Being young, black, woman academics on an Accelerated Development Programme in an Historically White University in South Africa: A narrative analysis

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Dedication

Ke re Thokozani haholo ho lona badimo ba baholo ban'akaretsang:

Lena Barolong, Babina Tshipi en ntsho noto.

Lona Batlokwa ba nkhang lefotha le mohlang ho sa hlajwang.

Thokozani, ho se hole jwalo.

Acknowledgements:

Name: NKOE LIEKETSO PABALLO MOHOTO

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Declaration of Academic Integrity: Referencing

I understand

- that in academic contexts value is placed on constructing new knowledge rather than reproducing existing knowledge.

- the convention that academic knowledge is constructed with reference to prior research.

- the convention that we recognise the works of others that have influenced our own work through referencing.

- that the provision of precise details is necessary in facilitating direct access to referenced works in order to support decisions around issues of validity and credibility.

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Abstract

The national program for the development of next and new generation academic professionals (NGAP) aims to help Universities to diversify their academic teaching staff to be more reflective of the national demographics of the country. Through NGAP and policies of redress, a Historically White University would predictably introduce young black women into their academic teaching staff. This is a category of the population who would have been most affected by the exclusionary hiring policies that would have generally been in use in historically white universities before 1995, the year following the first democratic elections. The selection of staff according to criteria that has historically been used to exclude them is a policy which is widely considered to be a useful and necessary way to institute redress. While this half thesis does not disagree with this social and moral imperative, I find interest in the lack of focus on the emotional, psychological, spiritual and otherwise personal toll of the implementation of such a policy on those who are introduced through it and related policies. I believe there is a need to problematise the highly normative environments in which staff (to benefit from redress) are required to function. This half thesis examines the narrated experiences of three such staff members at Rhodes University with specific interest in their everyday experiences in an institution which has historically been tailored for (and in many cases is still run by) white, older male academics. The thesis indicates that the emotional and psychological effects and 'taxes' of being on an accelerated development programme may be worth noting and appreciating in order to think about the retention of black woman academics. The findings show that the complexity of younger black women's experiences within historically white universities such as Rhodes University requires equally complex and multifaceted strategies and programmes. These programmes should not only support these academics but also undermine existing exclusionary institutional cultures in order to facilitate true, deep transformational practice in historically white universities such as Rhodes University.

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Acronyms

ADP   Accelerated Development Programme

CHERTL   Centre for Higher Education, Teaching and Learning

HBU   Historically Black University

HWI   Historically White Institution

HWU   Historically White University

NGAP   Next/New Generation Academic Professional

HESA   Higher Education South Africa (has since been renamed 'Universities South Africa')

UCKAR   Due to political shifts and eruptions on the Rhodes University campus between 2015 and now, the naming or Rhodes University after Cecil John Rhodes has come under scrutiny. A popular solution to the issue of the name- change not being moved forward has resulted in the use of the acronym the UCKAR (the **University Currently Known As Rhodes**) as a way to circumvent this and to indicate a political position of disagreement with the use of Cecil John Rhodes's name as the name of an institution in Africa. This acronym will be used throughout this study.

Chapter 1 – Background and Context

Chapter 2 – Conceptual Framework

Daniel Solórzano and Tara Yosso, in their article 'Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research', begin to forge a path towards what they call a Critical Race Methodology (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 24). They define this methodology

> ...as a theoretically grounded approach to research that (a) foregrounds race and racism in all aspects of the research process. However, it also challenges the separate discourses on race, gender, and class by showing how these three elements intersect to affect the experiences of students [I would add staff]of color...

This methodological position aims to challenge

> (b)...the traditional research paradigms, texts, and theories used to explain the experiences of students of color; (c) offers a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gender, and class subordination; and (d) focuses on the racialized, gendered, and classed experiences of students of color. Furthermore, it views these experiences as sources of strength and (e) uses the interdisciplinary knowledge base of ethnic studies, women's studies, sociology, history, humanities, and the law to better understand the experiences of students of color (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 24).

Due to the multiplicity of the intersections, this methodological position seeks to be multidisciplinary so as to view these experiences more clearly in their complexity in a way that traditional silo-based disciplines cannot (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002).

It is clear that this methodological position is one that is useful to view the cases in this study. It takes into account the idea that universities/ academies often claim a position of neutrality and objectivity. This has the effect of discursive erasure of the various experiences of what it means to be at the nexus of intersecting oppressive systems and how these intersections play out in environments that are multi-cultural to varying degrees. An example would be the 'home for all' refrain which plays the discursive trick of making it difficult or unlikely that one should express dissatisfaction or feelings of marginality. The declarative nature of the phrase implements a discursive erasure of anyone who does feel marginal in any way and so the violence of erasure is embedded in the very fabric of what the UCKAR purports to stand for. In Historically white

Universities, the variety in gender, race, class, and gender expression (Higher Education South Africa, 2011) is often not as wide-ranging as their policies claim the potential to be. In light of this, the incorporation of 'others' (Oyewumi, 2005) or 'strangers' (Ahmed, 2000) in this environment may not necessarily indicate any changes in the cultures of the institution but can act as a cover for institutional cultural stagnancy. Solórzano and Yosso go on to indicate that 'a critical race methodology in education recognizes that multiple layers of oppression and discrimination are met with multiple forms of resistance' thus indicating the kind of resilience that is required of the methods that can be used to bring to light these kinds of experiences as well as the varying reactions of the participants (2002, p. 26). This point also supports the position of Badat ((2009) cited in Higher Education South Africa, 2011) which suggests that a more complex and concurrent system needs to be used to address the varying challenges of transformation most effectively, rather than the attempts to tackle these complexities in hierarchal or singular efforts.

The study of young black woman academics in a Historically White University, for me, is a stark foregrounding of race and racism as well as a useful and manageable (for this study) way to speak about gender, class and gender expression as guises under which oppression is enacted upon certain bodies in these spaces. The (national) NGAP programme will inevitably bring young black woman academics with counter-normative gender-expressive signifiers into Historically White Universities and I believe that this research is a helpful way to observe some possibilities of the experiences of in-coming NGAP candidates.

Why the Narrative Method?

I choose to use narrative as a method of enquiry as well as a tool to write and work through the research because I am interested in lived experience. Contrary to the traditional positivist view of the researcher as an objective, neutral observer of the research field, I position myself as a part of

the narratives that the participants of this study have been so kind as to afford me. The use of narrative as a methodological tool is an acknowledgement of narrative as a way of knowing (Bruner, 2002) as well as a way of enquiring. This is to say, as '…both phenomenon and method' (Clandinin, 2006, p. 44). This complexity lends me the flexibility to look into the narratives but also to use narrative as a way of thinking through the individual lecturers' experiences.

The HESA report of 2011 indicates that these experiences have been described as not necessarily positive:

> Black academics tend to find themselves marginalised by the 'whiteness' of institutional environments and cultures and the hegemony in the centres of administrative and academic power (committees, disciplines, departments and faculties) of white academics and administrators. Young female scholars have also expressed concern about institutional cultures and with the sexism that continues to pervade male-dominated academic institutions (Higher Education South Africa, 2011, p. 8)

This report, coupled with my experience and those of the participants and other writers in the field (Booi, 2015; Donaldson, 2015; Dass, 2015; Jagarnath, 2015; Mkhize, 2005), leads me to wonder how this marginalisation that is a function of an untransformed cultural dynamic is influential on how ADP/NGAP lecturers take up their positions in Historically White Universities. Karamcheti speaks of the distinct lack of authority that she is faced with as a visibly counter-normative (she uses the term 'visibly raced') lecturer of literature studies. I find her language useful in her suggestion that the 'visibly raced' lecturer's

> [a]uthority has already been problematized by the fact of visible difference…the minority teacher is already known…in personal terms: ethnicity, race, is, among other things, an already familiar genre of personality. It is a familiar if not always understood category both of analysis and of interpretation' (Karamcheti, 1995, p. 13)

A reading of the experiences cited above, taking the writers as experiential writers 'in the field', shows us the ways in which the fact of visible difference is used as a marker of significant teaching moments. Not only this but that visible difference can also be used as an entry-point to what is

taught, so that the counter-normative educator is required to submit not only to being the

teacher of the material but to modelling researcher-positionality. This modelling emerges later as

a powerful way in which counter-normative teachers see themselves as useful models of the

possibilities of counter-normative identity in profoundly normative environments such as HWUs. I

am referring here to race, class and gender not only as markers of particular ideological and

political positions in the world but I seek to situate my vocabulary in the reality that Badat (2010:

24) points to: a reality, where South African universities are spaces that, historically, have had a

particular image of 'expert', 'professor' or 'knower' (Maton, 2007). Precisely because the ADP and

NGAP programmes' aim to be demographically representative of the country, these programmes

necessarily introduce a disruption of these images.

Karamcheti illustrates below that this disruption is not always received well and that the view of

the counter-normative academic can be construed or constructed in ways that are not

transformative to the institutional culture and function to marginalise the counter-normative staff

member even further, based on their counter-normative visibility. She argues (as above) that the

'surplus visibility' of being visibly counter-normative casts such staff members as

> … Calibans in the classroom, lurching between student and blackboard, our hour come at
> last, rough beasts slouching (maybe even shuffling) along in the ivied Bethlehems of higher
> education (Karamcheti, 1995, p. 138).

I see this description as a signal to suggest that the lack of academic research on the lived

experiences of visibly counter-normative academics in the academy is a lost opportunity to

recognise new cultural positionalities, teaching techniques and personalities that cannot yet be

spoken of in the wider frame of 'Institutional culture' since they make up miniscule (often diluted

due to still-small numbers) parts of the whole and would therefore be statistically muted (if not

silenced) by the whole. It is this potential dilution which makes a narrative investigation all the

more important and useful as it lends us the ability to encounter experiences that are not widely or popularly reported on.

While Karamcheti speaks from a position and context which can be read as being 'foreign' in some ways to the context of Rhodes University, I find her descriptions and thoughts to be useful in as much as they bring to light three elements of this kind of experience and which also mirror some of my own experiences:

1. The notion of surplus visibility which is a consequence of the definition of ADP lecturers as visibly different from the teaching staff demographics of the university as it stands. This visibility is also influenced by the levels of surveillance and requirements of reportage and mentoring to track the accelerated progress of the ADP lecturers in the programme. I am not suggesting that this reportage and mentoring is not necessary but only to point out that its requirement makes more visible the position of the ADP lecturer as being somehow 'different' from their colleagues and in need of support and what can be interpreted as being under surveillance.

2. The emotional and social nature of the experiences that she describes which bring to the fore the need for a more sensitive and narrative centred excavation of the ways in which ADP lecturers can interpret their experiences in and around the classrooms and universities. Her image of Caliban also brings to the fore the implicit notion that the ADP lecturer is somehow inferior or in need of 'help' to achieve what lecturers not on the programme have presumably achieved without added institutional support. It also alludes to the idea of a 'monster', lacking in civilisation and in need of rescuing and guiding.

3. The notion that the ADP lecturer is one who is 'foreign' to the institutional framework – a native of a different context – who is being incorporated into an institutional framework that is not designed to accept them. This idea is also highlighted by Mabokela and Magubane's 2004 study in which they begin from the premise that black woman academics are not the natural citizens of the academic context – that the context itself was never designed for black women to thrive inside it but that it falls to those who are in academia now to forge ways of claiming space and being in these academic contexts (Mabokela & Magubane, 2004, p. 1)

The points above open up a discursive gap in which 'transformation' manifests as a politically incentivised project, the sum of which has become an exercise in visible change (in the inclusion of visibly counter-normative staff) but that results in very little deep ideological, epistemological and ontological diversity. The Department of Higher Education and Training and HESA constantly point to 'the need to change institutional cultures, in particular, in the historically white institutions. [Since] there is growing evidence to suggest that historically white institutions are unable to recruit or retain black staff because the institutional culture is alienating rather than accommodating' (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2001).

Patricia Hill Collins uses the term 'Black Feminist Thought' as shorthand to speak about knowledge produced by black women and with black women (their raced, gendered and class based experiences) as the central norm of theoretical writing and debate. She writes that '…Black Feminist Thought can best be viewed as subjugated knowledge' (Collins, 2009, p. 269) due to the suppression of black women's thoughts and their possibilities of making knowledge particularly in white, male, heterosexual normative environments such as HWUs. She indicates that '…higher education and the news media have emerged as increasingly important sites for Black feminist

intellectual activity…[since] within these new social locations, Black feminist thought has often become highly visible, yet curiously…it has become differently subjugated (Collins 1998a, 32-43)' (Collins, 2009, p. 270). I believe that the national rolling out of the NGAP programmes should make higher education once again a site in which black feminist thought and intellectual activity will not only be needed but should be nurtured and supported to thrive. One of the ways to do this is to investigate the lived experiences of being young black woman lecturers in an environment in which the norm of 'those who know' is -profoundly- older, white and male.

Hyper-visibility and Positionality

One of the phenomena that we know exist in the case of being outside of the norm, and indeed, that seems to contradict the norm of the 'knower' (or what I understand to be counter-normative) is referred to variously in literature as 'surplus visibility' (Patai, 1991) or 'hyper-visibility'. Hyper-visibility and simultaneous subjugation (Collins, 2009, p. 270) is best explained by Patai's notion of 'surplus visibility', which has two primary signifiers:

> The first concerns the shift that occurs in public perceptions as traditionally powerless and marginalized groups challenge the expectation that they should be invisible and silent. For those who long have been in positions of dominance, any space that minorities occupy appears excessive and the voices they raise sound loud and offensive.
> The second aspect of surplus visibility concerns the constant extrapolation from part to whole that characterizes the majority's perception of minorities. A black, a woman, a homosexual -- any member of a group seen as "different" from the norm -- is always viewed as a token of that group, rarely as an individual representative only of himself or herself. This is especially the case when negative judgements are made…Whatever the supposed offense, it is at once generalized to the group and helps to define negative ideas about that group (Patai, 1991).

These signifiers abound in writing by black South African women in the academy, most notably in the work of (Mabokela & Magubane, 2004); (Idahosa, 2014); Mohoto (2015b) and (Jagarnath, 2015). Among other examples, Potgieter and Moleko (2004) cite Mamphela Ramphele to make this point:

> ...you have to deal with the amazing tendency for White colleagues to expect you to be an expert on all aspects of black social life simply because you are black...you are expected to explain why people of Soweto do this or that even if you have never been to Soweto at all...In other societies one has to be a social scientist and acquire that particular focus as an area of study before one is expected to give authoritative running commentaries (Ramphele, 1995, p. 178).

This disproportionate and often discomfiting 'surplus visibility' brings with it a stigma that is further extended by Karamcheti's notion of 'Caliban in the Classroom' (Karamcheti, 1995).

Inside this world of black feminist thought and the ideas of critical race methodology, lies a complexity that is useful as a methodological positioning and as an angle of repose in order to see the data in a way that exposes the experiences of the participants of this study. There is academic merit in the idea that there is not only one type of oppression in operation at any given time; but that particular people due to their race, class, age, gender, gender expression and sexuality are at an 'intersection' at which they are under the weight and influence of multiple oppressive systems at once. This is what I understand by the term 'intersectionality', which is first described and named by Kimberle Crenshaw (1989; 1991) as a way of describing a departure from the erasure of complexity in 'Identity politics' as she perceived them at the time.

> The problem with identity politics is not that it fails to transcend difference, as some critics charge, but rather the opposite-that it frequently conflates or ignores intragroup differences. In the context of violence against women, this elision of difference in identity politics is problematic, fundamentally because the violence that many women experience is often shaped by other dimensions of their identities, such as race and class. Moreover, ignoring difference *within* groups contributes to tension *among* groups, another problem of identity politics that bears on efforts to politicize violence against women (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1242. Italics in original)

She perceives this silo-style view of identity politics as inherently flawed and violent to people whose lived experiences are characterised by being under the pressure of multiple strands of identity politics, such as race, class, age and gender. She points out that

> [a]lthough racism and sexism readily intersect in the lives of real people, they seldom do in feminist and antiracist practices. And so, when the practices expound identity as woman or person of colour as an either/or proposition, they relegate the identity of women of colour to a location that resists telling (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1242).

Crenshaw clarifies for us through this notion of intersectionality that subordination and oppression are not singular experiences and, indeed, that there are instances in which multiple systems of oppression have bearing on a single point, context, person or situation.

To take these intersections as valid points of experience warranting academic attention and study is the work of Black feminist thought and, indeed, is the cornerstone of a critical race methodological position.

So, while the institutional survey takes the categories separately, a black feminist, critical race and intersectional reading that is concerned with the experiences of young, black, woman academics – some of whom are queer – exposes that the experiences of these particular people may be different in such a way as to be disadvantageous to their development and way of being in the institution.

Lesley McCall clarifies that '...since symbolic violence and material inequalities are rooted in relationships that are defined by race, class, sexuality and gender, the project of deconstructing the normative assumptions of these categories contributes to the possibility of social change' (McCall, 2005, p. 1777). It is due to this that I make an attempt in this thesis to make an integrated analysis using intersectional, black feminist, critical race readings of the experiences of young, black, woman academics in ADP or (in future) NGAP-type positions. I take this as an acknowledgement that there are particular experiences that sit at the nexus of multiple systems of 'being different' in an institution that accepts older, white, male professors and senior lecturers as normative knowers. While a reading of the Institutional Survey data separately gives us a sense

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that there are racial, gendered, sexuality linked feelings of being on the outside, a reading of those who sit at the nexus of these varying markers of difference tells us that black women who are queer and in lower ranking positions in their departments may, all at once, be experiencing on multiple fronts some of the oppressive systems in UCKAR as a workplace.

One of the ways in which the UCKAR and other HWUs deal with the notion of intersectionality, in a way, is to build narratives which account for their lack of transformation but particularly narratives which try to account for the lack of black young woman academics in the middle to higher echelons of their academies. One of the most pervasive arguments used generally and in particular at the UCKAR is what I have called here the deficit model narrative.

Tackling the Narrative of the Deficit Model

Solórzano and Yosso go on to speak about the proliferation of deficit-model storytelling by which assumptions are made (and 'standard or majoritarian stories' are told) (Solorzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 28). These assumptions are often about the lack of preparedness of staff and students who are perceived as being incorporated into the academy as a political incentive: rather than as a right based on their humanity or a merit based on their intellect. This particular issue is one that makes the critical race methodological position an important one for me to take in this research.

A review of the literature on the project and much of the writing on black woman academics in Historically White Universities seems to take on a deficit model. This would include Karamcheti's symbolic 'Caliban' inferences of foreign, needing rescuing and civilisation, being different, referred to above.

In the context of this study, an apt example involves a narrative in which the university is positioned as having taken a significant and unusual risk by incorporating a scholar into the

academy; such is the case with Dr Nomalanga Mkhize who, at the time, was from UCKAR[11]. The

City Press newspaper, on 31 May 2015, featured an article in which the first mention of Dr Mkhize

reads 'Mkhize wouldn't be where she is now if someone had not taken a chance on her'

(Dugmore, 2015).

Another example of a deficit model that also betrays a majoritarian story is one which suggests

that it was out of the goodness of the heart of the university that the candidates are 'taken in' and

'capacitated'. This is exemplified in the print and online publication by Rhodes University's

Communications department titled 'Growing the next generation of Academic professionals'

(Dugmore, 2014). This notion of 'growing' is taken from the prevalent phrase used in literature on

the scarcity of young (particularly black and woman) academic professionals and the need for

universities to 'grow their own timber' (Jansen, 2014; University of Kwazulu Natal, 2015; Central

University of Technology, Free State, 2013). This terminology is used to suggest that institutions

should develop and encourage the growth of students who have not previously considered a

career in academia. It also, however, seems to suggest significant effort on the part of the

university that is not necessarily reciprocated (or does not need to be reciprocated) by the

candidate. Think of growing a plant or a mole: there is an inherent suggestion that the candidate

is a consumer of growth-producing effort with little effort on their part.

These ways of speaking about young black and woman academics in historically white institutions

indicate not only that there is a very particular emphasis on difference as a marker for

'transformation' but also indicates that the institutional narratives of their own attempts at

diversity are not always about social redress or social justice but often about the *appearance* of

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[11] Dr Mkhize has since left the UCKAR.

being transformed and therefore conforming with the liberal agenda of 'transformation' in the national and political parlance.

This desire to appear to conform to liberatory and social justice ideologies is in contrast with some of my own experiences of being sometimes violently aware of my difference. The participant interviews for this study show that this dissonance is not unusual among black woman academics in this institution and has led me to attempt to understand the experiences of black woman academics at this institution beyond the institutional narratives presented above.

Chapter 3 - Research Design and Methodology

Aims of this Study

The broad aim of this research is to investigate the subjective experiences of being counter-normatively raced and gendered academics in a HWU. The goal is to explore the efficacy or long term viability of the ADP programme for individual candidates. Alternatively put, the specific goals of the research are to:

- describe and illuminate the experiences of individual ADP candidates in the UCKAR environment.

- Explore the ways in which these experiences influence individual ADP candidates.

Research Orientation (Values; Relationship with Participants; Researcher's Own Positionality)

In February 2013, I signed a contract to become an Accelerated Development candidate at the UCKAR under the premise of Rhodes University's 'transformation' of its teaching staff demographics and of its 'Institutional culture'. I was employed because I am skilled at what I do. I was also employed because I am a young, South African 'black African' from a 'middle class' background insofar as such a thing can exist among black South Africans in the economic climate that has been our legacy of apartheid economic architecture. In this way, I am inside the research as an observer of the interviewees' experiences and also as an observer of my own experience in relation to theirs. This insider positionality (Chavez, 2008) characterises this research as it lends me both inside knowledge and also opens me up to potential biases.

Insider positionality is a terminology used to refer to the phenomenon of being privy to the community in which one is a researcher. This is to say that insider positionality is the condition of

being not only an 'objective' researcher in the positivist sense, but of being implicated in the

research by virtue of being, to one extent or the other, a member of the community being

researched. This can also be called 'insider research' (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007, p. 59) or, in

other instances 'being...or going native' (Kanuha, 2000). This might seem to present one with a

problem of validity, however, as Chavez points out:

> ...scholars (Banks, 1998; Merton, 1978; Naples, 1996) have argued that the outsider-insider distinction is a false dichotomy since outsiders and insiders have to contend with similar methodological issues around positionality, a researcher's sense of self, and the situated knowledge she/he possesses as a result of her/his location in the social order (Chavez, 2008, p. 474).

This is a methodological position which presents the researcher with a necessarily complex and

fluid way of being in and with the research particularly in under-researched areas such as the

experiential aspect of the ADP and others like it. Brannick and Coghlan argue

> ...that as researchers through a process of reflexive awareness, we are able to articulate tacit knowledge that has become deeply segmented because of socialization in an organizational system and reframe it as theoretical knowledge and that because we are close to something or know it well, that we can research it (Brannick & Coghlan, 2007, p. 60).

While a positivist researcher might see the condition of being an insider to the research and its

context as a weakness, I take it here as a position of strength, albeit one that presents some

complications. I am taking a position which seeks to acknowledge

> polyvocality...where we are encouraged to recognize that both within...scholars and within those who join...as participants in...research the multiplicity of competing and often contradictory values, political impulses, conceptions of good, notions of desire and sense of our "selves" as person (Gergen & Gergen, 2003, p. 595 cited in Chavez, 2008: 475).

This notion of polyvocality suggests that the multiplicity of insiderness and outsiderness is layered

in such a way that it is, in fact, impossible to be a complete outsider. The position of outsiderness

is thus most often claimed by researchers who consider their social, economic, racial, sexuality

and other markers to be 'normal' or who subscribe to a hegemonic view that they are able to be

divorced from their feelings, ideas, perceptions and preconceived ideas about the group(s) that they study.

In this instance, I am certainly an insider in this research in that I am a black woman studying black women, I am a young woman studying young women, I am an academic studying fellow academics and I am an ADP participant studying fellow ADP participants. In other ways, however, I am an outsider in terms of disciplinary knowledge and seniority ranking[12] in relation to my interview participants. The participants are insiders to the workings of research: how it is conducted, why it is conducted and what the rules of conducting research are which may feed or detract from the ways in which they choose to respond to my questions. In a later discussion on MaHlongwane's interview, this is clearly exemplified.

In the case of MaHlongwane and MaTshabalala (who are hard and applied scientists), I had not anticipated that what I perceived as disciplinary differences would be so stark and so influential in how the data 'came out' and how surprising the results of the initial data-reading(s) were to me. Chavez argues that the positionality of being an insider has not been adequately defined '...since to date no single articulation exists that describes what configuration or degree of social experience warrants the designation of insider' (Chavez, 2008, p. 475). This lack of definition is one of the more complexity-inducing aspects of doing research as an insider. However, some researchers make use of characterisations such as '...total insiders, where researchers share multiple identities (e.g., race, ethnicity, class) or profound experiences (e.g., wars, family membership); and partial insiders, who share a single identity (or a few identities) with a degree of distance or detachment from the community' (Chavez, 2008, p. 475).

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[12] All the participants have Masters Degrees and are either working towards or have recently completed a PhD and all are at Lecturer level where I am at Junior Lecturer level.

Still, even this characterisation is inadequate because the aspects of my identity and experience that I see as giving me insider status may, in fact, make the field and data harder to read and to study. Despite this, I position myself as an insider due to the fact of my personal experience on the ADP at the UCKAR and the fact that these experiences have been the force which leads me to this enquiry in the first place.

There are many challenges to being an insider researcher- not least of which is the balancing of one's insider status with one's inclination to want to be an 'objective' outsider researcher. It seems counter-intuitive to do a research that is about one's own insiderness and to also want to be 'objective'; however, it is the residue of in-built positivist ideas of how research works and who can and cannot research which communities. As Kanuha puts it when writing about the lack of insider-researcher reports:

> Tedlock (1991) suggests that there is a paucity of these types of research reports because we deem them too revealing or because we still want to maintain the façade that our position does not, or more important, should not matter (Kanuha, 2000, p. 441).

However, having come to the research 'from an emic perspective [which] suggests a subjective, informed and influential standpoint contrasted with an etic perspective that is more objective, distant, logical, and removed from one's project (Headland, Pike & Harris, 1990)' (Kanuha, 2000, p. 441) in my own research, the position of being an insider became a position of acknowledging that my own systemic experiences and those of the participants (who are *like me* , even with some differences) matter and are worthy of theorisation and academic study.

Having said this, Kanuha's experience of being an insider-researcher mirrors mine in that the information that I was given by the participants had a tendency to trigger my own memory reactions and thus make it difficult for me to focus '...on the interview process and, more important, on the responses and narratives of study respondents because the distraction of my

own self-reflections on similar... [experiences]' (Kanuha, 2000, p. 442). This was the primary reason for my decision to create distance[13] between my own experiences and those of the participants, which was not what I had initially envisioned. I had viewed this as a failure on my part and a kind of cowardice, however I now see it as a valuable tool to wield as a researcher. As Kanuha puts it 'The need to separate my own experiences and subsequent analysis from those of study participants, with our natural connections yet distinctive roles as researcher-researched, was the most profound methodological process I had to learn as an insider researcher' (Kanuha, 2000, p. 442).

This was a compromise I had to make primarily because I believe that the experiences and ruminations that the study participants offered me are useful ways to think about the national scaling of ADP type programs and it became more important to study the individual effects of such programs rather than to come to terms with the experiences I had under such a program. This compromise had to happen because, like Chavez '...I realised that neither my insiderness, nor my training, adequately prepared me to maximize the privilege of already "knowing" the field or to resolve the challenges that arose from looking inside and out' (Chavez, 2008, p. 480). I was working under time constraints and after my realisation that the position of an insider-outsider is much more complex, much more fragile and much more taxing than it seemed at first. I decided to prioritise the excavation and thick description of experiences of the participants rather than the development of what I still consider to be a very complex and much-needed skill for an insider-outsider researcher. I see ADP participants as an under-researched minority community and therefore see insider research to be particularly useful in our theoretical and experiential

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[13] While the 'creation of distance' may give the impression that I am creating a façade of 'objectivity' I try to consistently reject this notion and to take up my position as researcher as also a position as subject in as much as I maintain that objectivity in the positivist sense cannot exist in this particular instance of research.

understandings of how easily overlooked communities and persons make sense of their position(s). In this light, I use my insiderness in this study to gain access to certain narratives that may not be otherwise available to those who design such programmes and to reflect on the possible outcomes and personal costs of national scaling of the NGAP program across South Africa.

I am a scholar of drama, performance and theatre studies, with a particular interest in 'voice' in all its metaphorical and physical ramifications. This is to say that I am interested in the physical and sonic workings of the human voice as well as cultivating an active interest in other 'voices' such as the theatre director's 'voice', the writer's 'voice' among many others. In this case, I seek to cultivate an interest in the 'voices' of black, female ADP candidates at the UCKAR. In much of the writing about the ADP/NGAP, there is a great focus on quantitative methods that seek to determine the representation of visibly counter-normative academics in institutions of higher learning (Badat, 2010; Govinder, Zondo, & Makgoba, 2013; Mpemnyama, 2015; Groundup Staff, 2015; City Press Newspaper, 2014; MacGregor, 2014). To be sure, there is much explicated reasoning for this approach, which justifies a need to keep track, statistically, of the levels and kinds of representation of a range of academics in institutions of higher learning. Indeed considering that universities in South Africa have, historically been raced and gendered spaces, there is some validity in the claim, particularly as articulated by Badat (2010).

My own experience shows me that being a counter-normative or underrepresented member of the academy imposes great psychological, social and personal burdens on the academics that have been incorporated into the academy. It is therefore important to critique the ways in which we see how the statistics which are used to suggest 'throughput' and 'success rates' of programs such as the ADP are used or understood.

Case Study Research Design

Case study research can be referred to as a method of enquiry which allows for the examination of a particular group in a particular context over a relatively short period of time (Hays, 2004, p. 218). As such, a case study research allows the researcher into the world of the research context while also allowing 'the data '...to answer focused questions by producing in-depth descriptions and interpretations over a relatively short period of time...' (Hays, 2004, p. 218).

This study seeks to understand the experiences of three young woman academics at Rhodes University—or for purposes of this exploration, the University Currently Known as Rhodes (the UCKAR). To be clear, the primary objective is to understand the experiences of these academics within a profoundly normative environment. As such, I have made use of these three cases as studies to view individual experiences and to come to more generalisable analyses of how these experiences can be used to think about what started as the ADP programme at the UCKAR and is now being rolled out on a national scale.

I make use of the experiences of the three respondents in relation with my own experiences as a way to view how participation on the ADP program influences each individual and their way of positioning themselves inside the UCKAR as a HWU. While conventional wisdom about case study research seems to suggest that single cases cannot be used to generalise about a whole phenomenon, Bent Flyvbjerg allays this discomfort for me in 'Five misunderstandings about case-study research' (2004). He brings clarity to the notion that knowledge about human beings and human phenomena is context dependent and so a situated study of this kind can produce knowledge that is valid and generalisable. Particularly in relation to the plan to roll out the NGAP programs nationally, I believe that this study is useful in as much as it views a phenomenon that is under-studied and yet may soon be much more prevalent than it is now.

Method/s (Data Sources and Collection)

This research study falls under the category of interpretive research. In accordance with this type of research, I have made use of methods that seek '...to describe and interpret people's feelings and experiences in human terms rather than through quantification and measurement' (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999, p. 123). Furthermore, this research fits into the frame of descriptive-interpretive research, which is '...based in personal perception and response. The language through which this is understood and communicated is a language drawn from a sensual base – it is 'felt', 'sensed', 'intuited', 'realised' and 'known' (O'Toole, 2006, p. 30).

I make use of three semi-structured one-on-one interviews in which I ask three participants who are young black women academics at the UCKAR to 'tell the story of how they got "here"'. By 'here' I mean in an ADP appointment in a historically white university in the Eastern Cape. In the data analysis stage, I make an attempt to make use of *Nvivo* as a software to help me to find trends in the interviews (both audio and transcripts); however, this proved fruitless as the interviews were so different in their language and in the ways in which each participant expressed themselves as well as the ways in which I probed for responses to the research question.

I then chose to listen to the interviews, selecting passages, phrases or sentiments that I thought revealed a particular aspect of the intersectional identities of the participant in question. A comparison of these across the three data sets shows correlations between the data which I have used to consider the intersectional positions of the participants, along with my own experiences that mirror the intersection at which the participants find themselves according to my analysis. At this point, the analytical work began to intersect with some of the sources I had used such as interviews and articles written by other black woman academics in the UCKAR and other HWI's in South Africa. I began to pick out specific thematic concerns: to attempt to find correlations or

stark differences on each point throughout the interviews and in my own experience. These initial

thematic concerns are reflected in this half-thesis as 'Metaphors from the Interviews' (p. 55),

'Discussion On being "Different"' (p. 66), 'Relations and encounters with colleagues and students'

(p. 71) and 'other issues raised in the data' (p. 79). A further, closer, reading of what came out of

this process then led me to synthesise analytical statements[14] that allow me to use the

experiential narratives as a way to think through the national NGAP programme and to make

commentary on the national scaling based on the descriptions of experience, my experiences and

the theoretical framing that I outline above.

Data Analysis (Validity, Reliability and Ethical Issues)

Patti Lather (Lather, 1993, p. 674) writes about the place of validity in a society that is beyond the

idea of a single, incontrovertible and ubiquitous truth – 'to displace its historical inscription

towards "doing the police in different voices" (Con Davis, 1990, p. 109)'.

She writes about validity in academic discourse as a site of possibility – 'an incitement to

discourse' (Lather, 1993, p. 674) rather than as a gatekeeping mechanism designed to validate

hegemonic or 'more common' world views and ideological positions while erasing and eroding

'less common' or 'counter-normative' ones.

Lather insists that 'it is not a matter of looking harder or more closely, but of seeing what frames

our seeing – spaces of constructed visibility and incitements to see which constitute

power/knowledge' (1993, p. 675). In an environment in which there is little written about the

experiences of black woman academics in HWUs and how these experiences affect their teaching

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[14] These are reflected in this Half Thesis under 'Synthesis of reading the ADP Experience – some conclusions' (p. 80).

practices, it seems that the making visible of how black woman academics 'see' themselves and their teaching practices in the context of a deeply hegemonic environment is a worthy, useful and potentially revealing area of research.

Lather goes on to speak about the work of Catherine Woodbrooks (1991) whose Doctoral dissertation methodological position Lather identifies as 'Lyotardian Parology/ neo-pragmatic validity' which she says '...is to legitimate without recourse to either metanarratives or "the hegemony of the performativity principle" of traditional pragmatism which has arisen in the face of the decline of metanarratives' (Lather, 1993, p. 679). This methodological position is one of resisting stagnant representation. It attempts to frame validity as an inherent possibility of narrative and claims the rights of the narrator-participant to remain in the strength of this position even as the researcher of the narrative attempts to 'listen' to the data of the narrative.

Lather claims that the use of member checks and a right of reply[15] by the participants allowed Woodbrooks's (1991) methodology the flexibility that '"refined our sensitivity to differences and reinforces our ability to tolerate the incommensurable" via "the constant search for new ideas and concepts that introduces dissensus into consensus"' (679).

I am interested in Lather's notion of Neo-pragmatic validity in as much as it allows flexibility that is dialogical, allowing for the participants to be fully present in the research even as I (the researcher) interpret through my own ideas, ways of being and ways of seeing the world. In an institutional culture that seeks to collapse 'Young Black Women Academics' into a single, under-defined category, I am interested to bring a more robust clarity to the fact that there are intersectional oppressive forces at play that bring about equally complex and intersectional

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[15] In this half thesis, participants had access to the transcribed interviews but time constraints did not allow for them to have access to the final interpretation of the interview data.

responses which elicit complex, varying and rich reactions and strategies that will have an effect on teaching and learning in the classrooms of counter-normative staff members in Historically White Universities.

In this light, Lather's 'checklist' of identifying features in this way of seeing validity as contested, contextual and open to tension is a useful tool for me to make use of going forward into a methodological arrangement.

> Paralogical validity fosters differences and heterogeneity via the search for "fruitful interruptions" implodes controlling codes, but still coherent within present forms of intelligibility anticipatory of a politics that desires both justice and the unknown, but refuses any grand transformation concerned with undecidables, limits, paradoxes, discontinuities, complexities searches for the oppositional in our daily practices, the territory we already occupy (Lather, 1993, p. 686)

There is a contradiction between Lather's Paralogical validity and the claim made by the Critical Race methodological frame that I have used in that Lather claims that paralogical validity 'refuses any grand transformation' (Lather, 1993, p. 686), while Solórzano and Yosso's Critical Race Methodology claims that it '…offers a liberatory or transformative solution to racial, gender, and class subordination' (2002, p. 24). I am not convinced that a study of this size and with a sample as small as I have used can provide any solutions to the phenomena that it studies. While this thesis will hardly offer broad-based solutions, I believe that it is a valuable starting point from which solution-driven processes can begin to be theorised and tested. For instance, the contradictions between the claims made by the programme and the tools of its implementation would be an aspect in which further research would benefit the program.

As the nature of the data that I am gathering is personal, it naturally occurred to me that the identification of individual respondents inside the university context may not be ideal and may place the respondents in awkward and potentially difficult positions. As such, in order to limit the likeliness of putting the respondents in these potentially vulnerable positions, I have elected to

ask each respondent to provide me with a name by which they would like to be referred in the

analysis of the interview data. While I have protected their identities as much as possible, I have

tried to do so in a way which does not compromise the integrity of the data and its usefulness to

the study. Therefore all names of respondents in this study are pseudonyms selected by the

participants themselves.

Chapter 4 – Data Analysis and Discussion

General Interview Contexts

I interviewed three respondents in this study. In an effort to identify prospective candidates for respondents, I approached the CHERTL employee who works with the tracking of and reporting on Accelerated Development Program (ADP) participants. I then identified several potential participants based on the criteria that they be black and female as well as having completed at least 2 modules of the Postgraduate Diploma in Higher education[16] (PGDipHE). Parts of the PGDipHE are a requirement of being on the ADP and I, at the time, believed that participation in a module or two of the Diploma would equalise the respondents' likeliness to be willing and able to reflect on their experiences. I also selected the UCKAR ADP candidates who had entered the programme between 2010 and 2015 with the belief that a longer period of experience of the institutional culture at Rhodes would lend them more experiences to reflect on and therefore grant me more data from which to work. One of the respondents had completed her NGAP term and was employed as a permanent staff member by the time of the interview with a PhD and some qualifications towards the PGDipHE. The other two respondents were still inside the ADP at the time of being interviewed. The respondents were across disciplines and were all black young women. While the program *does* include black men and non-black participants, my discussion of the frameworks used to read the data[17] allowed me to relinquish the gathering of data from black men and non-black participants in the program.

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[16] The PGDipHE is a UCKAR Diploma programme made up of 5 modules. The course is generally focused on reflection and reflexivity in the lecturer's teaching practice and culminates in a teaching portfolio dealing with the modules in relation to their teaching practice.

[17] See Chapter 2 – Conceptual Framework.

Individual Interview Participants:

- Nombulelo Mtshali: Humanities Faculty (Social Science), Completing her PhD at time of study, had been on the ADP for duration of the PhD, youngest black academic in her department (of 3).

- Nomathemba Hlongwane: Science Faculty, PhD completed, on ADP post-PhD, youngest black South African academic in her department.

- Nomalungelo Tshabalala: Science Faculty, In the process of undertaking her PhD through the ADP, youngest black academic in her department (of 2).

Nombulelo Mtshali:

Nombulelo Mtshali (MaMtshali)[18] is in a Humanities department with three other black woman academics, two of whom are significantly older than her and outside of the age group of this study. MaMtshali had completed her PhD at the time of being interviewed and was thus outside of the ADP program per se.

Of the three interviews I conducted, I found that of MaMtshali to be most relatable. It was also the first interview that I conducted and I found the experience of it to be very refreshing, prolific and vivid. MaMtshali teaches in the humanities faculty and it was her use of vivid and descriptive language and her ability to speak at length about class, race and gender expression as ways of seeing oneself through society that seemed familiar to me as a Humanities scholar. I felt that her use of language and her selection of examples reflected a close proximity to the ways of speaking and making sense of the world that I am familiar with in my own discipline. Due to my own interest in the Humanities and Social Sciences and my disciplinary background as a theatre studies scholar, it seemed that there was a language (a kind of short hand) that we were both able to cultivate in this interview that allowed us to really dig, in depth, into the issues of race, class,

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[18] Not her real name or surname.

gender and gender expression in a way that I felt ill-equipped to do with MaTshabalala and

MaHlongwane who are from scientific and mathematical backgrounds. MaMtshali was also the

only one of the participants to ask to read the proposal before the interview so as to answer my

questions more fully. For these reasons, I felt an affinity to her as a respondent as her approach

gave me the sense that she wants to understand my question and to provide me with information

that was voluminous and reflexive.

MaMtshali sees herself as significantly different from her colleagues, she describes herself as

follows:

> MaMtshali: I could be different in the way of thought…Dee[19] I'm a working class rural
> lesbian, that's my identity. And my whole life is always about crushing the norm you know.
> It's always about "I don't care what you think, I'm here now"…do you get it? So I always try
> and position myself …in centralising my being as part of the system, rather than to be treated
> as something that's on the periphery or on the side you know. … So in teaching for example,
> my multiplicity of identities they count, you know. Who I am, how I dress like, how I say
> things and all of those things they count. So that is what I mean by different, I make a
> conscious err…decision when I go to class. That I shall not tolerate any homophobic, I shall
> not tolerate any racist and all of those things. And even my scholarship, even the text that I
> will choose, I will make sure that I choose a certain text that are kind of you know, towards
> what I believe in as good society. So in that sense I would say I'm different. But as I said, in
> my department it's quite tricky Dee in my department because you've got, you do have
> people like me, but yet they are different from me (Mtshali, 2015).

In these ways, she suggests that it is possible for a department to *appear* transformed, in that it

may incorporate colleagues with varying gender, races and gender expression signifiers, and yet

to remain culturally untransformed.

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[19] Dee is my (the researcher/ interviewer) nickname by which the participants and others habitually refer to
me.

One can see in her description of herself above that she positions herself in a very clearly intersectional, black feminist paradigmatic language in which she clearly identifies her intersections of race, class and sexuality[20].

Nomathemba Hlongwane:

Nomalungelo Tshabalala:

Nomalungelo Tshabalala (MaTshabalala) is also in the science faculty; she is in a department in which she is the youngest academic and one of two black women. Her other colleague who would have been fitting for this study declined participate in this study.

MaTshabalala sees her entry into academia as 'a matter of chance… purely chance (Tshabalala, 2015). She describes having left the academy after her Masters studies overseas in order to work in the NGO sector in the Eastern Cape where she '…started a programme there which [she] was enjoying very much…' (Tshabalala, 2015). During this time between her Masters and her arrival at the UCKAR, she was involved in practicing in her discipline as well as teaching her discipline in multiple educational contexts including high school. She describes that her entrance into the NGO sector was stressful in as much as she was not sure (during her Masters studies) where she would end up or what she would do with her qualification. In this process of casting her net widely, she sent her Curriculum Vitae (CV) to her mentor who happened to be employed at the UCKAR. At the opening of a position in her current department, her mentor sent her CV in and she was contacted to apply and was employed after a selection process among other candidates. While there was a full post available, she saw the ADP position as a way to get her PhD in the process of learning to be an academic. She is quite pragmatic in that, although she does not express an independent burning desire to do a PhD, she muses that a 'PhD… will eventually be

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[20] See page 22 (Chapter 2) for discussion on Black Feminist thought and its links to intersectional thinking.

important in academia' (Tshabalala, 2015). MaTshabalala is a PhD candidate in the educational

aspect of her field[25], which is an applied discipline that has applications in multiple fields and

specialisations. Therefore, while she teaches in a single department, she is constantly in contact

with students from other fields and disciplines for whom her subject area is a prerequisite. She

has a particular interest in this trans-disciplinary applicability of her field and an interest in the

way in which the content of her field is taught to clearly be seen to be trans-disciplinary in nature.

She expresses an interest in diversity of teaching staff as a way in which the recruitment of

academics can be made more intensive and tangible:

> MaTshablala: ...I think most students who come from similar backgrounds as me; they don't
> know that academia is a possibility. I mean, when I studied, I didn't have any people who
> were like me who taught me. So I didn't really put that as an option, I didn't even think about
> it. It was not even in my plans to do something like that. So I think in my interaction I make it,
> I think I wanna make it an option to my students that, this is a possibility and the reason why
> I think it's important for you to consider this is because A, B & C and the direction which
> South Africa is taking and why I think it's important for us to have different people, different
> experiences teaching in academia. Because I think the people who teach you influence how
> you think and how you do things. So to have different experiences is important. So I guess in
> my interactions with students whom I mentor and things like that, I try to... put this as an
> option. Not necessarily convince them to be, but to make it an option, to know that it is an
> option even though they don't have an experience of being taught by people who are like
> them (Tshabalala, 2015).

Her way of expressing her reasons for this make clear that she is interested in *modelling* as a way

to grow the pool of academics of different backgrounds and socio-cultural, political and economic

experiences. This is an instance which seems to confirm the veracity of the assumptions made in

developing the ADP that a new cohort of counter-normative academics would be potentially

influential in the growing of the academic pool to incorporate more counter-normative

academics[26]. While MaTshabalala is not explicit in referring to race, class, gender or other socially

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[25] This is to say that her interest is in how aspects of her discipline are taught and learned.

[26] See Chapter 1.

constructed markers of difference in this context, she does describe in the quote above a subliminal understanding that the modelling of people who are of a certain ilk in academia may signal people 'like them' to also consider academic careers (Tshabalala, 2015). It was because of this subliminal signal that she is not the natural citizen of an academic position (in other words, having not seen people like her teach) that *she* did not make any link to academia as a career possibility for herself. She uses very diplomatic and pragmatic language, citing the importance of 'having different people teaching different things' (Tshabalala, 2015) as an important aspect of academic life. She manages therefore to speak about race, class, gender and sexuality without directly referring to any of these categories. '...I think the people who teach you...influence how you think and how you do things, so to have different experiences is important' (Tshabalala, 2015) she says. This belief galvanises her to consistently point out to students that they can choose an academic career 'even if they do not have the experience of being taught by people who are like them' (Tshabalala, 2015). She clarifies further that 'it is, not necessarily who I am in terms of ...colour...or whatever, but who I am as a person' (Tshabalala, 2015).

The researcher: Lieketso Mohoto

I am a Masters candidate in the Centre for Higher Education Research, Teaching and Learning (CHERTL) with a background in theatre and performance studies and a primary interest in sounds: sounds that voices make, sounds one hears on stage, mixing sounds for performance works, producing 'sonic text'[27] (Mills E. , 1999) out of performers' bodies and voices. I am interested in voice as a physical manifestation, but also as a metaphorical manifestation—the (theatre) director's voice/ marginal voices/ the writer's voice etc. I entered the UCKAR with an honours

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[27] She refers to this as Vocal (or sonic) Mise en Scene (Mills L. , 2005).

degree and was, in many ways, precisely the kind of candidate the program is designed to accelerate the development and retention of.

I see myself as very different from my colleagues in that I have a very different cultural and potentially socio-political standpoints and ways of being in the world.

I refer to myself, in my teaching portfolio (Mohoto N. L., 2015b), in the following ways:

> LM: … I am a Rhodes Accelerated Development Lecturer. This means multiple things and places me in very specific categories of practice as well as, in some ways, defining the nature of my practice. The Accelerated development model can be seen as an apprenticeship-style model in that I see that it relies on dialogical relationship(s) between novices and experts. Alison Fuller and Lorna Unwin define 'novices [me]…as legitimate peripheral participants and all experts [the senior departmental & faculty staff] as full participants in the community of practice' with the underpinning principle being that 'By interacting with full participants and engaging increasingly in the activities of the community of practice, the novice learns to become a full participant' (Fuller & Unwin, 2004, p. 35). There are, of course, ways in which I am a novice even in relation to the student-practitioners I teach (related to departmental culture, their own bodies etc.) and ways in which they (the student-practitioners and the senior staff) are novices in relationship with me…
>
> Another aspect of the Accelerated development position is that it means that I am a black lecturer, hired under circumstances that excluded white, (particularly) male candidates from applying. This is a well-known fact about the position so the idea that I am, in part, filling a racial quota is not outside of the realm of what can possibly affect the ways in which my courses are viewed, experienced or received. Madeleine Heilman and Victoria Alcott of New York University cite multiple studies that indicate that 'associated with affirmative action and the preferential selection procedures used to implement it is a stigma that gives rise to assumptions of incompetence' (2001: 574). They go on to indicate that 'evidently, the individual who is perceived to have benefited from preferential treatment is also perceived to have been in need of special assistance to succeed' (2001: 574). I think there is some sense in keeping this in mind in implementations, discussions and judgments on my teaching practice as it manifests at Rhodes University. The other side of this perception links to my own judgement of the ways in which I am functioning inside the departmental structure, and also to a large extent the ways in which I am either willing to ruthlessly critique my work or defend it as a part of the ways in which I make meaning of myself inside the structure of the department.
>
> The social science literature suggests that when individuals believe another to be cognizant of their stigmatized status, they make the inference that the other devalues them and holds expectations for them that are consistent with the stigmatized conception.
>
> Preferential selection based on gender or minority group membership is widely known to be stigmatizing. Consequently, individuals who are aware that another considers them to have benefited from this process are likely to infer that the other expects them to be incompetent (Helman & Alcott, 2001: 574).
>
> The above quote speaks directly to some notions that I have seen coming up in my teaching journaling as well as in my lived experience inside the department. This affects my ability to

conceptualise myself as separate from the courses that I am creating since they are a way of writing myself into the department (in many ways proving myself to be worthy of the post). It is therefore attached to my being-ness in ways that are directly correlating to my abilities to think of myself as, at the best of times a competent 'novice' with the potential to become an 'expert' or, at the worst times an incompetent simpleton with no prospect of getting very far in the world of academia due to my own perception of myself as incompetent because (in a subversive inversion of the affirmative action alienation) I 'need[ed] special assistance to succeed' (Heilman & Alcott, 2001, p. 574). This feeling is fed by the nature of my position in the department.

On the other hand, the department has been very welcoming and open to the changes that I have made, which has led to an acute case of 'impostor syndrome' as used by Christiane Brems et al to 'refer to individuals' feelings of not being as capable or adequate as others perceive or evaluate them to be' (Brems, Baldwin, Davis, & Namyniuk, 1994, pp. 183-4). I am the second black permanent lecturer to be in this drama department since its inception (the first having been over 10 years ago) and this feeds into the above ideas as well as indicating to me a range of possibilities in which to place myself on a continuum ranging from either being an ideal and much needed addition or an intrusive addition that is compelled by political necessity rather than my skills base.

I am also the youngest in the department permanent staff by a margin of at least 13 years. This is a very complex dynamic in my cultural perspective[28] since it has many things to do with how I position myself in relation to my colleagues in relation to edification, knowledge, wisdom and legitimacy to speak under many circumstances.

These notions, feelings and phenomena certainly, I believe, affect my ability to be critical and are to be monitored so as not to prejudice any studies that I conduct in relation to my teaching here at the Rhodes University Drama department. All this is included in a (hopefully) healthy mixture of felt experiences that occasionally interrupt, intercept and intersect with and alternately buttress and buffet my overall performance in the department.

As such, I am largely in the same position as the people that I have chosen to research and these similarities grant me the position of an insider as I have attempted to clarify in page 31-36 above.

Metaphors from the Interviews

The personal nature of each narrative you gather reveals a self who is sensitive and complex. The narrator often makes use of metaphors to clarify and communicate the complexities of this self. As a result, metaphors frequently serve as organizing images for descriptions of oneself and of one's experiences. A metaphor has a precision and a directness, allowing it to work effectively as a "central vehicle for revealing qualitative aspects of life" (Eisner, 1991a, p. 227). This centrality of metaphor in life and language comes as no surprise if we agree with Lakoff and Johnson (1980), that if "our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then

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[28] My cultural and social background rewards acquiescence to age as a signifier of wisdom and knowledge. So being the youngest person in a room often means, to me, that I should not interrupt but should speak when spoken to and think carefully about what I will say if I choose to speak up. I am also from a linguistic background that encourages speaking metaphorically or euphemistically if one finds oneself in a position to correct a person who is significantly older.

the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor" (Kramp, 2004, p. 118).

In pages 20-24 I espouse a belief that narrative is a useful way to acknowledge people's stories and a useful way to gain access to stories that would ordinarily be supressed due to their marginality. In this light, I suggested that I would '…use narrative as a way of thinking through the individual lecturers' experiences…' (page 20 above). To take this seriously, I believe that an aspect of this undertaking is to take Kramp's point above, that a study in the narratives of respondents must necessarily observe the metaphorical aspects of how the respondents speak about their experiences in the environment that one is studying. There were three primary metaphors that I identified, with each respondent having one of her own that she used. MaMtshali refers to herself as an 'unstructured Black woman' (Mtshali, 2015). MaHlongwane refers to herself as not having wanted to be here and sees herself as 'a spectator' (Hlongwane, 2015) in the UCKAR environment particularly in relation to her department. She refers to 'the whole universe…trying to balance' (Hlongwane, 2015). MaTshabalala refers to herself as having arrived here as '…a matter of chance…purely chance' (Tshabalala, 2015) as I refer to earlier in my introduction of her.

On being an 'unstructured black woman' – MaMtshali

MaMtshali refers to herself as being an 'unstructured black woman' in a normative rigid structure. MaMtshali's narration of the story of her arrival at the UCKAR begins with her arrival at the UCKAR as an undergraduate student. On arrival, she felt lost: not only had she not applied to be at university[29] but she came from a rural, working class background which did not lend her the cultural capital to interact with this particular university space and its discourses in a way that privileged her experiences.

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[29] MaMtshali, having not applied to the UCKAR, arrived on the campus unsure of her prospects of getting into the university after having finished her Matric (Grade 12) qualification.

She, however, does not see the categories of race, class and gender to be adequate determining

factors for the efficacy of simply and singularly including those who are visibly counter-normative:

> MaMtshali: There is conservatism… you will find sometimes that they[30] are the most conservative when it comes to certain things. So in as much as I would identify myself as a black female, I will be a black female kind of very like everywhere, unstructured black female. But they are black females who are like… very categorical … in that sense, what I'm trying to say is that yes I'm different, but I'm coming in [with an]… open mind of different struggles within our society. Whereas we do have, even though I have for example [names an older black female colleague] is a black female in the department. I wouldn't say I'm just like her, we are different people because of our approach to society's struggles for example (Mtshali, 2015).

In light of this metaphorical reference, it seems to me that there are several underlying

assumptions that are a reflection of the ways in which she uses this metaphor of being

'unstructured' to make sense of her experiences in the department. She seems to suggest that

what she refers to as 'conservative' black women lecturers do not necessarily make direct

experiential links between what they teach in class and what they experience on a daily basis. She

gives an example:

> MaMtshali: …for example a colleague of mine once used, in a first year class… very homophobic language… towards a female student you know because I think the text was about social change and she was dealing with issues of[31], 'oh maybe she is a lesbian when she was picking up a phone and getting up', you see. There is conservatism, that's what I'm trying to say (Mtshali, 2015).

Which suggests that the disjuncture between teaching 'social change' and making a homophobic

remark in the same class is, perhaps, lost on her colleague. It is this disjuncture which she finds

makes her different in relation to her colleagues no matter that they may share similar socio-

political and economic markers. She refers to 'unstructured' black females as ideal for

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[30] Here she refers to fellow black woman colleagues in her department.

[31] This was an incident in which a student, during a class discussion on social change and homosexuality, answered her phone and left the room. As she was leaving, the lecturer remarked that 'maybe she is a lesbian' as a parting shot.

transformation. By this, I take her to mean that the inclusion of conservative black female bodies

will only reproduce the status quo in as much as they will not challenge particular features of the

normative environment as it stands.

This notion of being 'unstructured' can thus be seen as an expression of the ability to experience

the classroom environment and the social activities of everyday life to be porous and

interconnected. This is to say that one teaches what one lives and that one lives the ideals that

one teaches. It is this which makes her suggest that the inclusion of signifiers of 'transformation'

or cultural variability or diversity is not necessarily directly linked to deep cultural transformation

of an institution. She insists that

> MaMtshali: … in a department like [names her department] you'd be like, but you've got…black bodies around. But black bodies Dee they don't necessarily mean the same thing to students, they don't necessarily mean the same thing to fellow staff members, they don't necessarily mean anything. You can have warm black bodies floating all over the place but it doesn't mean that there is a calculated effort to become the mainstream. We know that universities for example, my place of work…I'm not the norm. We do know that, that's an accepted thing in South Africa…. But we know that the presence of black bodies in different universities, it's not the norm especially in former white institutions like Rhodes, so we are not the norm. But for me, I've made it my decision to penetrate that you know, to be, to force myself like I'm here kinda thing. Not only in words but also in how I do things, how I dress, how I, you know… (Mtshali, 2015).

This indicates that her belief is that the work of true 'transformation' is not only in visible

signifiers of cultural, political, social and economic difference but in the willingness of the

incorporated individual to actively and insistently engage in the activities of being different and to

imbue their practice with these activities and signifiers. One of the examples she gives is of what

one might call 'courageous conversations[32]' (Singleton & Hays, ND) through which one can insert the realities of one's difference into the work and teaching spaces.

> MaMtshali: Even the kinds of conversations that you get into you know, even though sometimes they can be very awkward in the staff tea room, we can't actually talk about, once you say 'black' everyone cringes like did she just say….I remember … the cake and tea … when I got my PhD and everyone was just celebrating. Some staff members came in and then there was an article that Vashna wrote about the experiences of black lecturers at Rhodes[33]. And now we are discussing this article in the staff tea room and all of a sudden there was a silence. …and of course one person throws, a white male, questions me he's like, 'so obviously you didn't experience that at Rhodes, you are here today'. I was like no, I wouldn't say I didn't experience racism at Rhodes, racism has been institutionalised at Rhodes, it's part of the culture'. But you can't separate, or there are different experiences between the department and the university ok. She might not have experienced the racism within the department just like me in certain instances. But the university in itself it will make you aware of certain things about who you are. And then all of a sudden there was like dead silence. So those conversations are very hard to have but I always make sure that actually, I'm gonna be honest. I'm gonna try and, my opinion in as much as it's not gonna be popular in that particular space, but I try you know. So those are some of the things that make me different, in the sense that I'm willing to have a conversation about certain difficult issues, within the department.

This notion of being unstructured is also linked to not fitting very well into the frameworks that already exist in the HWU environment and this can be seen as either a lack of social capital or it can be seen as a position of strength from which lecturers can see the environment of the HWU in an entirely different light. While this strategy and positionality can be very fruitful, as in the case of MaMtshali, it is risky as it can lead to burnout and feelings of deep alienation. The notion of being an impostor are often more pronounced as one is constantly in a state of feeling or seeming combative as Njovane (2015) indicates as cited in a later chapter.

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[32] I use the terminology of Singleton and Hays even though the ways in which MaMtshali's conversations happen are much more informal and the commitment to these conversations is much more one sided than Singleton and Hays would even suggest.

[33] She is referring here to Vashna Jagarnath's article 'Working While Black at Rhodes' (Jagarnath, 2015).

On being a Spectator: 'the whole world is trying to balance' - MaHlongwane

MaHlongwane's primary metaphor was one of expressing a pervasive feeling of precarity, she

expresses this precarity by saying '…I'm still also struggling to shift, everyone, even the

atmosphere is struggling to balance itself. So the whole universe is trying to balance' (Hlongwane,

2015). She sees herself as being able to easily fit into an environment and to observe and adapt

where necessary in order to function at full productivity in the new environment. As I mentioned

earlier in my introduction of MaHlongwane, she sees herself as being from both the Eastern Cape

and KZN, thus straddling two cultural groups:

> MaHlongwane: … I'm from the Eastern Cape, I'm from KZN as well; my mother is from KZN and my dad is from Eastern Cape… so half of my life… I was in KZN. And then the other … I was in Eastern Cape. So because I did my high school here in Eastern Cape… it qualifies me as being from Eastern Cape you see?… And I did my undergrad here… [at a university other than the UCKAR in the Eastern Cape] …so, I like to be associated with the Eastern Cape, I *choose* to be associated with the Eastern Cape. But…it depends where I am and how I feel you see… that's the nice thing about being a spectator, you can choose to be a proton or an atom. So in this case, I am an Eastern Cape person…even though… you can debate it because if you with Eastern Cape people, you are not Xhosa enough, if you are with Zulu people you are not Zulu enough. So it's that kind of dynamic that you just find a space for yourself, which is…maybe … why I could find a space at Rhodes because even though I'm not fitting in, I can fit in both sides, I'm used to it, so it's nothing new.
> LM: So you don't expect to fit in
> MaHlongwane: Yes
> (Hlongwane, 2015)

MaHlongwane's story of how she came to be teaching at the UCKAR begins with an expression

that she did not want to come to the UCKAR: she was actually more interested in being at the

University of the Witwatersrand and had been accepted into a prestigious scholarship. She

perceived being in a large city as advantageous in as much as it would allow her to work and to

supplement her livelihood in this way. Unfortunately, the University of the Witwatersrand was

unable to fund the running costs of the project that was inherent in the scholarship that

MaHlongwane had received and the UCKAR could. She ended up at the UCKAR very reluctantly

and was in a project quite unlike the one she came to the UCKAR to do:

> MaHlongwane: ...the project that I wanted to do was there online and then the supervisor was like, oh no, come and do this. And then next thing when I got here, the project I ended up doing was something else. So that made me very uncomfortable and very unhappy. And my Masters experience...it was very difficult... I did my Masters and then while I was doing my Masters, I thought oh, why not do a PhD... and just get it over and be done with...that's how I ended up enrolling for my PhD (Hlongwane, 2015).

Despite the great discomfort of her Masters experience, she decided to do her PhD at the UCKAR as well. She expresses her willingness to stay at the UCKAR and teach despite this discomfort as incited by her feelings of being underrepresented as a black [South African] woman:

> MaHlongwane: ...I didn't like the fact that we were not represented. There were no black South African lecturers, so that's the main reason that kept me here. Because I wanted to see myself there even though I felt vulnerable to be there, the first one, because there's this thing in the department that they perceive me as a first black lecturer, black South African. So even though I was hearing that, ok, will I be setting a record, will I meet the expectations and all of that. But the main motivation was that I wanted to be represented, I wanted to contribute [and] this is a form of me giving back to the Eastern Cape even though I had nice good offers. The only reason is that, I wanted to give back (Hlongwane, 2015).

Despite feeling intense vulnerability in being the first black South African lecturer in her department, she forges a path through her fears of being inadequate to meet the expectations that are made of the 'first' anything. In this way, MaHlongwane and MaMtshali are similar in their view of themselves as *signifiers* of possibilities for younger black students. This becomes a very powerful driving influence in the continuation of participation in the programme for all three of the interviewees.

This way of expressing her aims in being at the UCKAR and in academia in general also goes against the common logic that counter-normative staff members leave due to being paid low salaries or seeking better opportunities elsewhere (Henderson, 2016; The times, 2016). Instead, this and the narratives of the other two participants shows that there are significant ADP candidates who are interested in the wider societal and transformative aspects of what it means to be a black woman at an HWU such as the UCKAR. I discuss this at length in Analysis and findings.

She expresses her strategy of coping with this as:

> MaHlongwane: ...for example it's ok to be vulnerable you see. It's ok to show your uncomfortability (sic) at times you see. Not that, oh ok, you want me to keep right I'll keep right, you want me to keep left, I'll keep left. It's ok to be in the middle you see, not that you always [do so] because you are expected to choose left or right, it's ok not to make choices because this is you at the end of the day (Hlongwane, 2015).

I see these experiences of having arrived here having been forced by circumstances as well as feeling marginal in the sense of being underrepresented, this notion that she would 'be setting a record' (Hlongwane, 2015), as potential catalysts to her feeling of being outside and of being a spectator. These may also feed her feelings of precarity which feed this metaphor of the universe trying to balance itself.

Another aspect of MaHlongwane's feelings of precarity and outside-ness can be attributed to the unusual nature of her ADP position in that she was incorporated onto the programme having completed her PhD. As I mention in the discussion on the ADP, it is most commonly for people who are yet to complete a qualification and therefore use 50% of their time to achieve this qualification. In her case, the ADP also makes allowance for people who have their qualifications but need support in developing other skills, such as publishing or community engagement projects, which the university deems standard for a well-rounded academic.

MaHlongwane was presumably placed in the ADP because she fits the criteria of 'black, woman, and young'. The 'employment protocol' (Rhodes University, Updated 2009) for the Kresge program is quite clear that Development Posts '... are three-year part-time contract posts, at the level of lecturer or junior lecturer, where appointment at the level of lecturer will require at least a Master's degree, and appointment at Junior Lecturer level will require at least a Honours degree' (Rhodes University, Updated 2009). She explains:

> I don't see the point why I'm even on Kresge, you see, because I have my degree. I have my PhD, I have my publication, [and] I have my experience and all of that. But I decided to look at it as, in a positive way whereby I will get a time (sic) to grow … (Hlongwane, 2015).

The placement of such a candidate under an NGAP post rather than in a full post belies a technical slippage in the process. Indeed, a candidate in her position who entered with a Master's degree would have been screened and her post converted to a full post as soon as she completed the PhD.

This is a case in which the feelings of a particular participant in the work of Grace Idahosa come to mind:

> I came in as a junior lecturer, at the bottom of the junior lecturer level, I have been at the bottom of the lecturer level and I have just got a promotion and they put me at the bottom of the senior lecturer level, infact underneath the bottom of the senior lecture level, what's given as the mean average and I have been having negotiations since January with HR trying to resolve this and I don't understand, how then do you ever get off the bottom. …What do you have to do? (Sophie)
> (Idahosa, 2014, p. 42)

This further clarifies my point that the observation of the complexity of experiences at a particular given point can give clarity on how particular phenomena (in this case how employment criteria are applied or communicated) interact in specific circumstances. The 2013 report on the Kresge program makes it possible for a PhD candidate to be appointed on a Kresge scholarship in order to '… be supported to undertake post-doctoral or other disciplinary research' (Rhodes University, 2013, p. 3). This technicality, however, had clearly not been adequately communicated to MaHlongwane and this lack of communication has produced a situation in which she feels (like 'Sophie' in the Idahosa study cited above) she has been mistreated or badly classified.

In her work, Kimberle Crenshaw (1989; 1991) makes clear that the angle of repose of being at the intersection of multiple oppressive systems at once can be seen as a strength rather than the

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disadvantage it can often be seen as being. The complexity of intersectional work (McCall, 2005) allows the researcher to see more clearly through historically grounded and contextually sensitive analysis.

Intersectionality has applications both as a position from which to view discourse and as a paradigmatic positionality in relation to dominant discourse. It is this double-edgedness that has lead Crenshaw and her colleagues towards thinking about intersectionality as an area of study (Cho, Crenshaw, & McCall, 2013). While I attempt here to make these markers more clear in order to delineate the particular intersections at which the participants of this study find themselves, I am also aware that I am making use of markers that the participants may inherently disagree with such as MaHlongwane's reluctance to be labelled as 'middle class' or 'educated' due to the cultural capital these markers assume she can access by virtue of these attributes.

'...it's a matter of chance...purely chance' - MaTshabalala

MaTshabalala describes the unplanned nature of her arrival as a lecturer in a university as a primary feature of how she views and describes some of the experiences that she spoke to me about. She describes her arrival as '...purely chance...' (Tshabalala, 2015).

> ...it was not intentional that I was looking for an academic post ...it was just a matter of oh ok, let's see how this goes (Tshabalala, 2015).

This notion of having arrived 'by chance' in academia is very influential to how MaTshabalala thinks of teaching and learning and how she takes on her teaching identity. She, like MaMtshali and MaHlongwane, sees herself as a signifier that academia is a possible career choice for the students in her class. She positions herself as signal to the students she teaches who do not possess the visible signifiers of knowers in HWUs to see that an academic career could be possible for them. This, as mentioned on page 62, is a very powerful motivator for the participants of this

study to continue in their current contracts and career trajectories despite odds which can be off-putting to say the least.

Although it wasn't her intention to become an academic, she nevertheless chose an ADP position over a permanent, full time position in order to pursue her PhD:

> MaTshabalala: ...I saw that as an opportunity for me to teach while at the same time pursue my PhD, which will eventually be important in academia. So doing the full time post wouldn't have enabled me to have enough time to focus on my PhD... that's the reason why I took that option versus the permanent one (Tshabalala, 2015).

It occurs to me that finding herself in academia by chance influences her to believe that she can also be influential in convincing otherwise unsuspecting potential academics to pursue a career in academia '...to make it an option, to know that it is an option even though they don't have an experience of being taught by people who are like them' (Tshabalala, 2015).

Discussions on Being 'Different'

I asked each respondent to identify and describe ways in which they feel they are 'different' in their departments. If 'difference' is the primary signifier of ADP candidates, and counter-normativity is also circumscribed by this difference, then I felt that this difference is an important aspect that I would have to gain an understanding of. The descriptions of their own difference were very interesting not only in how different they were, how they used metaphorical language to describe it as I discuss above, but also in how similar themes and preoccupations revealed themselves even through these different metaphors.

MaTshabalala cites the giving of examples in class as a primary site of inclusion or exclusion depending on the habits and experiences of the students and the assumptions that are made about their proximity to certain knowledges or amenities. This, she says, can influence whether or not a student is able to apply the knowledge that they have.

> MaTshabalala: ...[names her discipline] is an applied discipline, so we apply it in anything...in many fields. ...so when a student graduates with [names her discipline] they can land up anywhere...so I think personal experiences in terms of how you would apply [names her discipline] are very important. Because who you are also influences the examples you choose to put in an exam or class test or whatever. It's not necessarily who I am in terms of colour or whatever but who I am in terms of being a person and my experiences that I bring on the table...and so diversity is important in that context in that you are very careful in terms of what examples you choose. Because some examples might be including, some examples might be excluding. An example would be err, during my undergrad where I was taught with a gambling example ... I'd never heard of the game before. So I couldn't apply the knowledge that I know because I'm given an example ... that's foreign to me, so personal experiences are important in that context. ...[names her discipline] is [names her discipline] wherever you go, even if you were to go to Australia, they teach the same thing that we teach here but in terms of how we apply it, it's very important, how we sell how we apply it is very important.

While she takes this position, she is also very insistent that her experiences at the UCKAR have been what she has made of them. She clarifies that it is in her nature to observe an environment before she becomes active within it so as to position herself in said environment.

> MaTshabalala: ...the very first time I came here, I didn't try to be anyone because I fear trying to be someone and then in the long run going... 'this ain't me' and then diverging from what people thought I am. So I think people knew in the first place that this girl doesn't like waking up at all, she's a night owl and I didn't try to be here at 6 like my HOD does you know. Because it would have sent a false impression that I would not uphold in the long run. So, but in terms of the experience in the classroom, I think that it's different for me; I can imagine that it's different for the students also more especially those who are in the sciences (Tshabalala, 2015).

While the example above speaks to her insistence that many of her experiences are within her control, I was struck by MaTshabalala's resoluteness in speaking about the aspects of her experiences which she could control rather than dwelling on, or even mentioning, those aspects over which she has no control. I find this to be an interesting orientation which I find similarities of in the testimony of MaHlongwane who comments:

> MaHlongwane: ... maybe that's why I could find a space at Rhodes because even though I'm not fitting in, I can fit in both sides, I'm used to it, so it's nothing new (Hlongwane, 2015).

This view of herself as a spectator rather than a more active and engaged part of the department seems counter to the argument of Natalie Donaldson that

> If we want to do this [transformation] and do it properly...it is going to require visible action that goes beyond simply trying to make everyone feel safe and comfortable. Furthermore, as others also argue ..., perhaps we need to be making some people uncomfortable in order to achieve transformation and to challenge existing prejudices and ideologies (Donaldson, 2015, p. 144).

Donaldson's argument seems to fall more naturally in line with the approach of MaMtshali in her insistence on having the uncomfortable conversations that put her in perilous positions and may come across as being overly challenging and difficult.

It seems to be a case that even those who begin with MaMtshali's resolve may end up being silenced. As Thando Njovane puts it:

> A black person writing and/or talking about race in a context that purports to be not only liberal, but also socially responsible, causes a certain hesitation because this writing or speech act is, more often than not, perceived as either 'pulling the race card' or being accusatory, which is to say, what is said or written is mostly received defensively. This defensiveness results in the black person feeling that s/he is not so much raising a concern as being a 'problem'. In short, one grows increasingly weary of relentlessly engaging in 'verbal toyitoying', so most people just learn to cope in silence. Coping under such conditions, however, involves having to perform a role, rather than simply being one's honest self in order to function (Njovane, 2015, p. 118)

MaMtshali, aware of how profoundly normative the UCKAR is, speaks of trying to 'centralise' her being by, for example, deliberately highlighting her position as intolerant of bigotry even in the readings that she chooses. She always tries to position her identity markers (race, class, sexuality, gender) as central and distinctly and intentionally not peripheral as above. The ability to use the language of the teaching environment and the discipline (in Social Science and Humanities disciplines) to challenge normative positionalities and to express and 'centralise' one's own positionality is notable here. Perhaps it is the way in which the disciplinary language allows one to express deeply felt and identified with (or not) identity markers that allows one to have

language that expresses the very core of what I am studying here. This might account for the ease with which I identified with MaMtshali in the interview process.

MaMtshali insists that her point of difference is that she comes with '…an open mind of different struggles within our society…' (Mtshali, 2015). As such, she is able to harness an understanding of these struggles in her courses for consciousness-raising and dissent. She describes comprehensively how it is that the nature of her arrival at the UCKAR was influential on who she is as a teacher:

> MaMtshali: mna, I came here by accident, so I value people's money for coming here. The fact that I did not understand jokes by certain lecturers, it changes my teaching. The fact that I use isiXhosa in my teaching you know and then you get students who are like (gasp), you know they look at you differently when you are using isiXhosa. It's coming from my own experience you know. And, so in a way who I am as a teacher is, what is it, yingqokelela[34] of everything that has happened to me. In wanting to see a student who is coming from Qamdobola, who has no confidence in speaking but at the end of my, whether it's end of the lecture or class or whatever, she can raise her hand and express herself with confidence. That is my intention as a teacher, to see that light and that student who can actually feel comfortable enough to express herself to others even if they are different from her. So that is what has influenced my teaching because I know there's no learning Dee, in a scary environment. You can't learn in an environment whereby you are like (gasp) oh lord, I wonder what she's gonna say today, being scared, you'll never make it. That's what happened to me; I realised that when I'm scared I can't think, I'm like (gasp) goodness. I remember when, my first lecture in [names her discipline] it was in [names a lecture venue on campus] and I was sitting next to Bulelwa[35] and we were both, apparently we were both scared. I was scared to death, we saw theories [names a famous western theorist in her field] and we were like oh my goodness, it feels like we were in a totally different world altogether and I felt so dumb. At that moment I felt like sjo, and I was sitting … so that I can hide in class and it happened that Bulelwa is feeling like that. And I'm like, I feel like I'm in a different world man. So that experience for me, it always forces me to take the theory, whatever it is and try and break it down so much that even the most nervous person in the room can actually say; hayi maan nx, this is what happens when my grandmother does this, this is what is actually happening, so it's not different actually. So that's what I always try and, to be accessible, I think that's what I try to do in my classroom. Whether it's in theory, whether it's physically, whether it's psychologically, I try to be accessible. I make a calculated effort to be accessible. It comes with perks, not perks, with a baggage actually of having 28 and half students always running after you wanting that emotional support or psychological advice as if you know everything about anything. You know, you get told that I'm living with my stepmother and she does this and you are like (gasp), so where do I start you know. So all of that, that approach in itself can bring you lots of those students… (Mtshali, 2015)

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[34] Isixhosa – 'It is a collection/ culmination'

[35] This name has been changed.

MaMtshali's discussion highlights a very important point that the simple criteria of Black/ woman/ young, do not necessarily satisfy the ostensible and presumably desired outcomes of 'transformation'. In fact, these markers can sometimes reproduce and maintain the normative environment. This might be the case in the instance of internalised patriarchy, internalised racist attitudes and internalised ideas of class as a social construction. This undermines transformation as an imperative for a better university and a better society. She also points to the often hidden emotional labour of being a counter-normative staff member which can lead to students who identify with this staff member to seek her out and confide in her. This notion of being accessible, which is a part of her counter-normative strategies, can lead one to shoulder a bigger load of responsibility to students than would be the case if one simply taught as though one were outside of oneself.

'We are different because of our approaches to society's struggles' (Mtshali, 2015)

MaMtshali considers her age and the languages that she uses as the primary difference between her and her colleagues. She refers to her age-proximity to the students and her unapologetic positioning of herself in the department as key features of how she perceives her difference. This, she says, leads to comments in staff meetings or in encounters with colleagues that she considers to be condescending, such as 'Obviously, uMaMtshali would know that...' or 'MaMtshali obviously would disagree but...' but she sees these comments as an acknowledgement of her positionality: physically, socially and theoretically, in relation to her colleagues. This insistence on her personal politics makes her different in as much as these politics are not normative. She is marked by her insistence on challenging the normative, oppressive micro-aggressive and often unexamined utterances and occurrences in the staffroom and in her classrooms.

This willingness to have awkward conversations or 'courageous conversations' is a significant marker of the transformative impact of 'unstructured' (or actively counter-normative) staff members.

Relations and encounters with colleagues and students

Mentor selection and staff relations

The ADP model includes the allocation of a mentor by one's department for ADP candidates as is modelled by the Kresge report of 2013, which states that '[a] key thrust of the programme is the appointment of a mentor for each novice academic' (Rhodes University, 2013, p. 3). These mentor-mentee teams are required to produce reports on the state of the mentee's engagement with their department, research, teaching, learning and community engagement; while the mentee has the opportunity to write a confidential report on the state of the mentor- mentee relationship.

> 'The reports will be read and 'signed off' by the lecturer, the relevant head of department, Dean, and the Vice Chancellor. Each person has the opportunity to comment and suggest areas which need further development or support. The report is finally sent to the CHERTL who ensures that appropriate action is taken where and when necessary' (Rhodes University, 2013, p. 9).

My experience has been that this loop is never transparent – I have never been formally appraised on what the university was doing, or planning, to address specific challenges that my mentor and I have raised in our reports and the impact of these reports has largely been departmental in as much as my department is willing to make changes to accommodate the fact of my presence and the particular challenges that I face.

It seems that I have been fortunate to experience a mentor-mentee relationship that is, for the most part, open and friendly. Indeed, the mentor-mentee relations can be damaging to the ADP

candidates' ability to take on their teaching positionality in a way that is helpful to the espoused agenda of transformation.

The idea that the mentor is selected by the department is an aspect which is worrying as it means that a staff that is highly normative may find itself having to select someone to mentor a candidate that is counter-normative. This presents with a special set of problems that can lead to junior staff being foisted into mentoring roles and being resentful of the mentor role or potentially rigidly normative/ conservative mentors to young black woman academics being their primary source of information and support.

The impact of a failure in the mentor- mentee relationship can, for instance, be exemplified by reports of victimisation by ADP candidates. At the worst, these manifest as in the case of Dr Nosiphiwe Ngqwala's experience which was documented in the media. Dr Ngqwala reports instances of overt and violent abuse by students and staff against her reported in an article in a local newspaper.

> ...In numerous communiques to university management, Ngqwala complains she has had enough of the daily racial slurs and disrespect from her students.
> After months of "discrimination" and no assistance from the dean in her department, she has now written to the university's powers that be describing her concerns as a "matter of life and death"...
> ...In a letter addressed to the human resources director, she cites threatening calls, notes and comments from students who do not approve of her accent.
> "Since I started teaching this course, I have been experiencing difficulties in a way that has reached a stage where it is a matter of life and death.
> "Things started with a conversation in the corridor where I bypass my students having conversations about me. Issues escalated to the threats and I couldn't even walk around Grahamstown," Ngqwala wrote (Magadla, 2015).

The fact of this story being in a local newspaper, having failed to elicit a reaction from the university structures, shows the potential dangers of a mentor-mentee team that is not on the same side. Ideally, the mentor would have either intervened or escalated the issue through the institutional structures in such a way that Ngqwala would not have had to produce what the

newspaper calls '...a dossier containing letters she has written to university management' (Magadla, 2015). Indeed, the fact that the issue got so far as to convince Ngqwala that her situation was one of 'life and death' (Magadla, 2015) is both concerning and a damning testament to the dangers of incorporating counter-normative staff without adequate structures to manage the backlash against institutional cultural change.

The expectation that she deal with the matter personally without any institutional support is among the reasons that one can understand an ADP candidate's inclination to leave such an environment after they have honoured their contract, or even before, for the sake of their wellbeing and sanity. As Ngqwala is quoted as saying:

> I do not know what else I can do except to just resign and leave in peace, rather than having to explain the transformation issue and prove myself within the university (Magadla, 2015).

The feeling that one is in combat or in some ways is working 'against' institutional norms is expressed by MaHlongwane, who describes meetings and gatherings with fellow counter-normative colleagues:

> MaHlongwane: ...it makes me think of the Biko[36] times. You know when you are at these gatherings, that it's us and we are talking, we are sharing; it feels like there's still a struggle you see...it makes me feel like it's still those times. So it's really comforting when you go to [names a former ADP lecturer who is still in the university] and you hear, 'aah you will get that, expect it'. You come out of that conversation and you're like, 'ja I'm gonna do this, yes yes' (Hlongwane, 2015).

She further indicates that she would not feel comfortable to speak to some academics about her problems and sees a link between people she can speak to and how she perceives them to be able to 'understand' her problem, based on what she perceives of their life experience.

> MaHlongwane: [names a colleague] is so bourgeois... sorry to say that. ... one day we had this conversation about our teaching and I was so angry and I found myself like, G_d can you please make [her] experience this so that she can talk differently. ...Because it's as if, when I

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[36] Here she refers to Black Consciousness activist and Apartheid era freedom fighter Stephen Bantu Biko.

come and say this is what is happening, it's as if I'm lying ...For me it made me feel like I'm living a lie or I'm not existing or I'm creating these stories you see. So I was really really happy when she gave a talk there and she was really exposing how she feels about what is going on. But before, I used to feel alienated especially in sciences because I was like, oh who am I going to talk to. [names some black male science faculty colleagues] they'll be like, we don't like politics. But how can you separate yourself from the politics? (Hlongwane, 2015).

This further highlights the importance of a mentorship structure that allows the counter-normative staff member a sense that they are being heard, acknowledged and understood. However, an extension of the conversation (below) shows that MaHlongwane at least observes a level of cultural proximity to the 'whiteness' of the institution which allows some candidates to be able to acclimatise better or to be accepted more readily than others.

LM: Do you think that this person's model C background influenced how quickly she experienced the things that you experienced?

MaHlongwane: Uhm, obviously for me, Rhodes students are mostly model C students, they will expect an accent and all of that. Of which teaching is not about the accent, it's about the content and your understanding you see. So your appearance and the way you handle yourself and your accent, at least you've earned some points already... (Hlongwane, 2015)

If these life experiences are manifestations of race or class, she is not explicit. However, this seems to confirm the notion that Hlengwa (2015) suggests that there are academics who, based on class or cultural proximity to whiteness, are more likely to be employed in these positions due to their likeness to the cultural climate of a normative HWU. She refers to these academics as 'safe bet(s)' whom she describes as '...individual(s) from ...designated group(s) who help... the university to improve its equity statistics' (Hlengwa, 2015, p. 150). However, in addition and perhaps more significantly, a 'safe bet' fits with relative ease into the prevailing institutional culture and hence is unlikely to challenge prevailing exclusionary cultures (Hlengwa, 2015, p. 150).

While I disagree fundamentally with Hlengwa's notion that APD (she calls them Programme for Accelerated development (PAD) lecturers) lecturers are inherently 'safe bets', I do agree that 'safe

bets' do exist and it seems that Hlongwane's experience confirms the existence of visibly counter-normative lecturers who have the cultural capital of proximity to the culture of the institution.

Indeed, Hlongwane makes it clear that a Model C education grants one a head start in terms of the how one is perceived as a person who can hold and disseminate knowledge:

> MaHlongwane: ...I think ... there is a difference in that, you see, obviously your exposure and your background say a lot. For me when I walk to the class, I still have to, I don't want to change my accent, I really don't want that and I want them to know that you can be yourself. (Hlongwane, 2015)

Further, the academics that she mentions and refers to as ones she is comfortable to speak with are black women who are South African and come from similar class and peri-urban or rural upbringings. Responses that are relatable and are helpful in her contexts seems to be more easily absorbed than others. She refers to students who have a background that is similar to hers who give her feedback that suggests that they are inspired by and appreciative of her success.

She perceives her teaching experience as being 'hectic' with a lot of perceived undermining by her students. She describes feeling isolated by an inability to speak to her white and 'safe bet' colleagues about these experiences of being undermined for fear that they would not understand. She then describes going to black woman colleagues from other departments who tell her 'even worse' stories of not only being undermined but of students actively walking out of classes and making disparaging remarks during teaching.

MaHlongwane recounts how in teaching 'under' her supervisor she would be asked a question, which she would respond to, but shortly after, have the same question posed to her supervisor who supposedly was used as a fact checker of her responses.

This happened to her a number of times until her supervisor was forced to say 'But MaHlogwane just answered that'. She describes another experience of 'doing revision' in which she says '...he *allowed* me to do revision' (Hlongwane, 2015, Italics mine). This kind of language seems to indicate that MaHlongwane takes working under this supervision as a hierarchal relationship or that it was implemented as such by the supervisor. It can be seen as an expression of her impostor feeling(s), perhaps that she did not own the teaching encounter and space in cases in which she worked with her supervisor. This reaction and the impostor feelings associated with it are manifestations of working under direct and heavy supervision within view of the student body, implying to the students that she was somehow inferior and in need of supervision. Despite this, she indicates that she did not choose to modify her behavioural choices or to discuss with her supervisor ways to work under supervision that do not undermine her authority. Indeed, she chooses not to introduce any measures to offset the undermining nature of such heavy supervision, indicating that 'I generally don't like to prove a point all the time' (Hlongwane, 2015). This is in direct contrast to the insistent and consistent undermining of the status quo of being presumed incompetent as in the cases of MaMtshali and MaTshabalala. MaHlongwane sees her role here as one of being representative but does not excavate how her position as an impostor in the classroom has the effect of confirming racial, class and gender bias even as she sees herself as a visual representation of what is counter-normative in the department in which she works.

Even if she did do this work, it is a symptom of the ways in which the ADP programme is constructed to compel the ADP lecturer to take responsibility for her own oppression and to be responsible not only for dismantling it but also for explaining it to others in the university. It seems that MaHlongwane picks her battles (much like Ngqwala above) in order to facilitate her

own survival but not because she is satisfied, happy or fulfilled in the position in which she finds herself.

MaMtshali identifies an element of her retention in the system as primarily related to the mentorship and advice of senior black academic staff who taught in her department at the time of her undergraduate and postgraduate studies. The keen interest of the mentors in her life, livelihood, as well as the relatability of their examples and use of code-switching that incorporated her personal experiences into the teaching on their courses, all contributed to the retention. As she notes: 'There was something personal about them...' (Mtshali, 2015). Something that allowed her to feel that she had closer proximity to the content taught, which she might otherwise have not felt. This proximity allowed her to consult one of them as a critical moment in her academic life when, after her Honours studies, she expressed to a black male professor her intentions 'to go and get a job as a clerk somewhere' in order to contribute to her family's livelihood which was under severe strain (Mtshali, 2015). The intervention of the mentor was crucial to her re-thinking this decision as he asked her '...is you getting R8000 a month going to change the situation in your family? How is it going to transform – because you want to transform your family – from where it was to where you want it to be?' (Mtshali, 2015). This professor's insights into the contextual reasons behind why she might want to leave helped her to recontextualise her thinking about long term wealth in relation to earning money to support (or make more bearable) the status quo. His knowledge of her individual circumstances made it more likely for him to strike at the root of the problem, using her specific instance to give her a different, perhaps more long term, perspective on her role in the economic status of her family and herself. 'It was less scary to talk to black lecturers' whom she expresses as somehow more relatable and culturally more readable (Mtshali, 2015). To her, these lecturers offered a somehow

more comfortable place from which to learn due to linguistic code-switching coupled with more

relevant examples with which to excavate the subject matter of the courses she took.

Perhaps due to this experience, she sees teaching as serving a wider social purpose than simply

the dissemination of knowledge and the production of knowledge professionals. MaMtshali sees

teaching as a 'calling' and not simply as a professional pursuit devoid of political and socio-

economic context. Most relevantly, she sees herself as a teacher who is in a position to 'mould'

people and thinkers who would produce a future in which one would like to live.

> MaMtshali: For me teaching is, it's a humble kind of, what is it, it's not just a profession man it's about a calling. You are given 500 students on a daily basis to influence and to kind of mould towards a certain society that you wish you can be part of in the future. For me that is my understanding of teaching, to be here, create a comfortable position in as much as it's a critical position for them to look at society differently; to look at politics, economics and all of that differently. For me it is not just about... I'm not here to train people for the labour market unfortunately, I'm not here to crunch you know how many [names the profession which is the logical ending point of her discipline] have I produced, no. I'd rather produce one student who will have impact in our bigger society. I know this is like a dream...

She shows a great concern with society as a whole and holds a belief that the manifestations of

the impacts of race, class, and gender (among others such as physical and mental ability)

privileges and disadvantages discussions in the classroom. In short, she believes teachers have a

responsibility to not dislocate students from the reality of political, social and economic life.

Hence, she positions teaching as an instrument to producing a 'good society' (Mtshali, 2015). She

sees herself as wanting to contribute to a greater societal change for the common good.

Much like the views espoused by the ADP programme itself in its expression of wanting to

contribute to redress, MaMtshali reflects the core aspect of what drives her to continue on the

ADP programme on a daily basis despite systemic and individual odds. In this way, the selection

of a candidate such as MaMtshali is the selection of a candidate who believes in the liberatory and

societal imperatives of the programme. This has the potential to produce a powerful force of lecturers should the program continue to work in line with its espoused aims. However, the effect of the problematic ways in which the ADP programme is thought of and treated in practice is one of bitter disappointment, fatigue and great personal tax.

Other issues raised in the data:

Further issues that were raised include the financial implications of being on the NGAP programme. MaHlongwane brings up significant issues about the financial implications of having a half-Scholarship and half-salary payment scheme in that the amount that is calculated as her salary, for instance for a car loan, is significantly lower than the money which she is paid every month[37].

> MaHlongwane: Mh-h (yes), and this [ADP] thing I was nearly not considered for my car
> LM: Oh really?...Why?
> MaHlongwane: Because [ADP] is half, half ...So a scholarship is not considered as working actually [names a bank] rejected me because of that.

This is an issue that was brought up by MaMtshali in subsequent informal conversations in which she speaks of being 'half a citizen' not only in terms of departmental sharing of load that happens and the resulting situation of being out of the loop of some communications in the department due to the low teaching load. This also presents in the ways in which some departments do not necessarily treat the NGAP candidate as a full member of staff due to a feeling that they do not

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[37] ADP lecturers' remuneration is 50% salary and 50% scholarship to accommodate and reflect the 50% teaching load and 50% research. This remuneration strategy has significant repercussions for the financial health of the candidate and affects pension, UIF contributions as well as access to resources such as car and home loans.

share the weight of the departmental teaching load equally[38]. While this halving of the load is an

important aspect of how a Kresge/ Mellon/ ADP candidate is expected to finish a qualification, it

can present a kind of bitterness that the low teaching load is in some ways privileging the

candidate to not carry their part of the teaching load. In this way, ADP candidates such as

MaHlongwane and MaMtshali feel a kind of marginality in their departments that suggests that

they are not necessarily able to vote with full weight on departmental proceedings due to the low

teaching and supervision load. This phenomenon exacerbates the point I made earlier in which

the university seems to undertake the social justice agenda of 'transformation' as an exercise in

which boxes are ticked rather than a concerted effort to understand and implement a complex

and multi-layered approach to transformation as a social justice viewpoint would suggest. A

situation such as this begs the question of why the reportage structure of the programme did not

note and deal with such a glaring problem in the implementation of the programme and

treatment of its participants.

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[38] The half-salary, half-scholarship remuneration structure is particular to the later ADP candidates. Pre-2011 this was not the case and a full salary structure was used.

Chapter 5 – Synthesis: some conclusions and recommendations

Following the above discussion themes and metaphors from the interviews, some general statements can be made about the state of the ADP experience. Within the confines of the relatively small data set of these three participants and drawing from my own experience in the ADP at the UCKAR, some general trends of experience can be delineated.

Dissonance:

There seems to be a discursive dissonance in that the women interviewed indicate that academia was not a long-standing life plan, but rather a place in which they found themselves quite by 'mistake' (Mtshali, 2015) ,'pure chance' (Tshabalala, 2015) or as a result of circumstances as with MaHlongwane (2015). This notion of having arrived by chance can be both a strength and a weakness. It presents as a strength in the classroom with the experience of understanding that one is modelling a way of being an underrepresented or counter-normative teacher identity. This is helpful as a way to have other cultural, social, economic and political examples from which to draw in the making of examples as MaTshabalala points out. This is also useful in that it allows for more actively counter-normative candidates, such as MaMtshali, to instigate conversations and ways of being that are underrepresented. These are aspects in which there is a great advantage in having counter-normative academics teaching with knowledge of the dominant culture(s) and its own modalities. It also allows each lecturer to choose the mode in which to access the teaching and learning task. MaMtshali's insistence on expressing right from the beginning that she is not tolerant of bigotry in general comes to mind, however, in subtler ways I would argue that MaTshabalala's insistence on being inclusive in her teaching practice is also a way in which she is approaching the same thing.

Due to the hierarchal nature of academia as a sector, the career of an academic is often understood to be cumulative and is seen as a career-track rather than simply a job for the sake of a livelihood. If we use the dominant estimate that there is a '…20-year normal path of becoming a professor after completing a PhD…' (Price, 2014) then there is a need to retain PhD achieving black woman candidates 20 years beyond their PhD in order to build a professoriate that is representative of the demographics of the country. The very notion that black women are underrepresented can produce feelings of not belonging and being alien in an environment where it can seem as though natural citizens have had, and continue to have, long-standing plans to arrive at academic work and to build an academic career. The modelling of being a counter-normative academic, as we see above with the experiences of MaHlongwane (2015) and Ngqwala (Magadla, 2015), can be costly to one's person psychologically and emotionally. This strain suggests that there is a high likeliness that counter-normative academic will not be able to sustain an actively counter-normative identity for very long. The strain of being counter-normative is expressed in much of the writing and presentation by black women academics whenever institutional culture is discussed (Higher Education South Africa, 2011; Idahosa, 2014; Mabokela & Magubane, 2004). This can be seen from the quote of Mamphela Ramphele (2005) on page 24 of this half thesis as well as the findings of the HESA report of 2011 cited in page 19 of this half thesis. Needless to say, the conceptual framework of this paper outlines that the potential for there to be strain in being counter-normative in a highly normative HWU is high. A reading of the Institutional survey data also shows us that there is a likeliness that black women who are junior academics are likely to feel that the pervasive culture of the institution (whether at departmental level or at wider levels) is not conducive to their wellbeing. We can see in the writing by Jagarnath (2015), Idahosa (2014), Mohoto (2015b), Mabokela & Green (2001), Mabokela & Magubane (2004), Njovane (2015), Donaldson (2015) and Dass (2015) that there are micro and

macro-aggressive experiences that enact symbolic violence upon counter-normative subjects in favour of maintaining the status quo.

This dissonance between being told that one belongs 'A Home for All' and the pervasive feeling and experience which rejects one's very existence and being in the institution contributes to phenomena such as:

> -Impostor feelings or feelings of being an alien as is expressed in one way or the other by the respondents in their discussions on being different.
>
> -Feelings of being 'a spectator' (Hlongwane, 2015) or an 'unwanted guest' (Magoqwana, 2016) in academia.

Precarity

There is a precarity associated with the ADP positions due to the dissonance and the constant feeling of being different. There is also some structural precarity due to the contradiction between the mentoring structure's alleged intentions and its instruments. This appears in the following ways:

1. Rigid and entrenched structures of reportage, which are reliant on self-reporting and open communication between mentor and mentee. We can see through the experiences of MaMtshali and MaTshabalala that mentorship can be a very good way to incorporate and retain counter-normative black women. Yet, we can also see through the experience of MaHlongwane that mentorship may have devastating effects if not conducted in such a way as to actively support the independent growth and development of the mentee. MaHlongwane's experiences of teaching *under* her supervisor are very relevant here as it may appear to be a helpful in-between step from research to co-teaching with one's supervisor. However, the presence of one's supervisor

(especially a white male) could have the effect of suggesting that MaHlongwane needs his legitimacy as a knower to legitimate her presence there since her 'assigned' (Taylor, 2004) signifiers do not code her as a knower but as known (Karamcheti, 1995). This may have the effect of subconsciously confirming to students that the ADP candidate is, in fact, an impostor in need of expert guidance and help in order to do her work of teaching the students (Brems, Baldwin, Davis, & Namyniuk, 1994).

2. The reality of less formal spaces such as staff meetings, public gatherings and classroom encounters in which micro and macro aggressive cultural manifestations[39] appear in unstructured ways. This is shown in various lenses by the Tabensky and Matthews (2015) book. It may be seen at its extreme in the case of Dr Ngqwala (Magadla, 2015) whose story gained newsworthy status but is observable also in the experience of MaMtshali which she seized and converted into what I have called a courageous conversation above.

3. A lack of circularity and/or feedback in the reporting structure: the mentor and mentee are constantly reporting but there is little evidence of feedback on the progress that the institution is making on concerns or issues raised. One of the only channels of response from the university is in the form of:

   a) Media interviews and reports which suggest that black woman candidates are not only few but, to put it crudely, are in search of more money, cheaper housing and employed partners rather than academic careers (Henderson, 2016; The times,

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[39] I refer here to instances such as reported by MaMtshali in her description of a staff tea encounter with her colleagues (see page 58) as well as the experiences described by MaHlongwane and MaMtshali in relation to their treatment as 'different' due to the lower workload enforced by the ADP contract (see page 78).

2016). These media statements have the effect of confirming the bias against black women as knowers and suggest that they are not motivated by 'higher' ideals such as social justice or a quest for knowledge. This bias is undermined most specifically in this study by the participants' insistence on modelling of underrepresented or counter-normative positionalities as a major contributing factor to the retention of the participants of this study. Further, they have the effect of absolving the university of its inertia when it comes to developing tangible strategies for transforming the institutional culture as they can blame the leaving of black women on factors over which they have little control. This may allow the university to then ignore structural issues that are within their control such as the disparity of salaries between black women and other racial groups (John, 2015) or untransformed policies which make the taking of maternity leave a potentially career-crippling move.

b) Reports to the funders of the ADP, which take the form of parading a few ADP candidates while suggesting making use of pervasively deficit model language and references (Dugmore, 2014; Dugmore, 2015). The insistence on reporting twice a year coupled with the lack of active engagement with change may have the effect of re-inscribing the futility of trying to maintain a counter-normative stance.

This results in a contradiction between the intentions of the mentoring system and its instruments which allow for experience to be far removed from the ways in which the institution views itself and its mechanisms and culture(s).

Burden

The insistence that the ADP lecturer and her mentor report to the institution with no formalised institutionalised and action-based feedback is problematic as a departure point for achieving real institutional cultural transformation. Indeed, it should be that the institution commits to taking action on the experiences and complaints of counter-normative lecturers as a way to enforce the transformation of the cultures and ways of being in the institution.

It seems that the institution has a belief that the mere incorporation of a visibly counter-normative staff member is the extent to which transformation is being addressed and this would then account for the presence of 'Safe bets' (Hlengwa, 2015) as well as the presence of those who are visibly counter-normative but are (allegedly) perfectly comfortable within the cultures of the institution as is the case with Dr Amanda Hlengwa, as expressed in (Hlengwa, 2015).

And yet, as Njovane, Dass and Donaldson (2015) show, there are those whose experiences of the institution are distinctly unpleasant, uncomfortable and/ or alienating. The points above indicate to me that the weight of the transformation/ transformative work lies with the ADP lecturer and her mentor (if she is lucky) and is not dispersed within a whole systemic cultural transformation process. This has two clear effects:

1. It leaves the individual as an object of transformation so that the mere presence of a counter-normative staff member is immediately taken to mean that the transformation work has been done. This, of course is belied by MaMtshali's experience of being in a department with visibly counter-normative colleagues who are actually in support of the status quo. It is also belied by MaHlongwane's experiences of differentiating between certain kinds of black colleagues that she feels understand her experiences of alienation and others who she feels are unlikely to.

2. It allows the systems of academic transformation to claim to be working while the individual buckles under the weight of a resistant system.

This is a function of the liberal discourse of 'obvious' or allegedly automatic inclusivity and acceptance of difference which produce the 'violent politeness' that Njovane (2015) describes by which she refers to the ways in which statements or comments made and actions taken under the guise of politeness can have the effect of being psychologically violent on the counter-normative staff member in a normative environment.

Looking at the above concluding statements and with awareness that this was a very small study, I believe that there is a need for more research in this area. It is simply not enough to employ black women into academia but there is a definite imperative to retain them so that we can support the development of a professoriate that includes black woman academics. The ADP as it stands, presents a program that is technically enticing but which presents with many emotional, psychological and physical burdens that are placed on an academic who is already likely to be overwhelmed with the development of a higher degree among other stresses of academic and personal life. As such, with a view to the issues I have raised above of Dissonance, Precarity and Burden, there may be potential danger in the national scaling of these programmes because while they give the impression of being useful, they reproduce the paradox of dissonance and have negative effects despite the intentions otherwise.

Recommendations:

Two recommendations can be made in this regard:

1. The focus of transformation work should shift from individual 'inclusivity' strategies to structural and systemic change.

In order to ensure that the real-life effects of this programme are recognised institutionally, it would be prudent for the narrative reportage of these experiences be made more formal and public in the institutional space. As such, in a system that is more sensitive to the experiences of ADP lecturers, I might recommend the tabling and discussion of anonymous mentor reports as well as exit interviews of ADP candidates at institutional fora such as Equity and Institutional culture, Gender Action forum, Human Resources and Faculty meetings. I would recommend that these discussions should not only be for noting but should result in recommendations on policy and the practice thereof. There is a danger here, of course, of reinscribing the counter-normativity of the ADP lecturer and accelerating the rate at which they tire of the system at large. In this respect, it seems that this recommendation should be implemented with a sensitivity to, and awareness of the concerns raised above. The implementation of institution-wide awareness of the ways in which the ADP programme makes the candidate's academic life easier should be balanced with an awareness that the position with other kinds of burdens that are not necessarily being carried by full time staff.

2. Transparency and circularity in the feedback system to allow the individual to be influential in the systemic changes that are informed by their experiences.

The system of reporting should allow for not only institutional discussion but also for individual reporting to the academics and their mentors. This should include a time-bound action plan detailing the actions that the university is prepared to and able to take in order to address particular concerns raised by ADP lecturers at institutional and departmental levels.

The aim of this research has been to make available some experiences of being counter-normatively positioned in a normative environment. The narrative retellings of the participants have served me in the way of allowing me sites from which to excavate the widespread scope of my own feelings of fatigue, dissonance and disappointment with the reality of a program whose espoused aims and values I 'connect with' in my own personal values. The interviewees, at the same time, show us that there are different strategies by which one can navigate such a normative environment. The reality of the strategies is that they are on a spectrum based on how quickly they can lead to fatigue, disappointment and ultimately, moving on whether to another university or career. A more focused, disciplined and realistic view of the tools, narratives, methods and effects of the ADP programme on individual participants, departments, universities and student bodies might lead to a more successful, context-relevant and responsive national scaling which would increase the retention and success rate of participants in such an endeavour.

Chapter 6 - **Works Cited**

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