There were no egos in place. The moment we got here that family has system disappeared? Now you'll be lucky if you walk past someone in the car park and you greet, you'll be lucky to get a hello back. So holistically, if you look at the whole LUT that scenario of being part of a family back before the merger I don' think that exists. But if you look at your department, I personally speak of my department. I know that I have this belonging here. I know I belong here, people accept me for who I am.

Interviewer: If people talk maybe you are in an outside work environment and when people are talking about their organisation, are you proud to talk about your organisation, feeling proud of part of this university?

Participant: That is scary question because we have a reputation out there. I think LUT is synonymous with student strikes, student protest, and violent behaviour and then there's a high rate of pregnancy amongst our female students. So when you say that you are from LUT, the first thing that someone will say: "Oh you were having a strike the other day." So that's what they associate LUT with. Hmm, I think even for me I would say yes, I am from LUT. I'll say only because I'm asked I'm from LUT. I won't go around advertising.

Interviewer: It's not something that you are proud of, you can say in public?

Participant: That I'm from LUT? I wouldn't exactly say that I'm embarrassed; I just won't volunteer the information and it's got nothing to do with pride or whatever. I just don't volunteer until I'm asked: "Are you from LUT?"

Interviewer: Yes, I understand what you are saying. Hmm, in your understanding, what is it because I understand student's destruction they are every semester or every year. From your perception and from your understanding and from your experience, what is it that causes that every year? Which I also understand is the similar issues, yah.

Participant: Yes. You know I always joke that we should timetable in our calendar 'student protest', because it happens every year. It happens every year, you know. Hmm, I was speaking to someone that sits on the post-graduate parliament, when our students get here to LUT; some of our students are from far. There are no privilege menus in place where students will spend the night, if the student will get the place. When it was not confirmed the day that they came down and they ended up sleeping on the beach. And that's dangerous if, so. Now when you are doing an introduction for so many years, when you are taking student enrolment every year, surely you have measures in place that will accommodate the walk-in students that will accommodate students coming from far. It all boils down to basic common knowledge, treating people like human beings, treating them with respect. You respect that person not because they have a PhD; you respect that person because it's a human being.

Interviewer: In terms of, I understand, the University have equity policy. In your opinion does this policy help to balance the staff representation in terms of gender and race, or does it help to avoid discrimination?

Participant: I know, you know as the policy we learn about equity. That's what we've been applying, over the years I think, I haven't even attuned myself with what the policy actually states. I also don't think equity office make themselves too present. The only time you see there's an interview you'd hear that equity was sitting there, interviewing their two cents worth during the interview, either than that you do not hear anything from the equity officer.

Interviewer: Do you think it is more important for the equity office to be more transparent and know to the entire staff members?

Participant: I actually think there's no need for the equity office. You know, we're looking at South Africa seventeen years of democracy. Everyone has been given a chance over the years. And we all need to be on the same plane, you know, trying to have an equity office for what?

Interviewer: So is it because nothing has been communicated about the office, its function and purpose?

Participant: I find that it does very little

Interviewer: Is it because there's no clear indication of the existence or is it because from your view you do not see a need for it?

Participant: I do see a need for it [be]cause you know we talk about in terms of South Africa as the third world country and in Africa we're the leading African country and I'm sure at some stage we want to get

to be the first world. We want to go be with the likes of the UK or US. And, you know in there, you don't hear them where equity comes out all the time, whatever. It's an open field; everyone plays in an open field. Everyone has their chance.

Interviewer: Don't you think because South Africa is different from other countries?

Participant: We are.

Interviewer: Because we are so diverse, maybe? Is it because of that?

Participant: Like I said, personally, and also because of our history. Like I said we've had seventeen years of democracy, you can't really say we've been previously disadvantaged. We've had seventeen years; you know what I'm saying? Seventeen years we've been, for seventeen years we've been given opportunities. So in terms of the role the equity office plays I know very little about it, because I have very little interaction with it. So, like I said, you only hear of equity office when there's an interview either than that you don't hear about them.

Interviewer: In terms of interaction, interaction among the staff members, do you see the more interaction among staff members.

Participant: at LUT, well, you know I don't think we've ever had that where the whole of LUT get together. It doesn't happen. We have that once a year. I'm sure people in their individual units have their little, their little tea parties. I know it's done in some departments. It's an initiative for me to go out for lunch or stuff like that. Everyone gathers and you sit, and you watch everyone come by. And then you see the looks and then you hear the remarks, so I really don't know, because once in a life we didn't have that last year. Yes, we did have that last year. You know I really don't know what it is. Maybe instead of having a party or something, maybe we have a bash. We should have a social gathering and we let everything loose and we just have fun. Well a couple of years ago they tried to recreate the beach at the sports centre and it was such a waste of time and effort. We live on the beach, we live on the ocean and they recreate the beach at the sports centre, I mean how stupid that is? You know what I'm saying: Everyone who wants to go to the beach they'll go to the beach.

Interviewer: I understand, from your opinion and resource allocation, do you think there is consistency and fairness in relation to gender and race?

Participant: Oh, oh I wouldn't really say that was discrimination.

Interviewer: Yah, maybe not discrimination, maybe unfairly. You feel you are unfairly or your situation was unfairly handled?

Participant: Yes. That's what, so what do you want? There are times where you meet someone in the parking lot and they start complaining; this is what the HoD has done to them and I think that it's an ongoing thing.

Interviewer: So in your opinion what is it that you think is the problem?

Participant: You know I would chop it down to; I would say there are too many political parties playing at LUT. I use the term loosely, not holistically that you'll see in government. But each person has their own team here at LUT and its all power issue. Like, VC doesn't seem to share with a certain group at LUT then he is not the flavour of the month any more. That's what I will assume will be the problem why we have not had a consistent VC from the time we merged, [be]cause we going to be merged for how long now we merged, that is almost ten years. We have not had a CEO that sat in the position for more than three years. I would suspect it's got a lot to do with power and also if you have a new CEO that comes in and if you are not happy with policies and the procedures, the CEO has put in place, a certain group might get a bit upset and put the pressure on. I would think the people who control the finance really have power. So I really don't know why LUT is so bad that it can't have a staying VC. And also you know I think, as with any manager, any time that you are picking a team, you only pick winners to be in your team. And we have CEO coming. He has already got his team players and sometimes there's conflict of personalities, sometimes some of the other people's vision may not be what it needs to be. So I would say you pick winners to be in your team. If you want to be a winning team, you pick winners to be in your team. And I don't think our VC has an opportunity to pick their senior team because the staffs are already in there and they inherited the staff members. So maybe that's where fragmentation comes in, where you have all the people that are not or what is the real issue at play.

Interviewer: From you which culture do you think is dominating at present if any?

Participant: I don't think any of the old cultures are dominating. Because like I said the old Xxxxx we had a more family, warm and caring towards each other. If you could go anywhere and ask somebody to do something for you, they will do it. Here in LUT try calling someone in their office. I mean, take HR as a typical example and try to get to anyone and see if they answer their phone. You'll be lucky if that happens. And I personally don't feel that we have any culture. I don't feel that any of the institution the old culture has become dominant. The new culture at LUT is, hmm, you know, "I don't care about you; I'm just looking out for myself."

Interviewer: Yah, coming back there you mentioned about unions, yes, that they are useless and all that. And you also mentioned about power struggles and you mentioned about politics within. We are the university, one university, but we are having three different unions. In your perception what does that entail to you?

Participant: First of all it shows that LUT is not a union anymore; the fact that they have three unions in one organisation simply shows you that this integration labour in LUT. Do you have staffs best interest at heart? Why is there a need for three unions and you know the fact that you have three unions mean all three of them could not get together and form one combined union, because then again it boils down to power struggle. Whoever has the most membership, whoever has the most membership has more power in LUT in terms of labour and all three of them are so ineffective. Together you are stronger, separated you are weak, and that's what they don't realise.

Interviewer: Tell me in your opinion what the aim of having these three labour unions is.

Participant: My understanding the third union came about because they were unhappy with the TENUSA and because they were unhappy with the way TENUSA was being run. And this is yet again from old culture to a new culture, and, hmm, they were unhappy with the way TENUSA was run because it was perceived to be a White-dominated union.

Interviewer: TENUSA or NUTESA?

Participant: NUTESA, sorry, NUTESA was perceived to be a White-dominated union; past members so they broke off and formed TENUSA.

Interviewer: Do you think that management should intervene? Why not? We have this separate union because I'm also part of the university. I know that if you are a Black you are NEHAWU, if you are Indian you are TENUSA and if you are White you are…?

Participant: NUTESA.

Interviewer: So do you think also because we talk about disunity amongst the staff members maybe do you think also that also contribute?

Participant: Yes for sure. For sure, it was a big contributing factor. The disunity because when NUTESA, when the Technikons merged, NUTESA in XX Xxxxxx was predominantly Indian union and NUTESA in Xxxxxxxxx Xxxxx was predominantly White union. So the two merged there was disunity because there was a fight with the predominantly Indian union, predominantly White union who was going to have power, who was going to be the chairperson, they couldn't handle that, they went off and broke off and they made their own union.

Interviewer: So do you think that is what causes this fragmentation of the organisation?

Participant: For sure.

Interviewer: In your opinion what do you think management can do to try put things back together?

Participant: I don't even know. It's such a problem I don't know even have the facility to think what would be the strategy that management could implement to bring about some level of harmony among the staff. It's no longer the power struggle about who's the stronger, so if you feel stronger you are a better person. I really have no idea, I wouldn't go there. Generally, women are disadvantaged in this University. The colour of their skin doesn't matter, whether you are White, Coloured, Indian or Black. I think our male colleagues, especially the older Indian males here at LUT, have a real big problem with taking any direction or instructions from a younger female counterpart. There is still that traditional tendency to treat women as their secretaries without really being aware that they are now at the same level.

Interviewer: It's a gender issue?

Participant: It's a gender issue. And we have a gender forum. Let's not even talk about that is supposed to be going a gender issue. And there's nothing for gender at LUT. I think by virtue of the status as a woman at LUT, and it's not confined to LUT, and holistically anytime that you are a woman your male counterparts are in favour over you. Then you at holistically males do not have that responsibility of children, of husbands, of going home sorting out whatever blah, blah. So I think personally females are at a disadvantage by virtue of the status of being a female. When you go to these academic or senior management positions, you have to be more authoritarian. You can't be a normal female. And I think that's sad. Men generally, mainly men on the interview panels, they look for things that they know and understand.

# Appendix G: Different Stages of Interviews Coding

Figure 1
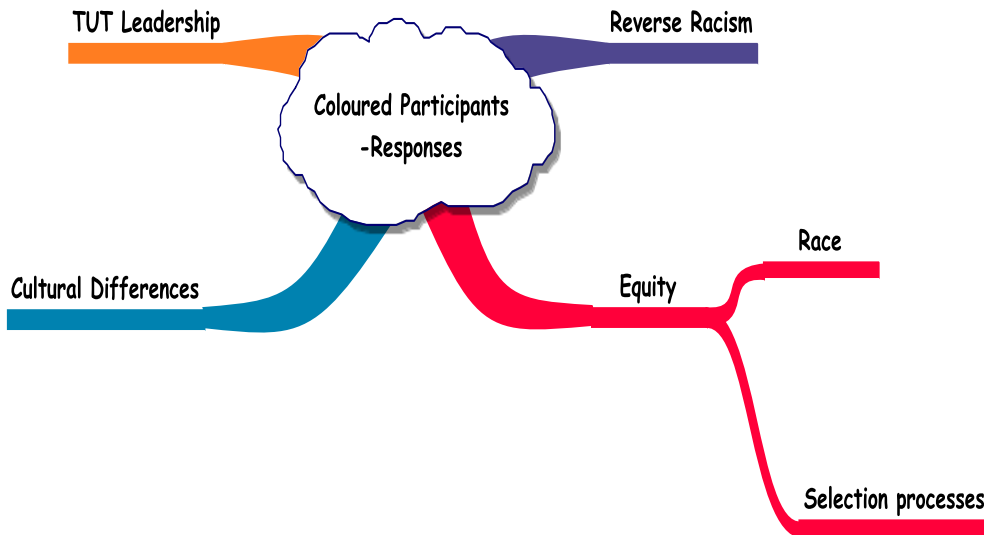
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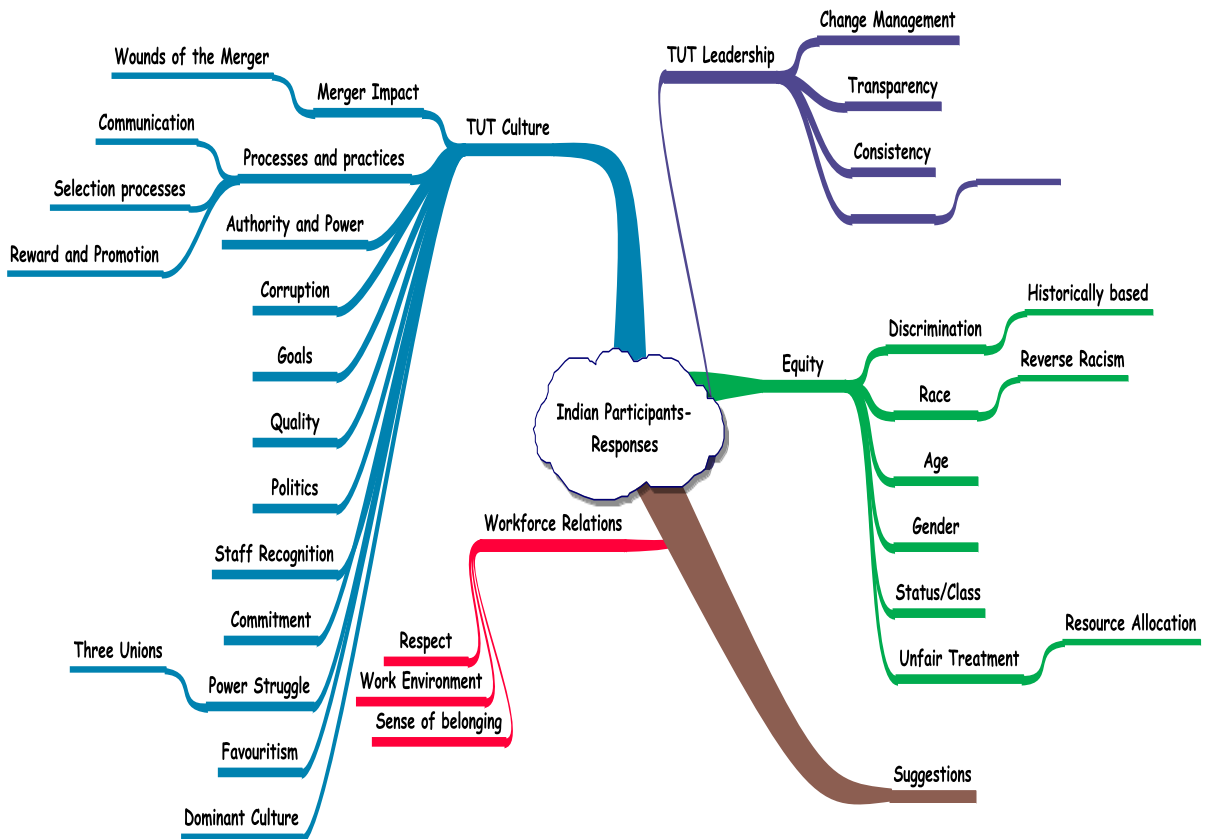
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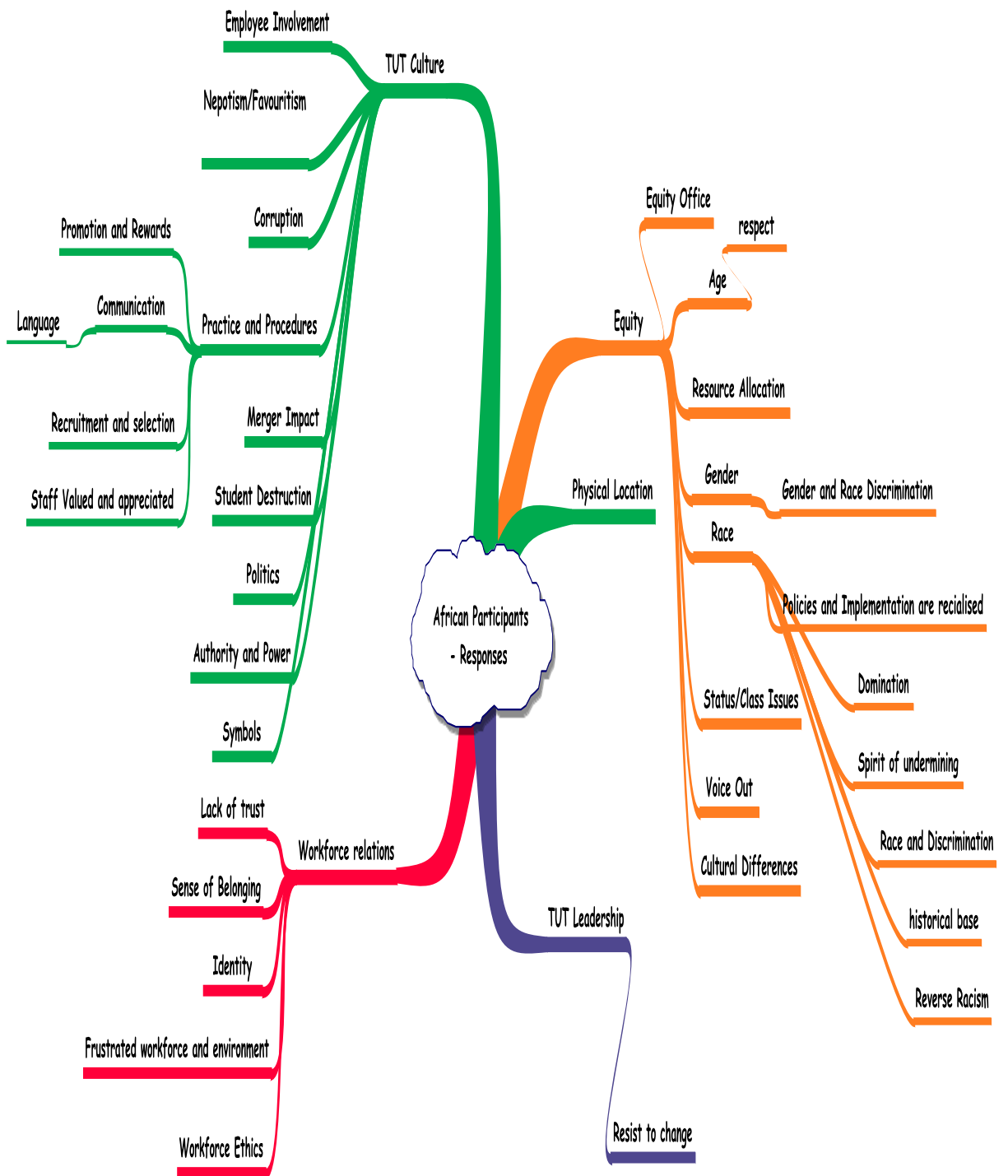
Figure 4

Stage 2: coding by Gender and Race

Table 1: University Cultures

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Perceptions of University Culture	8	1	0	0	0	0	2	2
Authority and Power	3	1	0	0	0	2	3	1
Symbolic:	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Language	0	0					1	0
Student Destruction	2	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Labour Unions	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Politics:	2	0	0	0	1	1	2	2
Internal Forces							1	1
Impact of Merger:	5	0	0	0	1	1	2	1
Wounds							1	1
Policy:	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Implementation							1	0
Employee Involvement	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Lack of Support	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Processes and Procedures:	4	2	0	0	0	1	1	1
			0	0	0	1	3	2
Promotion and Rewards	5	0	0	0	1	2	0	0
Communication	3	0	0	0	0	1	3	2
Recruitment and Selection	3	2	0	0	0		2	0
Staff Recognition, Valued and Appreciated	4	1	0	1		2		
Corruption	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Favouritism/Nepotism	4	2	0	0	1	0	1	0
Staff Commitment:	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1
Inefficiency							0	1
Quality	0	0			0	1	3	1
Power Struggle	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Table 2: Equity Issues

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Age	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Status/Class	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Awareness of Equity/Functions	2	1	1	1	1	2	0	0
Suppressed Voices	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Resource Allocation	4	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
Cultural Difference:	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Lack of Respect	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	1
Gender:	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Discrimination	1	1	0	0	1	2	0	0
Race:	8	1	0	1	0	0	2	0
Advantaged/Disadvantaged	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Historical based	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Reverse Racism:	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0
Selection Processes	0	0	1	0	0	2	1	1
	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
Domination	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2

Table 3: University Leadership

	African		Coloured		Indian		White	
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Perceptions of LUT Leadership	8	0	0	1	0	2	4	3
Resist to change	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Unstable Management	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	1
Change Strategies	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
High VCs turnover	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Transparency	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1
Consistency	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Table 4: Workforce Relations
Appendix H

	African		Coloured		Indian		White		Total
	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	
Frustrating Work Environment	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	6
Lack of Trust	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	6
Disunity	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Work Ethics	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3
Sense of Belonging	8	0	0	0	0	1	3	4	16
Work Relations	5	1	0	0	1	3	1	3	14

LUT Institutional Forum Committee Members

Position	Gender	Race
Representative Management	Male	Indian
Representative: Management	Female	African
Representative: Council	Female	African
Representative: Council	Male	African
Representative: Senate	Male	Indian
Representative: Senate	Male	Indian
Representative: Academic Employees	Male	Indian
Representative: Academic Employees	Male	Indian
Representative: Non-Academic Employees	Male	Indian
Representative: Non-Academic Employees	Male	African
Representative: Employee Organisation (Union)	Male	White
Representative: Employee Organisation (Union)	Male	Indian
Representative: Employee Organisation (Union)	Male	African
Representative: Employee Organisation (Union)	Male	Coloured
Representative: Employee Organisation (Union)	Male	Indian
Representative: Employee Organisation (Union)	Male	Indian
Executive Officer: IF	Male	African
Representative: SRC President	Male	African
Representative: SRC	Male	African
Representative: SRC	Male	African
Representative: Gender Forum	Male	Indian
Representative: Convocation	Male	African
Representative: Convocation	Male	African

LUT Senior Management Team

Position	Gender	Race
Vice-Chancellor and Principal	Male	Indian
Deputy Vice Chancellor: Academic	Female	African
Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Institutional Support	Female	African
Deputy Vice Chancellor: Technology, Innovation & Partnerships	Male	African
Executive Dean: Faculty of Accounting and Informatics	Male	Indian
Executive Dean: Faculty of Applied Sciences	Male	Indian
Executive Dean: Faculty of Arts and Design (Acting)	Female	Coloured
Executive Dean: Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment	Male	Indian
Executive Dean: Faculty of Health Sciences	Female	Indian
Executive Dean: Faculty of Management Sciences (Acting)	Male	Indian
Dean: Student Services	Male	Indian
Director: Midlands Campus	Male	African
Special Assistant to the Vice Chancellor	Male	Indian
Registrar (Acting)	Male	Indian
Senior Director: Division of Corporate Affairs	Male	Indian
Chief Financial Officer	Male	Indian
Senior Director: Human Resources	Male	African
Director: International Education and Partnerships	Male	Indian
Director: Research and Postgraduate Support	Female	African
Director: Technology Transfer & Innovation	Male	White

LUT Council Members

Chair Person and Vice Chairperson		
Position	**Gender**	**Race**
Chairperson	Male	Indian
Vice-Chairperson	Male	African
Internal Council Members		
Vice-Chancellor and Principal	Male	Indian
Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Academic	Female	African
Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Institutional Support	Female	African
Representative: Senate	Female	White
Representative: Senate	Male	Indian
Representative: Academic Staff	Male	Indian
Representative: Professional & Administrative Staff	Female	Indian
Representative: Support and Service Staff	Male	Indian
Representative: Student Representative Council	Male	African
Representative: Student Representative Council	Male	African
Representative: Institutional Forum	Male	Coloured
External Council Members		
Minister's Nominee	Male	White
Minister's Nominee	Female	White
Minister's Nominee	Male	Indian
Minister's Nominee	Male	African
Minister's Nominee	Female	African
Minia Municipality	Male	African
Banha Charitable and Education Trust	Male	Indian
Convocation	Male	African
Convocation	Male	African
Convocation	Male	African
Council External Appointee	Male	Indian
Council External Appointee	Female	White
Council External Appointee	Female	African
Council External Appointee	Male	African
Council External Appointee	Male	Indian
Council External Appointee	Female	Indian
Council External Appointee	Female	Indian
Council External Appointee	Male	Indian
Council External Appointee	Male	Coloured

Composition of Council in terms of The Higher Education Act 101 of 1977 and in accordance with LUT Statute.