Gender narratives in the professional trajectories of women architects in South Africa.

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September 2023

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Acknowledgements

I wish to thank my life partner Lizelle van Rhyn and my family for their continual support. Gareth, thank you for being my cheerleader and afternoon tea support.

A big thank you to Jane for her knowledge and guidance through this territory of research, shining a light on what is to be explored and considered. A thank you to Karen for her continuous nudging in the right direction.

The magic of this dissertation would not have happened without the careful guidance from Epifania and the copious amounts of warm hugs from Sky, Satsuki, Willow and Douw.

This dissertation could not have happened without the community support from all the participants, my friends and my family. I am very thankful for this experience.

Abstract

In South Africa, women represent just over half of the population, yet in the architectural student body, more women are registered than men. However, in the professional realm, just over a quarter are female registered architects, of which only a fraction is black. This raises questions about what happens to young women architects as they enter their profession, as there is little information in South Africa about the possibility that they may face, as women.

The research explores this possibility through engagement with the lived experiences of women architects who have been practising architecture for a minimum of five years. South Africa is a developing country and thus the role of the architect is important as a key role player in the development of its spaces. The architect is entrusted to represent and design for a diverse set of people to cater and provide solutions for the spaces they will occupy.

A qualitative research study was undertaken, and in-depth one-on-one interviews were held with nine women practising architecture in South Africa. Thematic analysis was used to corral points of consensus, variation, and critical salience concerning the operation of gender as a dynamic within the data.

The women, through sharing their experiences, supported the notion that being gendered as a woman as an identity is in competition with the identity of the architect. Both identities require long hours and a full-time commitment to live, eat, breathe. Compared to international studies, in South Africa this tension of gender and the professional identity in architecture has not been addressed, probably due to the emotive historical and political background of the country.

The research study supports the findings in international literature that women architects often become community architects. Most women believed that an individualistic architectural identity was unattainable for a more Starchitect culture. The nine participants revealed that they endured the prescribed gendered script for "women" as a distraction and obstacle in their careers that left them exhausted. The current gendered script is a complex map that is integrated with intersectional aspects of age, position in society, position in career/company, access to opportunities of mentorship/sponsorship, grasping one's own understanding of gendering, and role player engagement in different contexts.

Keywords: Women, narrative, experiences, architecture, architect, gendering, professional career, South Africa

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List of terms used

Crit/critique: French c18th Beaux-Arts competition now embedded in studio culture (Flynn, 2022). A design brainstorming/critical/appraisal session in a formal or informal architectural setting in either a tertiary institution or in an architectural design studio (Vowles, 2000).

Culture (culturing) - Culture as defined by John Storey (2019) suggests that culture can be defined in three ways, firstly, as a general progress of "spiritual, intellectual and aesthetic development". Secondly, the way of life is based on particular systems and performative practices, and lastly, the physical evidence of works produced based on intellectual and artistic expression.

Gender bias – the unconscious and conscious bias towards a particular gender that provides favour (or is unfair) and benefactions from this bias (Gender bias…, 2022).

Gendered/gendering – a term to explain gendered socialisation in society and persons in the specific society they occupy. Gendering is based on socialisation and is linked to linguistically aspects like pronouns (Nielsen, 2017).

Intersectionality – based on Crenshaw's theory (1989, 1991) of marginalisation within society that is not only one dimensional but with a cross section of race, class, age, experience, ability/disability, gender, context, location, etc.

Narrative – As defined and used in Gibson-Graham's (1996) paper, the narrative is that of the person's experience in their life based on the script**.**

Mentoring/sponsorship - Mentoring and sponsorship are defined in O'Connor *et al.*' (2020) as the sponsor using their position of power and impact on their industry to assist their protégé, by backing them up with support, endorsement and protection. They use their social links in the industry to impact the protégé's career for the better.

Othering – "The act of treating someone as though they are not part of a group and are different in some way". (othering, n.d.)

Privilege – a term to explain a favourable position of power based on material wealth and/or network opportunities (privilege, n.d.).

SACAP – South African Council of Architectural Professionals.

Script – In reference to Gibson-Graham's (1996) paper, the script is a predefined set of text that has assumed gender roles, characteristics and outcomes.

Small, medium and large company: in the architectural profession a small company has 1 – 10 employees, a mid-size company has 11 – 49 employees and a large firm will have 50+ employees (Baker *et al.*; 2020).

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

Twenty-plus years into the twenty-first century and in South Africa's built environment, the assumption is that it is still a man's world and, therefore, gender equality has not yet been achieved (Sang *et al.*, 2014; Equity by design, 2017; Agherdien & Smallwood, 2020; CBE, 2023). Agherdien and Smallwood (2020:1) expressed their concern and observation that there is a lack of diversity in the built environment by writing:

> Construction is still largely regarded as a male domain, and women are not taken seriously as professionals in construction. Society, tradition, organisation culture, and sexist attitudes play a key role when appointing women in leadership positions. Construction should not be male-dominated because it is considered 'rough and tough', and women should be given a chance to prove themselves in the construction industry.

In the last sentence, the authors touch on the fact that even though South Africa has equal opportunity policies (EEA55, 1998), women do not have such an opportunity in the built environment.

Currently, according to the South African Council for the Architectural Profession (CBE, 2023), only 19% of architects are women, of which approximately 3% are black (CBE, 2023). These statistics are out of kilter with the country's demographics, for 51% of South Africa's population are women, and 81% of South African citizens are of Black African descent (Stats SA, 2019:6). It is well researched and documented that the number of women architects that study and graduate does not match the statistics of practising and registered architects, indicating that there is a large number that does not continue to practise architecture (Rosero, 2015; Thomas, 2016; de Graft-Johnson *et al.*, 2016; Lim *et al*., 2018; Möller & Fernando, 2022). Hancock and Wintemeyer (2016) report that up to 60% of architectural students studying at South African universities between 2014 and 2016 were women, yet this number is not represented at the registered professional level (Hancock & Wintemeyer, 2016; de Klerk, 2019). What happens to these potential professionals, and why do they decide to leave the industry after accomplishing what is necessary to receive their degrees?

Racial classification and class segregation informed the policies that marginalised the majority of South Africans in the setting of this research in South Africa and the legacy of the apartheid era (De Bene, 2017). South Africans were roughly classified into predefined racial categories that afforded economic opportunity and freedom of movement to each category level of policy. Since 1994, broad-based black economic empowerment (B-BBEE) policies have been written and

implemented, yet the policies have not been successful in transforming the built environment. In their research about stress amongst professionals in the built environment, Cattell *et al.* (2016) allude to the fact that, statistically, in South Africa the built environment is still predominantly a white male domain. This is echoed in the Council of Built Environment's annual report (CBE, 2023), with white males occupying 62 % of registered professionals in the built environment. Women occupy collectively 14% of the built environment professionals (CBE, 2023). However, the registered professionals that are women, are from various professions. Women that are registered professionals are predominantly at a lower level than men; with architects at 19%; quantity surveyors (QS) at 23%; civil and structural engineers at 8%; construction project managers and construction managers at 25%, and landscape architects at 46% (CBE, 2023). Only registered women property valuers are at a 72 % rate of registration (CBE, 2023). Cattell *et al.* (2016) mention that "In all of these professions, the route to registration is both long (degree courses of 4 years minimum) and essentially exclusive, with 'white' people enjoying an advantage in that they typically come from greater wealth, attend better schools and thus meet university entrance requirements more easily" (Cattell, 2016). Lokko (2016) explains how marginalisation of the majority of South Africa is based on racial segregation and access to education and funding keeps many women out of the architectural professional education and career prospects in the built environment. These conditions inform the range of professional diversity, or lack thereof, and provide career opportunities in the built environment (Roan & Whitehouse, 2015).

On the other hand, the South African Government has initiated the writing of a 20-year review report (De Bene, 2017), taking stock of where South Africa is in relation to the gender equality transformation plan. De Bene (2017) found that huge changes had been made; policies and legislations were implemented, gender equality transformation committees were formed, more women entered government seats, the number and position of women on decision making boards were increased (De Bene, 2017). However, De Bene (2017) notes that South Africa has not achieved gender equality and that there are still huge areas of focus to be addressed, for example gender bias in the workplace that does not support a woman's career progression. Möller & Fernando (2022) mapped the internationally published research literature, 33 articles, that relates to women in architecture between 2000 – 2020. Möller & Fernando (2022) found that most literature was published in the Global North (Spain, France, UK, USA, Australia, Sweden), with the exception of Nigeria, Thailand and Argentina, and there was a gap in the timeline between 2012 – 2020 where the publishing rate was as low as one article a year. The main themes that were discussed included unequal pay distribution, attrition/ retention of women architects, difference between the role of

participant and job description, awards and professional accolades, lack of gender and diversity inclusiveness, marginalisation and discriminatory actions in the built environment, and limited career progression options (Möller & Fernando,2022:328). The gap and rigour of not publishing more research might reflect the efforts that went into addressing the gender inequality – many international networks and committees were formed to support women architects (See Chapter 2 – Changes in work environment as a response of the attrition of women architects).

The current literature does not include the contextual geopolitical factors of the Global South, South Africa in particular, and how the intersectionality of women's experiences would affect their professional careers in architecture. This research dissertation is therefore focused on bridging the gap by addressing the questions of the South African context to contribute to the international literature by mapping the intersectional experiences of the women. The dissertation is based on professional architects gendered as women and how their gendered narrative experiences differ in the built environment industry in South Africa. As with many professional educations, after graduation the aspiring young architect professional candidate must begin a mentorship program before writing an examination to register and become a professional registered architect. These requirements are stipulated by the South African Council for the Architectural Profession, the regulating body (SACAP, 2019). It is a lengthy process (minimum of 6 years study and 2 years practical experience equal 8 years) to become a registered architect. Once registered, the architect has to earn merit points to retain the status as an architect by attending accredited lectures/talks in the industry. Young architectural students embark on this journey knowing this information and with every intention of completing their architectural studies to pursue this vocation (Martin, 1989; Fowler & Wilson, 2004; Caven, & Raiden, 2005; Rosero, 2015; Matthewson, 2014, 2015, 2017, 2018).

Leaving the condition of women's attrition in the architectural industry unresolved will perpetuate the rigid understanding (Ceylan, 2020) of what architecture is as portrayed in the media and in current published research (Troiani, 2012 & 2016). It is not only a waste of time and effort to ignore the issue of women exiting the architectural industry, but also a loss of commitment from the women who spent years studying and preparing for their career, because monetary and governmental resources are wasted. The cost to the South African built environment is also increased by the fact that the women leave with their talent and innovative and diverse skills (Lange *et al.,* 2018). Women think, design and experience the built environment differently, and this is important for a sustainable society (Ceylan, 2020). This research dissertation contributes to the international research data and fills the gap in the understanding about gender equality in the South African context.

In 2015 a task team was established by the South African Council of Architectural Professionals (SACAP), and *Women in Architecture South Africa (WAISA),* to address the underrepresentation of women in architecture in South Africa. Their mandate was to find solutions for the industry to attract and retain diverse architectural talent in the industry. This task team has organised various workshops and talks to inspire change within the architectural industry by showcasing the numerous other identities that occur in architecture (De Klerk, 2019).

The notion of showcasing, representing and celebrating more women architects and their work has appeared in many public initiatives internationally and locally. Internationally, the content and workshops are very rich in nature; however, these are mostly formalised in blogging websites and on Facebook. The South African initiatives are taken up by *Herperspective,* a Cape Town-led initiative, to tell the stories of prominent women in architecture (currently and in the history of architecture).

The scope of this research includes the statistics of the underrepresentation of gender equality in architectural education and the industry. This research study explores these women's lived and perceived realities. By using an intersectional lens which involves looking at gender through a consideration of other systems of social organisation such as race, class, and sexuality, the research explores the experiences women architects have in the built environment industry.

This study is interested in participants' sense of how gender dynamics they have encountered may or may not have influenced their career path, the choices in their creative expression, and the reasons and choices that led them to becoming professional architects. The exploration is interested in participants' representations of the roles that these women occupy in society, the perceived and expected identities they have to fulfil as architects, and their narratives of the gendered roles that are expected of them professionally.

1.2 Background to research

South Africa is in a post-apartheid era. It is important to take stock of how successful the new policies have been and whether transformation has taken place (De Bene, 2017). Because of apartheid architectural strategies designed to be used in political and economic policies prior to 1994 (Peters, 2004; Marais *et al.*, 2019), the post-apartheid South African architect and town planner in the built environment has played a vital role in changing the experiences of citizens and addressing the transformation needed for South Africa to become a country supporting and promoting equity. Current South African architects and town planners have a civil duty to address the project's brief and assist in the 'de-construction' of these apartheid strategies with the emphasis on promoting

diversity (de Graft-Johnson *et al.*, 2005; Ozumba & Ozumba, 2012; De Bene, 2017). There is a link between the apartheid-rooted shape of the architectural profession in work undertaken under apartheid and the admission of people into that profession: to a very large extent, black people and women were rarely visible as professionals pre-1994 (Lokko, 2016; De Bene, 2017). So, there is a link between the need to transform what the profession does and who is given the access to do it. Accordingly, the urgency and importance of transformation within the career trajectories of professionals in the built environments in South Africa cannot be overstated.

Ozumba and Ozumba (2012) refer to the fact that many current equal opportunity policies written post-1994, such as the B-BBEE policy, are difficult to implement since gender-based discrimination was institutionally practised within the workplace during the apartheid era.

Although the human resource management (HRM) policies exist, it does not mean that the legislative policies have been transferred into practical implementation in the construction industry, since only 13% of employed workers in this industry are women (Stats SA, 2019). Reflecting on the Covid-19 scenario in South Africa, in the third quarter of 2020 the figure of employed women in the construction industry dropped from 13% to 9% (Stats SA, 2019:13). This reiterates the importance of this investigation into the experiences of women architects and the current narrative that is not supporting the transformation.

1.3 Problem formulation

Despite its gender equity policies (SAHRC, 2017), there is still an underrepresentation of professionally registered women architects in the built environment in South Africa. This underrepresentation causes the image of the architect to remain stagnant and perpetuates the recurring image of architecture and the built environment as a 'man's world'. Up to 60% of architectural students are women, yet the number of registered women architects remains low – at 25% in 2021/2022 (SACAP, 2022). The difference between women architects' graduation and registration demonstrates the significant attrition of women in the architectural profession.

Architecture is a vocation (RAIC, 2021), and architects are trained to develop advanced spatial perception, fast analysis, and problem-solving skills (Moe, 2019). Thus, the decision of women architects to pursue or to give up the path to this career choice is not to be taken lightly. Even though architectural students graduate with similar technical attributes, the architectural industry still holds on to old gender discrimination patterns (Jahn, 2009; Cuncliffe & Strydom, 2017). Women and other marginalised groups struggle to succeed professionally and to live up to the traditional

architect's image (Lokko, 2016; De Klerk, 2019). Many in the architectural industry experience discomfort in the time constraints, the identity they have to internalise, and the levels of success. It seems to be impossible for gender roles and identity in architecture to be divorced from the creative delivery of work, and thus the attempts to change the experiences of women in the industry have been unsuccessful.

1.4 Problem statement

The reason for the underrepresentation of women architects in the built environment in South Africa is unclear, even though a large proportion of architectural students are women.

1.5 Research Question(s)

Based on the problem statement, the following questions are posed:

Primary Question:

- How do South African women architects experience gender dynamics within their professional career trajectories?

Secondary Questions:

- What are the gendered scripts in the built environment currently in the architectural industry?
- How are these scripts understood by South African women architects?
- How do South African women architects experience their perceived gendered scripts?
- How is the professional growth of South African women architects impacted by these scripts?

1.6 Research propositions

The research propositions are based on the literature review built from the conceptual framework above and the information gathered from the literature. The following propositions are made:

- The image of the architect causes an imposter syndrome (Fulani *et al.* ,2019) in women architects and thus influences their perception.
- Gendered roles and their required attributes cause confusion within the architect's image as a professional. There is a possible mismatch in the attributes of being gendered as a woman and trained as an architect.

1.7 Aim and objectives of the research

The aim of this research project is to investigate the lived experiences of women architects currently practising as architects and those who decided to change their careers.

The objectives of this research study are:

1. To document and understand women architects' perceived lived experiences and gender dynamics in the built environment.
2. To map how the script is formed around and understood by the women architects and their environments.
3. To Incorporate an intersectional lens to explore what influences the women architects' experience and perception of their work environment, career and self-image.

1.8 Research design and methodology summary

Design

The methodology entailed collecting data from qualitative one-on-one interviews to map the thoughts/experiences of the various research subjects. This research study employed a qualitative research approach for gathering information about the narrative of women architects' lived experiences.

Sampling

A purposive sampling method was used by contacting certain women architects on various social media platforms.

Instrument design and data collection

The design and use of in-depth interviews were employed in this research study. The interviews were used to capture the distinctiveness of the women architects' experiences in their lives.

Data analysis

A thematic analysis was used during this research study.

1.9 Research delimitations

This research study is based only on the lived experiences of women architects in South Africa. Interviews were conducted with practising women architects (unregistered, candidate and professional architect status) who had studied for a similar undergraduate professional degree (SACAP accredited), and entered the workplace and architectural industry in South Africa for at least five years.

1.10 Conceptual framework derived from the literature

The conceptual framework Presented in Figure 1.1 below summarises the breakdown of the terminology considered in the literature review in Chapter 2.

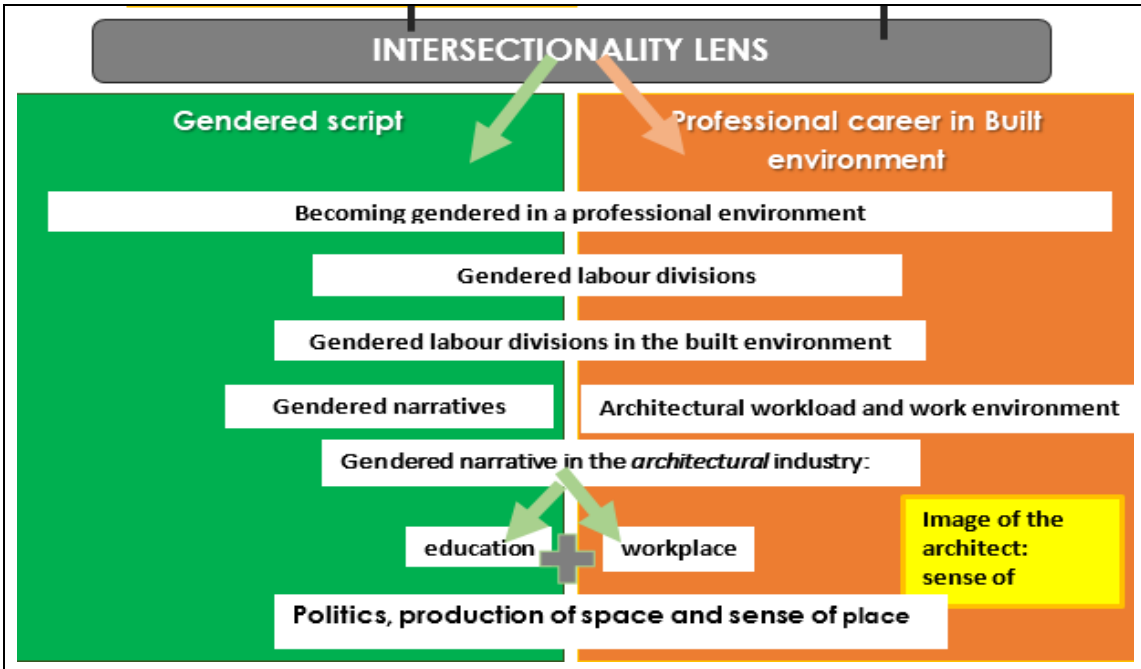

Figure 1.1 left: diagrammatic representation of the conceptual framework. Source: Author.

The title of this master's dissertation, *Gender narratives in the professional trajectories of women architects in South Africa*, is situated as the basis for the literature exploration and forms the basis for the conceptual framework. The title of the dissertation refers to the critical thinking through an intersectional lens that is used as a theoretical framework for the research. All conceptual aspects of the research were viewed and assessed through the critical lens of intersectionality that includes, but is not limited to, race, gender, age, culture, and class, as expanded upon in Chapter 2.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the research about gender and the environment of the architectural workplace within the built environment, the two themes are displayed in green (gender) and orange (architects and professional career) in the diagram in Figure 1.1. The headings of each theme within the literature review are placed within either the blue or yellow to indicate the themed relevance of the conceptual framework. The themed titles relate to the review of research literature from the broader conceptual aspects, starting with "*Becoming gendered in a professional environment and gender labour divisions*". Then the focus is on these combined aspects by concentrating on the conceptual theme of "*Gendered labour divisions in the built environment*".

From the broad conceptual themes, the focus shifts to the more nuanced and detailed aspects of being gendered in the architectural profession; *gender narrat*ive and the *architectural workload* are explored respectively. Based on these two concepts, the conceptual themes of the "*gender narrative* in the *architectural environment both in education and in the workplace" are* further investigated. This leads to the exploration and investigation of what the "*image of the architect is and how it influences the sense of place as well as the production of space*".

Looking at the recurring conceptual themes in the literature review, gender is the mediating/defining category that threads through most of the research literature, and using intersectionality in this research study aided the examination of the nuanced factors that affect the data in South Africa. Chapter 2 expands on how the perception of space and a sense of belonging influence the lived experiences of people, and this formed part of the research enquiry.

1.11 Structure of the dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction.

Chapter 1 provides an introduction and background to this research study.

Chapter 2: Literature review.

Chapter 2 encompasses the underpinning literature for this interdisciplinary research study. The literature review provides the scope and breadth of what has been covered before in this research field.

Chapter 3: Research methodology.

This chapter explains and describes the various research strategies and expands on the methodology that was implemented by reporting on data collection aspects.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6: Presentation and analysis of data.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 include the data presentation and analysis of the results of the research. Chapter 4 incorporates the *Culture of Gendering*, Chapter 5 the *Culture of Architecture*, and Chapter 6 entails how the two aspects of culturing are internalised and displayed by the participants as the *Identity of the Architect*.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and recommendations.

The chapter presents the conclusions drawn from the analysed data and from which recommendations for further research and/or development are highlighted.

1.12 Summary

Chapter 1 provides a brief introduction and background to the context of women architects internationally and the background of gender inequality in South Africa. Although South African legislation promotes gender equality, the built environment profession and construction industry remain a male dominated domain. This chapter presents a discussion of the problem, the main objectives, aims and research questions. In addition, the chapter introduces the theoretical framework, methodology, and research methods that were used.

Chapter 2 will review the contextual literature that forms the basis of the South African gender equality context for women architects.

Chapter 2: Literature review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review is set out as a theoretical framework that addresses how being gendered as a woman influences the experiences women architects have within the built environment. This literature review informs the theory and conceptual framework that guided the research methodology.

The importance of intersectionality as a lens is used as a basis of the theoretical framework throughout the research. The focus is on the South African context: what it is like to be gendered as a woman in architecture, science, technology, engineering and math (STEM) as allied fields, gender and organisational theory, gendered labour divisions, gendered narratives, work balance and built environment labour divisions, architectural education, the image of the architect, and the politics and the production of space.

The feminist theories that will be focused on involve discussion of the implications and understanding of research bias, the grounding of research in the South African context, and what it means for the research to be directed by a feminist lens of intersectionality.

2.2 Gender and intersectionality

This section focuses on the intersectional nature of gender roles and how perceptions shape and perpetuate the performative aspects of these roles.

2.2.1 Gender roles

Holmes (2009) describes, in her book "*Gender and Everyday life",* the fundamental political dynamics a gender analysis demands and begins by establishing the difference between gender and sex. Holmes (2009:2) writes: "Sex refers to whether a person is considered female or male, based on the kind of body they have". Holmes (2009) and Wenhold and Harrison (2020 & 2021) further explain that gender is defined by society's concepts of what it means to be masculine or feminine; gender and sex do not sit in neat and binary categories that are opposite one another. Holmes (2009) explains that gender is more a scale of masculine and feminine traits. This helps to clear up some misunderstandings that might occur due to hegemonic ideologies that human bodies can neatly fit the binary terms of female=women=feminine and male = men = masculine, which is not always the case (Kiguwa, 2019) . The binary ideas that females act predominantly in a feminine manner and males predominantly in a masculine way are mere concepts and ideological

expressions (Kiguwa, 2019; Wenhold & Harrison, 2021). Feminine and masculine traits can be mere actions; body movements are merely societal concepts that are labelled as masculine and feminine (Wenhold & Harrison, 2021). These assumptions relate to the prescribed gendered script and narrative built by the society around patriarchal structures within society (Holmes, 2009; Wenhold & Harrison, 2020). Holmes (2009) and Gibson-Graham (1996) explain that this creates an ongoing cycle of script and narrative building as well as performing the role, whilst Wenhold and Harrison (2021) explain it as "gender norm attitude formation and concurrent life expectations" (Wenhold & Harrison, 2021: 421). The concerns are that these assumptions hold social meanings and hierarchy for all cultures (Holmes, 2009) and this is important to investigate in the context of the diversity of South African citizens and of this study.

Holmes (2009:3) provides further insight to the patriarchal cycle that is upheld by modern society by explaining how one's body is gendered and socialised in this manner: "From birth, girl children and boy children are treated differently, and every day of our lives involves interacting with other people according to their gender. We talk to girls/women differently".

Holmes (2009) adds that while men and masculinity are the perceived norm, they are often ranked as superior to the feminine and women. She adds that the gender differences are not by themselves discriminatory, but may lead to people treating the assumed genders differently and causing marginalisation (Holmes, 2009:3). This is echoed by Fine (2010) and Wenhold and Harrison, (2021), who discuss gender bias and psychologically gendered suggestions in larger groups to be perpetuating the gender disparity.

Modern patriarchal society is largely controlled by structures that support men, and in which resources, rewards and status are all determined by them and enjoyed by them whilst women often have difficulty navigating the rules put in place by the structures, surviving hostile sexism (Gqola, 2007) and keeping control in their lives (Holmes, 2009; De Klerk, 2019; Wenhold & Harrison, 2021).

Holmes (2009) mentions that even if a man feels uncomfortable with this scenario, they still benefit from the systems that support them. For example, during a surge in human activity in a theatre setting during an intermission there is often a queue outside the women's toilet whereas men have the opportunity to quickly relieve themselves with the invention of urinals, yet no extra toilets are made available to women. This type of bias is often left unexamined in the design phase of building and regulations regarding toilets (Edwards & McKie, 1996), Building function and occupation is set as a national building standard (NBR) in the SANS10400 document. Even though the minimal

requirement of ablutions for women and men are not mandatory (designers are allowed to add more but not less than the stipulated regulation), it is still followed as a prescribed regulation. For this research study it is anticipated that structures and protocols are often followed in the built environment industry as per the example above, leaving women in a marginalised and subordinate position.

2.2.2 Intersectionality

Holmes (2009) writes about the importance of thinking critically in the space of gender for generalisations informing the "normal" that harm the minority in hegemonic applications of the normal. Holmes (2009) reminds the reader that societal groups "do" engage differently from one another (Holmes, 2009:5) and this is important to consider when doing research in order to understand the nuances and differences in sociological studies (Wenhold & Harrison, 2020). Holmes (2009) expands on critical thinking as the start of intersectionality as a lens in research, while the paper of Cho. *et al.* (2013), *Toward a Field of Intersectionality Studies: Theory, Applications, and Praxis,* describes the integrated nature of using intersectionality as a feminist lens in research studies.

Intersectionality, as defined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), is a conceptual analytical framework that investigates how various social categorisations within social, political and economic surroundings may intersect and influence a person's or a group's engagement with the world around them and cause them to be in a subordinate position within society (Cho. *et al.*, 2013). The intersections of the framework often include (but are not limited to) race, class, gender and religion and this study investigated the degree of marginalisation in that particular person's or group's experience (Cho. *et al.*, 2013). The intersection of the particular aspects is important because if one aspect is used as an investigative lens, for example gender, findings in that study will often take a general perspective in relaying information and overlook details that are particular to a certain group (Cho. *et al.*, 2013).

Thus, intersectionality theory addresses the flows of power and does not simply categorise or overlap the differences of experiences (Cho. *et al.*, 2013). Intersectionality is an important theory in this research study due to the nature of diversity in the South African context and the built environment (Cho. *et al.*, 2013). In a country with eleven official languages and cultural diversity, the nuances of gendered experiences will thus be varied for all its participants, and deeply influenced by locations of race and class power.

2.2.3 Coagulation of gender roles and intersectionality

History has shown that previous labour divisions prior to the world wars had working class men and women working alongside another in the fields; men and women were of equal strength (Holmes, 2009); however, class changed this perception due to the differences expected of gender roles in the middle class. These assumptions are based on Eurocentric values and structures that were transferred to colonised countries during the colonisation from the North (Gibson-Graham, 1996; Lugones, 2007; Holmes, 2009; Day, 2021). Holmes (2009) explains that middle-class gendered roles were cultivated where women were indoors and passively "busy", household tasks were performed by hired staff, and men were tasked to be engaged intellectually. This led to behaviour comparisons of aspiration for the working class and encouraged modern society to predominantly strive to patriarchal ideals of these gender roles since society often aspires and looks to middle-class values and economic stature.

Gqola (2007), Lugones (2007) and Day (2021) touch on this aspect when they explain how feminist values are steeped in the assumptions of these middle-class ideals and that it is important that critical thinking occurs in the application of intersectionality when comparing and researching gender in social environments. Holmes (2009) reminds the reader that she bases her book on generalised assumptions from her own position, but that it is important to depart from *somewhere* in order to investigate other cultures and the differences between societies located across the world. Holmes (2009) makes a connection between class and intersectionality and adds that understanding the unequal distribution of resources (in the form of rules and policies), access to these resources, and rewards based on these resources is crucial.

This relates to the structures that architects have to navigate in their career trajectories. (See section *Gendered narrative in the architectural industry: the workplace* below.)

Class is a complex issue, and class divisions shift. This helps us understand how and why different groups share unequally in the resources and rewards society has to offer. It is crucial to understand that not all women are the same and not all men are the same. Working-class women are likely to share similar experiences of gender yet different from those of middle-class women (Holmes, 2009:10).

This emphasises the importance of understanding the point of departure (positionality) in the research and that one perception is not everyone's perception. Another aspect of critical thinking and relating to intersectional understanding in society is that age may play a particular role in the

position of one's 'relation to power' in society and may relate to and locate a person into another class before or after they received professional accreditation, for example, before or after having children (Holmes, 2009:11)

In Maria Lugones' (2007) paper *Heterosexualism and the Colonial / Modern Gender System* she explains how heteronormative values have been combined with race classification in order to implement colonial practices. Lugones (2007) explains the concept of "the coloniality of power" in conjunction with other feminist research, related to intersectional aspects of feminism of colour to "arrive" at how "*the modern/colonial gender system*" works. Lugones (2007:186-187) explains that:

> The reason to historicise gender formation is that without this history, we keep on centering our analysis on the patriarchy; that is, on a binary, hierarchical, oppressive gender formation that rests on male supremacy without any clear understanding of the mechanisms by which heterosexuality, capitalism, and racial classification are impossible to understand apart from each other (Lugones, 2007:186-187).

With this quote Lugones (2007), supported by Gqola (2007) and Day (2021), expresses the very reason why patriarchal value systems have been in power – research has been looking at the patriarchal system and not the systems it absorbed/replaced when it was introduced.

Lugones (2007) explains that to understand the link between colonialism, global capitalism and gender is to understand current life's complexities in finding the marginalised and subordinate positions women hold. Lugones (2007: 190) assumes that although gender is a product of socialisation it does not need to organise social structures as well as social sexual structures. She adds that these organised structures need to be careful not to assume a hegemonic position in heterosexuality of patriarchal ideologies.

These aspects are important to consider, given the history of South Africa for the formation of current capitalist patriarchal societal structures that were brought to the shores of South Africa with the first colonisers (Lugones, 2007; Gqola, 2007; Day, 2021). These heterosexual and patriarchal hegemonic structures are manifest in the assumptions of women in architectural practice and thus the intersectional lens of gender, race, context and class is crucial to investigate and not to inscribe, repeat and reaffirm in hegemonic structures.

Gender-related notions of labour often become a woman's burden (Ratele, 2014) and are not related to males and masculine identities because the man is normalised by linguistic indicators, for example architect versus female architects (Butler, 1999; Sang *et al.*, 2014).

2.3 Becoming gendered in a professional context

Built environment professionals hold professional degrees and have to perform specific functions within the built environment (Cattell *et al.,* 2016; CBE, 2023). These professionals are all required to display and act in a professional manner, thus the societal aspects regarding being gendered in the workplace as a concept will be explored below.

2.3.1. Role of gender in the professional context

The link between being professional in relation to being gendered is based on assumptions of what is feminine and masculine (Holmes, 2009; Wenhold & Harrison, 2020). To be gendered, Holmes and Stubble (2003) mention the assumed characteristics of gender in a table that describes the 'widely cited features' of the 'feminine' and 'masculine'. The characteristics that are 'internationally accepted' describe the f*eminine* attributes as 'indirect, conciliatory, facilitative, collaborative, minor contribution (in public), supportive feedback, person/process-oriented, affectively oriented' and the masculine attributes as 'direct, confrontational, competitive, autonomous, dominates (public) talking time, aggressive interruptions, task/outcome-oriented, referentially oriented, individual' (Holmes & Stubble, 2003). These descriptions support gender stereotypes as to how the roles will define how one should act and interact in specific environments (Holmes & Stubble, 2003).

Based on the assumption that being 'gendered as a woman' one is socialised as a woman since birth, the question arises as to how it is to be gendered in a professional context? In *Gendered Discourse in the Professional Workplace*, Mullany (2009) remarks that this is a fairly 'modern' question as women were often excluded from professional spaces. In South Africa, legislation to alleviate gender inequality was enacted in 1996 (De Bene. 2017). With the legislation's twentieth anniversary approaching, this research study aimed to investigate and understand how women architects experience their professional environment. Mullany (2009) explains the professional work environment is changing, with more women choosing diverse careers, which has led to more research studies that support this trend. De Bene's (2017) independent report on the experiences of South African women in 2016 found that the process of gender equality and transformation followed a phased approach. Early initiatives (1996 – 2006) were the formation of committees to ensure the establishment of various agendas of transformation. First, "*The Women's Empowerment Unit (WEU)* aimed to identify and address the obstacles to women's full participation in law-making processes" (De Bene, 2017: 39); second, the *Parliamentary Women's Group (PWG),* whose main duty was to ensure government became more knowledgeable on gender related issues (De Bene, 2017: 39);and third, the *Committee on Improvement of Quality of Life and Status of Women* acted as a

reviewing committee focused on legislation and policies (De Bene, 2017: 39).

2.3.2 Role of sociolinguistics

Mullany (2009) alludes to the fact that uncomfortable gendered experiences in professional spaces often occur with phrases people use. The discomfort occurs in the speech acts in the narrative of the workplace by the perceptions of invisible barriers women face. This aspect relates well to this research study's intention to investigate the narrative that occurs in architecture for women architects.

The implications of "becoming gendered" for 'women' in professional contexts are often that they are still experiencing difficulties being promoted and occupying senior positions in the workplace (Mullany, 2009:14; Mullany & Schnurr, 2023). This incorporates "the glass ceiling" and "sticky floors syndrome". The "glass ceiling" is understood to be an external gender bias driving the overlooking of women for promotion. "Sticky floors" refers to the resistance to and lack of upskilling in professional skills that cause women to be overlooked for promotion (Johnson *et al.*, 2014). Mullany (2009) defines the professional workplace as the corporate structures of businesses and organisations, and the narrative as focusing on the use of language of managerial professionals (Gibson-Graham, 1996).

Mullany's (2009) study used two corporate companies as case studies to map the managerial linguistics of participants. One of the participants uses generalised assumptions of what a man and a woman's typical role and application in managerial positions is. This is an indication that predetermined narratives are already used in the professional workplace environment in which engagement is measured. The one female participant's comments towards the interviewer and fellow colleague refer to her own leadership style as being unique and not typically female; she continues to mention that she chooses to personify a witch on a broomstick in a video she takes as part of a business plan. Here she explains that she is comfortable as the *witch* because it is how it is, (in reference to being direct in her engagements) and she anticipates that others therefore would see her as a *witch*. This relates to Wenhold & Harrison's (2020 & 2021) finding that the preformed gender stereotypes are enforced by those in leadership and the media. The image of being a woman is perpetuated in a cyclical manner even though it might be with acquiescence (Wenhold & Harrison, 2020).

Mullany (2009) discusses how direct and assertive qualities of women in leadership are negatively perceived. 'Bossy', ' bombastic', ' dragon-like', ' overpowering' and 'tyrannical' are words used to describe the evaluated female managers. A participant commented that "Females are more caring generally". Recent studies (Radu *et al.*, 2017) have found that women in leadership have a different management style and the focus is not on the individual but rather on the way leaderships practice management.

Mullany (2009) explains that there is a generalised stereotypical perception that women in the workplace should display certain attributes, yet when these attributes are not displayed in a leadership role the confusion of leadership and a woman's role is convoluted. This is echoed by Mullany and Schnurr (2023), who explains that gender bias and discrimination are a two-pronged situation that women experience in the professional workplace (as CEOs, top, middle and lower management leaderships), based on TEDx talks that spread globally (across Africa, USA, Asia and the Middle East).

This questions the very aspect of socialisation as a woman in modern society and how these attributes of the role as a woman would translate in a professional workplace. More recent studies have found that the sociolinguistics of the professional workplace is more geologically and intersectionally based, but that gender bias carries as a similar theme throughout them all (De Bene, 2017; Mullany & Schnurr, 2023).

2.3.3 Leadership/Professional characteristics and influence on gender roles

A professional in a leadership role is often referred to as *being a man* and the assumed characteristics that the man in the leadership/managerial role would have to display would be natural and accepted as normal in the professional workplace (Mullany, 2007; De Mascia, 2015; Mullany & Schnurr, 2023). De Mascia (2015:2) writes:

> The older traditional leadership models valued 'Agentic' masculine characteristics e.g. competition, confidence, aggression, self-direction. Women' skills were stereotypically viewed as more 'Communal' in nature e.g. such as kindness, concern for others etc. (De Mascia, 2015:2).

Mullany (2007) showed that the engagements around leadership and managerial aspects in the professional workplace made peers and subordinates struggle to accept authority from a woman because it did not appear to be in keeping with the gendered role. This relates to gender bias towards men in authoritative positions (Schnurr, 2023).

Mullany (2007) explains that there is an expectation by other women professionals that a women manager needs to reveal more about their life, but this may not be what the women in a professional workplace want. Mullany (2007) explains that this is a prejudice and may contribute to the discomfort in women's leadership. This attribute of being "professional" by reserving engagement about one's private life with co-workers seems to conflict with what is gendered as a woman in a professional workplace. This relates to the question of professionalism, work and personal life and the performance of gender in the workplace in order to establish trust (Williams, 2016). Williams (2016) explains that this is problematic for LGBTQ+ people who do not fall neatly into the gender binaries and often struggle to establish trust because of gender biases that are binary.

Another aspect Mullany (2007) touches on is the perceived assumption that to be gendered as a woman means that one is naturally hormonal, emotional, and that women tend to over-communicate. When women display anger, frustration, or cry, this supports the assumption that women are, based on their biological make-up, emotional and irrational. However, when a man displays these aspects, it is explained away as part of the situation he is in and normalised (Mullany, 2007:185).

2.3.4. Work/life balance and gender roles

Having a family and maternity leave are also often a concern for women in the professional workplace (Gender bias, 2022). In Mullany's (2007) case study interviews, one woman explained that it was difficult to choose family over work and the decision to take longer maternity leave resulted in negative perceptions and comments from co-workers, some even blaming her for a difficult time in the company during her absence.

Clearly, that what is expected of women and men in the professional workplace is based on prescribed roles that are predefined by a middle-class society (Holmes, 2009). These predefined roles relate to the masculine and feminine traits ascribed to the male and female body. However, the characteristics often seen are that men are regarded as normal and may navigate the professional workplace without much scrutiny in their interactions, even if they display more feminine traits in leadership or managerial style (Williams, 2016).

In the Covid-19 pandemic, the statistics and data about gender inequality were foregrounded (Foley & Cooper, 2021; Mullany & Schnurr, 2023). Women in the professional workplace faced a myriad of conflicting stereotypical difficulties that included limited career progression, taxing home-life responsibilities, reduction in work hours, and pay cuts (Foley & Cooper, 2021). Foley and Cooper

(2021) explain that women globally suffered in five distinct ways during the pandemic; one, the undervaluing of "feminised" industries for funding and relief opportunities, for example, nursing. Across the globe recalled retired nurses and a disproportioned number of black women were on the front lines (Foley & Cooper, 2021); two, lack of flexibility in time and access to resources that are beneficial for women (Foley & Cooper, 2021); three, the unfair distribution of unpaid care work became most women's responsibility in families during the pandemic as loved ones were taken to hospital or became ill at home (Foley & Cooper, 2021); four, the impact and increase of domestic violence towards women had an enormous impact on women and the workplace (Foley & Cooper, 2021); and five, the lack of equality in power relationships to negotiate and bargain collective actions (Foley & Cooper, 2021).

2.4 Gendered labour divisions

Cobble (2010) in "*More intimate Unions*" defines the various labour tasks as the following, *productive labour* tasks, as per Marxist theory, the labour that is productive in nature and has a monetary component (for example a salary is given to a factory worker). Cobble (2010) mentions that *reproductive labour* tasks were also initially labelled by the Marxist tradition and entail labour that is tasked to sustain productive labour but is not limited to this only. Reproductive labour entails, for example, having and caring for children, looking after household duties (for example procuring and providing water and food, raising children, doing maintenance in the home). Reproduction is often seen as the 'unproductive exchange of value' (Cobble, 2010). Cobble (2010) extended the reproductive labour tasks to emotional care and support for society (children and other adults alike) as well as educational, training and teaching requirements that support the community. Cobble (2010) defines *Intimate labour* as work that entails intimate engagement with details of individuals inside and outside of their homes (for example, domestic and care workers working with intimate parts of people's lives such as underwear or toiletries). Some sociologists see emotional labour, defined by Arlie Hochschild, as part of intimate labour. *Emotional labour* is defined as the labour tasks one has to perform to show only certain emotions in a work environment, and thus see the disguise and manipulation of one's own emotions as labour (for example an architect must keep their composure in front of their client in order to maintain the professional relationship even if they are frustrated with something) (Cobble, 2010).

Cobble (2010) mentions that often emotional labour tasks involve 'deep acting' to fulfil the desired emotional labour tasks required to get a specific pleasing outcome. Fine (2010) describes the phenomenon and task provision that is gendered in her book *Delusions of Gender* as 'taking on the

second shift' (Fine, 2010). Fine (2010) mentions that productive and reproductive labour assigned to women often causes women adversity with prescribed binary gender norms. Fine (2010, 2018) adds that women are often more productive due to the weight of the gendered tasks and the sense of responsibility(Glynn, 2018).

2.4.1 Gendered labour divisions in South Africa

In the context of South Africa, historically in apartheid, it was common that all reproductive labour tasks were the responsibility of women in a household (Helman & Ratel, 2016; De Bene, 2017) and this assumption was based on patriarchal structures. This was due to the fact that participation in the workplace was restricted by policies that stipulated married women could not be employed, cultural community traditions had internal structures of control (religious or tribal) and there were legal restrictions of people prohibited to work and live in certain areas based on the apartheid system of racial classification (De Bene, 2017). Casale *et al.* (2020) in their paper "*Gender and work in South Africa*" explain that the restrictions included "gender ideology, women's economic dependence and social pressure that enabled fathers, husbands and chiefs to reinforce women's traditional roles in reproduction and household labour" (Casale *et al.*, 2020:2).

Reproductive labour tasks such as caretaking, domestic cleaning, collecting water, child rearing are defined mainly the domestic duties of the average Southern African woman in their households (De Bene, 2017). South Africa's policies of gender equity like the Employment Equity Act (1998), Basic Conditions of Employment Act (1998) and minimum/low wage legislation (De Bene, 2017) allowed more women to enter the workplace yet this did not translate into equality for women, and they are still not paid equally to men.

The household structure in South Africa has a vast array of diversity in its makeup. Posel's (2001) paper *Who are the heads of household, what do they do, and is the concept of headship useful?* An analysis of headship in South Africa explains that with the self-appointed aspect of headships by respondents in surveys they claim that they have "control over decision making" (Posel, 2001:654).

The typical head is either the oldest household member or the highest income earner. Significantly, "many women have likely also been 'pushed' into the labour market out of need, Casale et al. (2020:4) writes:

> … Women have been less able to share the costs of household maintenance and childcare obligations with a partner, as marriage rates have declined substantially over the period (particularly among Africans), and the percentage of households that rely on income earned only by women has risen

apace (Casale *et al.,* 2020:4).

Casale *et al.* (2020) explain that hierarchical structures within households are not predefined as either men or women at the head of the household or simply defined homogenous understandings of the need for heads of households. Casale *et al.* (2020) compared the female led household with the male led household and found that female led households' incomes are often lower than male led households. The female led households often have fewer earners and are therefore at a disadvantage for growth (Casale *et al.*, 2020). The aspects listed above indicate the intricate nature of South African households and that gender-labour divisions in the household are often shifting as the structure of the household shifts.

What is missing in the current research from this marginalised group as well as successful architects in the industry is the extended reproductive tasks. The reproductive labour tasks defined by Cobble (2010) above (teaching and support for communities) and the intimate labour tasks that entail mental, and emotional labour and deep acting have not been included in any research study.

2.4.2 Gendered labour divisions in the built environment

Productive labour tasks are defined by Marx as follows: "…Labour divisions in the built environment are generally 'productive' in nature and provide a material outcome…(Moraitis & Copley, 2017).

Based on the definition above, labour divisions in the built environment are generally 'productive' in nature and provide a material outcome. Architecture can be classified as a productive labour that constructs valuable products as tangible outcomes. According to the Marxist definition of reproductive labour tasks (Duffy, 2007), women are to be socialised to fulfil the role of holding the household together and this is often echoed in the built environment (Cunliffe & Strydom, 2017).

There seems to be a definite (unintended) discrimination towards women and what their duties can and may be in the construction industry, according to interviews with various construction industry role players in Michelle Jahn's honours thesis: *Discrimination against women in the construction industry in South Africa* (2009*)*. In her interviews with men and women in the construction industry she found that a woman was very seldom a site foreman, and the reasons were physically related, but co-workers also struggled to follow instructions from a woman. This is because men did not believe that a woman would know what the best practice would be on site. Jahn (2009) found in her interviews and surveys that it was perceived to be more acceptable to find women on site if they were professional quantity surveyors (QS) doing site inspections or are site QS. She found that these women had to prove that they were experts in their fields to prove they belonged, otherwise their

work was dismissed due to their gender, and they were not given opportunities for career growth. There is a general idea that women have to earn the respect of their men counterparts by exceeding their knowledge of technology and processes (Jahn, 2009:24).

Jahn mentions that, according to a woman QS she interviewed, site walks are difficult, for she is stared at, and questioned why she is on her own. Due to her flexi time arrangement, she is often questioned whether she spent enough time on site to make a professional assessment of the site (Jahn, 2009:24). Jahn records that long working hours of employed professionals such as site managers or quantity surveyors – 12+ per day on and off site – prove that married BEP women have other responsibilities and thus cannot work as long as men and thus a higher, equitable salary cannot be justified (Jahn, 2009). Another form of discrimination Jahn mentions is the fact that lower pay is also justified by men directors of companies because women are not the main breadwinners and therefore do not have to support a family (Jahn, 2009: 28). Jahn's (2009) survey of whether the men in the built environment professionals (BEPs) believed a woman belonged on site found that only 20% agreed and 96% believed that if women were to go to site it would be best if they were quantity surveyors.

Infante-Pere *et al.* (2018) in their paper *Expected Career Barriers in Building Engineering: Does Gender Matter?* tackle the gendered labour divisions in BEPs that manage to succeed in their professional careers. Often women construction professionals are office bound and, like in Jahn's study, on-site engagement and management are discouraged (Infante-Pere *et al.,* 2018). Infante-Pere *et al.* (2018) provide an insight into why most women in the built environment do not receive increases in responsibility and promotion: it is because they are limited to the technical knowledge and managerial roles that on-site experience provides (Greed, 2000; Fowler & Wilson, 2004; de Graft-Johnson *et al*., 2005; Caven & Navarro-Astor, 2013; Infante-Pere *et al.,* 2018; Ahmad *et al*., 2021). Infante-Pere *et al.* (2018) used three aspects of the engineering profession to map against the experiences of young men and women engineering professionals in Spain: consultancy and technical auditing (technical advice, preparatory work and consulting with peer engineering professionals), building operations (management of on-site engineering duties), and lastly, technical drafting and project development. Although Infante-Pere *et al.*'s (2018) research is about mapping the career barriers of on-site engineering engagement, it shows that there are more perceived barriers to the women participants than to the men. The men only indicated that two of the fifteen possible barriers, namely 'job market constraints' and 'inadequate training', were a problem; however, the women indicated higher mean scores in all fifteen of the barriers (Infante-Pere *et al.*; 2018:54).

When it comes to working overtime in the field of architecture, women architects will do so to complete tasks, whereas men will work overtime for more money or to achieve personal acclaim and success (Fowler & Wilson, 2004; Caven & Raiden, 2005). Women architects seem to struggle greatly with the work-life balance because of the second shift that is assigned to their gender role. Balancing motherhood and keeping the household together through daily chores adds extra weight on the to-do list (le Jeune, 2009; Caven & Raiden, 2005; Fine, 2010; Matthewson, 2014; Glynn, 2018).

The research literature here is replete with narratives of gendered career barriers and barriers to entry endured by women. There is very little specific data regarding labour division in the construction industry in a South African context.

2.5 Gendered narratives

To begin to understand the complexities of the lived experiences of women architects in the built environment, it is important to look at the gendered narratives that influence and shape their encounters as professionals in that environment. A few questions arise: Is there a current prescribed script in the architectural industry? If yes, does it inform assumed roles and influence the gender narratives? These questions do not have a short answer, for the answers form part of a collective image of gender norms in the built environment and the architectural profession and is perpetuated by the professional workplace. One can start by considering how and whether changes that are needed can be implemented by understanding how the prescribed script and narrative impact a person's life.

2.5.1 Socially structured narratives

Gibson-Graham (1996) explains, in, *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew it)*, the relation of gender roles and their narratives in conjunction with how they influence people's lives. She uses the article of Marcus (1992), *Fighting Bodies, Fighting Words: A Theory and Politics of Rape Prevention*, to define four key aspects of how change may occur in a socially structured narrative, and they compare it to the feminist research on how capitalism has infiltrated the world's markets through globalisation. They identify four aspects that form part of the current constructed gender script that is played out in modern society in the understanding of the prescribed narrative: 1) the script, 2) becoming the subject (changing the power dynamics), 3) inscribing a new identity or rewriting identity, and lastly, 4) universalising or queering of gender norms. Even though Gibson-Graham's (1996) research relates to how globalisation with capitalist interest is threatening to suppress smaller economies, it is a similar theme that occurs in the architectural industry by suppressing others' identities in favour of the

identity that is created and manufactured by the genius and individual architect (Heynen, 2012).

In Gibson-Graham's (1996) approach to use various feminist theories as a form of multiplicity where she employs the analogy of the 'rape script' concerning globalisation, she manages to interrogate and compare the set prescribed script with the drive of universalising capitalism in modern society.

Gibson-Graham (1996) defines the script as the prescribed text, perceptions of gendered roles with grammar signals and signs that complete the ideological outcome of the engagement with a start, middle and end. The script comprises presupposed parts/roles stereotypically assigned men and women play (by making and remaking the social roles based on the set rules of engagement) using steps and signals to become part of a standardised story and outcome (Gibson-Graham, 1996). The outcome is often predetermined based on stereotypical roles and ideological structures, for example, the person in power gains something, and the subordinate person with less power loses something (Gibson-Graham, 1996).

2.5.2 Historical narratives

Regarding the South African context, Hutson (2007) wrote in her paper *Gender Oppression and Discrimination in South Africa* that women had some authority and power due to their engagement in and production of agricultural input. Hutson (2007) further explains that when agricultural activities became less favourable based on class division during 'colonial times', women lost their position of power and authority in society. This contributed to women having less access to land and ownership (De Bene, 2017). Hutson (2007) explains how making agriculture part of productive labour (commercialised) left women behind by giving them fewer rights than men and that a woman's right is based on her affiliation or marriage to a man (Hutson, 2007). Hutson (2007) alludes to the fact that colonialism brought change in South Africa's societal structures that affected the discrimination and oppression experienced by women in South Africa. At the same time, Gqola (2007) explains in detail in her paper, *How the 'cult of femininity' and violent masculinities support endemic gender based violence in contemporary South Africa,* how the narratives changed when Western patriarchy engaged in South African cultures that inscribed South Africa's history towards women to be oppressive, divisive and violent. She adds that women's experiences are not fleeting but steeped in societal structures (and history) of brute force as a result of resistance to the apartheid government and the imposition of violent laws on the citizens of South Africa (Gqola, 2007). Due to the normalisation of armed citizens, the lasting effect of these laws and brute force is the inability of families/society to function as a cohesive unit. Gqola (2007) mentions that Jaklyn Cock termed this phenomenon the 'ideology of militarism' that is used to control, silence and deny systems of force

and violence (Gqola, 2007:114). Gqola (2007) mentions that, post apartheid, this 'ideology of militarism' is found under the guise of 'discipline' that refuses to allow systems of force and oppression to be changed. She writes:

> …although now free from state racism, they (the vast majority of Black poor) feel the effects of a mutating oppressive, capitalist system in their workplaces, for those who have such jobs. For the more affluent, race and class still exert control either in the backlash against affirmative action, tokenism, the demonization of Black Economic Empowerment, or the pressure to participate and be absorbed into a culture of rampant materialism and consumerism (Gqola, 2007:114).

How does this affect the lived experiences of women in the architectural industry? The continued scripted thread in South Africa towards women is that they have to live in fear of their lives (Sennott & Kane, 2022). The tension between benevolent and hostile sexism is what keeps women from challenging the gendered script (Hutson, 2007; Winter, 2022).

2.5.3 Construction narratives

The assumption that women are physically weaker than men, more emotional and less assertive than men in leadership (Le Jeune, 2009) relates to Holmes' (2009) comment that it stems from a middle-class value and is to be investigated and addressed in research. Regarding BEPs visiting construction sites, Cunliffe and Strydom (2017) found in their interviews of men students that the students would perceive the gender problems that these were not their 'battle to fight'. Some of the men students declared that the construction site was not a place where women 'belong' because they are not strong enough. The men students showed their bias and gendered assumptions when they declared that women could be a distraction on the site, not assertive enough in the workplace, or too feminine in appearance to do the hard work (Cunliff & Strydom, 2017). There is a gap in published literature that investigates gender equality and bias in the construction industry, therefore only general data about women in South Africa (De Bene, 2017) could be used for this literature review.

Jahn (2009) found in her interviews with men and women in the built environment professionals (BEPs) that it was perceived unsafe for women on construction sites or in remote areas without being escorted by another colleague and that being alone on sites in the early morning before sunrise posed a real threat to their lives. Gqola (2007) reminds the reader that there are layers of perception based on lived experiences of race and class, and an understanding of one perspective will harm the ones that it is not considering and that the current scripts are to be changed in order to fully

transform the formal workplace (Gqola, 2007:116).

This research study uses Gibson-Graham's (1996) first aspect, the prescribed script, by overlaying the gendered script of South African history as a context with that of the architectural industry. The script unfolds in the image making of the architect, the work performed by architects, and how the built environment/out world interacts with the architect. The other aspects of becoming the subject (reversing power relationships), inscribing a new identity, and universalising gender norms, will be too much to tackle in this research study but could be potential future explorations.

2.6 Architectural workload and the work environment

The architectural workload often includes site management, travelling to and from sites (multiple distances at times), design development, policy making, working site drawings, council submissions, and role player liaisons (Ahmad *et al.*, 2021). Other work aspects include architectural project award applications, and marketing of developments (Fowler & Wilson, 2004; Caven & Raiden, 2005; Heynen, 2012; Ahmad *et al.*, 2021). Due to the architectural industry's project nature, the work demand is inconsistent and does not provide a consistent income. This creates a competitive environment to retain and even poach clients to preserve economic funds (Fowler & Wilson, 2004; Möller & Fernando., 2021)

In Caven and Raiden's (2005) research, *Work-Life Balance among Architects,* they mention interviewing 55 architects that range from architects working for themselves in medium-sized offices to large architectural practices (Caven & Raiden, 2005:533). They found that due to the project nature of work with strict deadlines, architects seem to be consumed with the designing of the projects. Their internal drive to complete projects to the best of their ability may mean working long hours towards a deadline (Burns, 2016). They may sacrifice some of their personal time, relationships and/or mental health (by not sleeping) (Caven & Raiden, 2005; Heynen, 2012; Burns, 2016; Möller & Fernando., 2022). Caven and Raiden (2005) found that, on average, architects put in approximately ten hours per day (Caven & Raiden, 2005:537). The architects in the interviews revealed that working overtime was not a desire of the architect/designer but rather a requirement of the 'job' to complete a 'good product'. However, it is often related to the time pressures of some projects and the client's demand for changes that may contribute to time constraints and working 'all-nighters' (Caven & Raiden, 2005). This standard of working overtime occurs not only in architects that are employed but also when architects are self-employed or employed by a municipal council. Often the overtime requirements will be made up over weekends or at night after the site has been closed. Notable is the intricate nature of working overtime, the solitary nature of working on drawings at

night, as well as sacrificing one's personal life and time for projects that do not belong to the architect but rather to the client (Caven & Raiden, 2005:537).

This drive and need to work long hours may lead to illness, physical collapse, mental health breakdown, unhealthy habits, and family conflict due to absenteeism (Caven & Raiden, 2005). Although this particular study was in the UK, another study by Cattell *et al.* (2016) did survey-based research in South Africa amongst 36 BEPs, Stress *among South African construction professionals: a job demand-control-support survey*. Cattell *et al.* (2016) found that the architects articulated that they needed more time in order to deliver better quality work and were not fairly compensated for the hours put in (Cattell *et al.*, 2016:704). The survey required the scoring of stressors on an individual basis.

Critical time constraints were a frequent stress factor concerning cooperation from other project stakeholders, long working hours and critical cost constraints (Cattell *et al.,* 2016). These findings thus mean that the stressor is environmentally based and not always an internal pressure for the professional. Cattell *et al.* (2016) mention that in the 'job demand section' of the survey, the eleven architects indicated that they had a more frequent experience of the stressors than other BEPs (Cattell *et al.*, 2016: 711). Under the 'job control section' of the study, architects were only to report *decision-making authority* and *physical environment* as stressors, thus "architects experience less control over their environment" Cattell *et al.*, 2016:718). The other significant discovery found through the survey was the architects' indication that they felt that they *needed leadership skills and the stress of the need to prove oneself* was higher *than* in *other professions* (Cattell *et al.*, 2016:711). Regarding the 'job support sections', Cattell *et al.* (2016) found that "only women included recognition from others, absence of personal/family issues and supervisor competence" *(*Cattell *et al.,* 2016: 713).

Caven and Raiden (2005) mention that architectural firm employers also expect long working hours and unpaid overtime and if not delivered, architectural employees are perceived as not loyal or as committed to other "harder working colleagues" (Caven & Raiden, 2005:533). Traditional loyalty in the architectural workplace was displayed by working overtime at the office, where it was visible to see the commitment from the employee (Caven & Raiden, 2010:537). Proof of productivity in the architectural workplace is changing pre– and post- Covid-19 (Palvalin, 2017; Thorston, 2023). Before Covid-19, architectural works had been mostly done on computer (drawings, report writing, correspondence, simulations, programming and costing) and post-Covid-19 the need to prove physical presence in order to prove productivity was also challenged with software that tracks

computer movements and time spent on screen (Palvalin, 2017; Moe, 2019).

Eikhof & Haunschild (2007) mention that there are two reasons why the employed individual is motivated to work longer hours towards deadlines that will benefit the company rather than the individual, and that is that the employee has the intention to receive recognition in lieu of a promotion or a reward, and sometimes it is because employees find the work satisfying (Eikhof & Haunschild, 2007). The looming assumptions and demands of the employer for the employee to show loyalty drive employees to give up a reasonable work-life balance, and therefore the experience of lack of control is reported (Fowler and Wilson, 2004; Caven & Raiden, 2005; Fleetwood, 2014; Möller & Fernando,2022).

Caven and Raiden (2005) mention that they observed the agency that self-employment brings and satisfaction for the architect's experience where they work for their own identity and not another's (Caven & Raiden, 2005:538). This aspect is in keeping with the findings of Cattell *et al.* (2016) of architects who indicate the lack of control of the external environment. However, once an architect is working for themselves, the long working hours do not matter as much, for the architect feels that they are investing time into their own career (Caven & Raiden, 2005). Leisure time, lunch, tea and dinner are not seen as normal activities (Caven & Raiden, 2005). Yet, it was observed that these architects who worked for themselves often stole a bit of time during the day by going for lunch or a swim on their way to and from a site visit. (Caven & Raiden, 2005). The agency(McNay, 2004) that an architect can display by working for themselves seems to be a good trade-off for the long working hours and allows them to specialise in a particular field (such as natural building), providing more financial security. This has not been researched in the last ten years regarding architectural practice (Möller & Fernando, 2022).

Most of the research studies included are based in the Global North (Möller & Fernando., 2022) and on assumptions of what it means to be gendered as a woman, balancing mental health, understanding well-being, loyalty in the workplace, long travel commitments, and work requirements in the context of being an architect in the built environment. However, it does not include the perceptions, age and positions of the role players. Thus, the data that is seen holistically has not explored the nuances related to race, class and physicality of travelling options (Möller & Fernando, 2022). In South Africa, for instance, the context of public and private travel greatly impacts the time and effort of professionals to get to and from work/site and this affects the lived experiences of women architects (Von Schnitzler, 2013).

Regarding the reproductive and gendered labour tasks assigned to architects, Fowler and Wilson (2004) found in their research that the disparity of professional working architects who have children is that 75% of male architects had children and only 31% of women architects had children. This speaks volumes that female architects may choose not to have children due to their assigned gendered labour tasks of the "second shift" (Fine, 2010). No recent research tackles this statistic; however, more studies mention that women practising architecture opt for part time work options in order to fulfil their reproductive labour task (Matthewson, 2014; Möller & Fernando, 2022).

A men architect explained that he delayed marriage and having children due to the work demand in architecture (Fitzgerald & Morrow, 2016). The man architect further explained the guilt he felt when he did not spend a portion of his time with his family and therefore decided to start his own practice in an area that is family friendly (Fitzgerald & Morrow, 2016). This explains that parenthood is not gendered and is the responsibility and choice to carry the responsibility of all parents regardless of their gender.

In Fowler and Wilson's (2004) research findings most of the men architects believed that having children made no difference to working efforts and parenting. Also, most of these men (over half of the men) saw that the children did not suffer if they were not looked after by their biological parents (Fowler & Wilson, 2004). The fact that women may, in many contexts, choose pregnancy (although this is perceived as gender inequality by both men and women) therefore makes them 'naturally' responsible for the children and that it is a woman's choice to fall pregnant (Fowler & Wilson, 2004:115). This viewpoint is outdated and needs to be interrogated in further studies (Möller & Fernando, 2022).

In 2004 Fowler and Wilson explained that both men and women architects viewed the responsibility of parenting tasks to be that of the female and this influenced the work-life balance and experience of female architects. In the literature published up to 2023 the fact that the gendered roles are part of personal views is to be questioned even though the reproductive labour tasks often fall on women to fulfil (Morrow, 2016).

Reproductive labour tasks disadvantage the women architect's career due to the extra work and role expected of them as a mother and the demand for longer working hours due to the nature of their work (Troiani, 2012). This often leads to most female architects resigning their full-time jobs and becoming part-time architects (Craig *et al.*, 2012). However, this greatly encumbers their opportunity of being recognised and rewarded by their professional peers as good architects in this

highly competitive profession (Heynen, 2012).

2.7. Gendered narratives in the architectural industry: the role of education

Fowler and Wilson (2004) in *Women Architects and Their Discontents* mentioned that for young aspiring women, it was easier to enter the built environment as an architect (another option, for instance, is engineering) (Caven, 2004; Fowler & Wilson, 2004; Caven, 2008; Haarhoff, 2008; Caven *et al.*,2012, 2016*;* Möller & Fernando,2022).

Sexism (Brown, 2010; Van den Bosch *et el.*, 2018) and gender discrimination (Stephens, 2012) start to appear early in the career of young women architects. Some students noted that female students were often 'baptised by fire' as studio masters used shaming and humiliation to teach good architectural practices (Fowler & Wilson; 2004; Sang *et al.*; 2014). Fowler and Wilson (2004) found that often men architectural academics were harder on women students to help them develop a thick skin. These men architectural academics also acknowledged that some of the top students were women, perhaps due to their unique ability to apply concepts and principles very quickly (Fowler & Wilson, 2004).

In the South African context Akinlolu and Haupt (2018) wrote in their study, *Women in construction: Sociocultural gender-linked influences on career choices*, that "Due to South Africa's cultural diversity, some women are brought up with the understanding that they cannot take up non-traditional careers such as construction and are advised to rather follow 'soft skills' careers such as nursing, etc." (Akinlolu & Haupt, 2018:113). This is important to consider for an understanding of why there has been an under-representation of women of colour in the architectural industry. English (2007) notes in her paper, *The Development of Women in the South African Construction Workforce in terms of Employment*, that South African women may share a commonality in gender; the social structures in their tribal and cultural backgrounds may differ and thus influence the socio-cultural factors that will affect the decision making in a career choice (English, 2007; Akinlolu & Haupt, 2018). None of the qualitative studies with interviews of women architects tackle the South African education context and the decisions that young women may face prior to entering a career in architecture in South Africa.

Fulani et al. (2019) write in their paper, *Besides Zaha or Adenowo: Investigating the Visibility Status of Female Architects as Role Models for Students of Architecture,* about the experience of 378 architectural students from three private South–West Nigerian universities and the use of women architects as role models within their curriculum. Fulani et al. (2019) note similar statistics to South

Africa of women architectural students who enter university but only a few graduate and continue to become registered architects. This corresponds to the observation by Möller & Fernando (2022) that keeping women in the field of architecture is more difficult than attracting women into the industry.

They explain how the 'stereotype threat' phenomenon may be the reason why women do not stay in the architectural industry. They explain that "A stereotype threat is said to occur when a person or group of people fear that they will live up to a negative expectation or stereotype that people have about their group" (Fulani *et al.*, 2019: 401). Fulani *et al.* (2019) mention that this was found to be the case in their study because occupational roles are still strongly defined by societal perceptions and gender.

Architecture schools around the world use design studios as the basis of the academic curriculum (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995). Quinlan *et al.* (1995) explain in their article, Women: *architecture academia and professional Practice*, that the design studio is based on the fact that it is project based and the learning occurs during peer-to-peer social engagement, shifting between designs, analysis, and aesthetics evaluations through drawing, model-making and socially working together in the same room (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995). They allude to the fact that the 'Hidden Curriculum' in the design studio is:

> …those unstated values, attitudes and norms which stem tacitly from the social relations of the school and classroom as well as from the content of the course . . . the concept of the hidden curriculum brings into focus questions concerning the ideology of such knowledge, and the social practices which structure the experience of students and teachers (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995: 3).

This aspect places the power of knowledge transfer as a delicate balance between peer engagement and academics providing curated data for engagements. They further note "The boundary between students and teachers is structured in such a way that teachers legitimise their power over students by the use of language which orientates student learning as one of teacher approval" (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995: 2). Quinlan *et al.* add that students are not assisted in this studio learning environment to have agency and gain autonomy but rather to be swayed by lecturers' persuasion of what is good design (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995). The problem with this power structure is that it creates a competitive environment that encourages the production of the idealistic self-image for each student whilst trying to please the educator. Quinlan *et al*. (1995) mention that the "Design (studio) is legitimised as a self-indulgent activity, negating co-operation, collaboration and compromise as possible vehicles for responsible design" (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995: 3). According to the

study and research they found that this power structure reinforces an idea of a '*master-mystery'* method of teaching of either 'getting it or not' (of what good spatial design is) and many students (not particularly gendered) may be alienated during this process due to their previous access to this knowledge (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995: 3).

Quinlan *et al.* (1995) explain that the jury system used in the studio with critique and peer-to-peer engagement is individualistic and does not reflect the actual workplace (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995). They comment that the design studio's way of grading is through critique panels that seem selected randomly but are often based on sets of biases and power plays of lecturers and industry that students are not privy to yet they experience the consequences of in these internal power plays. Çıkış and Cil (2009) in their research, *Problematization of assessment in the architectural design education: First year as a case study*, examined first year architectural design studio curriculum by conducting thirty question surveys with students. The research explored effective educational practices in relation to standard architectural design studio curriculum and found "these studios are premised on a particular kind of pedagogy defined as 'learning by doing'" (Çıkış & Cil, 2009:2104). What they discovered as problematic about this practice was that it perpetuated the notion of 'master-mystery' whereby students were expected to design before they were taught how to design (Çıkış & Cil, 2009:2104).

In terms of the dialogue between the instructors and the students, and the evaluation and assessment types, architectural design studios have developed their own ritualistic pedagogies, such as design reviews, desk (individual) 'crits', and design juries, all attached to a core process of learning by doing (Çıkış & Cil, 2009: 2104; Troiani, 2016).

Very few research studies tackle the universal style of architectural education curriculum and its suitability for application as a universal blanket across the world. Fulani *et al.* (2019) managed to look at the architectural academic environment in the African context that focuses on the stereotypical threat as a reason for why the imposter stereotype threat syndrome is present for women architects.

2.8 Gendered narrative in the architectural industry: the workplace

This part of the literature review focuses on the research that explores what drives architects but also on what is expected from architects in the industry. Troiani (2012) mentions, in the research paper *Zaha: An Image of "The Woman Architect",* the narrative of attributes architects (as leaders of multiple role players) need to be successful in their work. The following attributes were identified: "aggressive, assertive in applying knowledge and giving instruction, a leader of a team (being

automatically the principal agent in projects), persistent/tenacious in spirit in order to complete tasks, creative, artistic, adaptable due to various projects, problem solving, three-dimensional visualisation, graphic design skills, computer literate, adaptable in software programming and individualistic" (Troiani, 2012: 356). Heynen (2012) adds "masterful', "powerful" and "heroic" to the words associated with successful architects (Heynen, 2012:335) and these terms are not inherently gendered but are mostly associated as masculine traits. In the architectural industry, according to Caven and Raiden's (2005) report through their interview research findings and Rosero's (2015) collective meetings that the script architects report on, their experiences in their career based on their architectural identity (manufactured by the profession) means that they are expected to live, eat and breathe architecture (Troiani, 2012, 2016; Rosero, 2015). Caven and Raiden (2005) report that when they asked a woman company architect and director about work-life balance her response was "what is that?" (2005:538). Time for leisure is seen as a luxury in the architectural industry. Even Zaha Hadid seemed confused when she was asked what she does for relaxation in her interview with Simon Hattenstone (2010) in The Guardian feature called *Zaha Hadid: I'm happy to be on the outside*. This raises the question about how mental health and other human requirements are dealt with in the architectural professions. In the interview with Zaha Hadid it became clear that it is part of the anticipated identity of the architect that one has to adopt the career trajectory of being fully committed to it.

Sang *et al.* (2014) explain that within the current narrative in the architectural industry it is women who reproduce their gender narratives, yet white heterosexual men perform their prescribed gender roles whilst benefitting from the architectural industry's rewards systems and having the power to challenge and transgress from their prescribed roles. Sang *et al.* (2014)) add:

> This has significant implications for understanding the ways in which hegemonic masculinities are reproduced within creative workplaces' (Sang *et al.,* 2014): 247).

Based on the quote above, it is to be mentioned that these attributes that architects must display are not gendered, yet in the execution of these attributes one gender is seen as more capable to apply them (Fowler and Wilson, 2004; Cunliffe & Strydom, 2017). This is seen in employing architectural academics as well as in the professional workplace.

Zahra Hadid is often referenced as a genius exemplar of women excellence in the architectural industry (Stephens, 2012; Troiani, 2012; Zeiger, 2019; Fulani *et al.*, 2019) and with the required attributes mentioned above. Yet, even at the height of her career, she experienced sexism (Troiani, 2012) and discrimination. As she was scrutinised by the media, what was expected of her as a

woman was called into question. She made the sacrifice of not performing her gendered role in society (Troiani, 2012). Hadid often experienced accusations of toxic women in leadership and was accused of being undermining in certain situations (Stephens, 2012; Troiani, 2012).

According to research by Fowler and Wilson (2004) as well as Mullany's (2007) investigations of the professional workplace and Jahn's (2009) research of BEPs in South Africa, the biased narrative against women architects was similar to the discriminatory nature of the linguistic narrative.

In Rosero's (2015) paper, *"Time" for women. Spaces for female architects*, she writes about the conclusion of the fourth and final meeting that was held in the Roco Madrid Gallery (Spain) called "Spaces for Female Architects". The series of meetings, curated by Ariadna Cantis and Martha Thorne over five months, was aimed for all to attend, share their knowledge, achievements, projects interests and experiences as women architects. With the final meeting of the exploration, feminism was the focus point and Rosero records that the 'I am not a feminist' came up and thus meant that the term was misunderstood. Rosero (2015) mentions that sociologist Amparo Lasén said, "The discrimination of the one is linked to the privileges of the other." She mentions that meeting curator, Ariadna Cantis, argued that the lack of visibility of women as architects was the insistence of the industry on the image of the architect as an individual, forgetting that the work of building is a collective effort by multiple inputs of professionals (not just architects) (Rosero, 2015:6).

Rosero also reflects that the grievance about time and work life is not a gendered aspect, but it does affect women differently due to other gendered assigned tasks and biases. The grievances of architectural workload (Doric, 2016) and gender stereotypes are echoed by Clark (2016), Doric (2016), Duncan and Newman (2016), Gloster (2016), but Doric (2016) adds the rider that men also leave the architectural industry.

By focusing on gender divisions of career choices and treating architecture as a vocation, women architects usually have two choices: one is to fulfil the various full-time roles but sacrifice certain aspects (such as good mental health, having and being with your family) or to take on more part-time work, which also includes certain compromises (one's career does not take off delivering work for another architect) as being a successful architect requires one to wear it as an identity. This also does not equate to, nor address, the fact that women architects often earn less than male architects (Möller & Fernando, 2022) and are often disregarded as professionals (due to their gender and reproductive labour tasks) in the predominantly male environment (Fowler & Wilson ,2004; Möller & Fernando, 2022). Fowler and Wilson (2004) mention how these aspects of working part-time versus

full-time show that some women can be successful in the architectural profession (de Graft-Johnson & Manley, 2016).

Fitzgerald in Fitzgerald & Morrow (2016) explain that he enjoyed the fact that the spaces he occupied in the beginning of his career were men only and provided a certain feeling of safety. He adds that he understands that the architectural workspace must change, and he supports women in their plight; Morrow explains that she had compassion for his sense of loss when he revealed he missed the same-sex space Fitzgerald & Morrow (2016).

De Klerk (2019) uses the depiction in the image called "Dead fish on the beach" where white men are basking in the sun and enjoying the view of the ocean. The image depicts them in comfort and joy. The next section of the image is where black men are somewhat in the shallow water, some swimming in deeper waters but most having access to safety on the beach. The third depiction is where white women are in the water under huge waves and the idea is that they are bobbing in and out of reach of air. The last depiction is that of black women who are drowning and have drowned and are called dead fish. De Klerk notes how those in power of the architectural systems (predominantly white men) perpetuate and enjoy the fruits of the predefined structure of genius and rewards in architecture. This echoes the stance Fitzgerald in Fitzgerald & Morrow (2016) explained about losing the same-sex workplace to women entering the profession. De Klerk (2019) explains that the intersectionality of race, gender, class and access to support during one's career in architecture somehow predetermines how successful the architect will be.

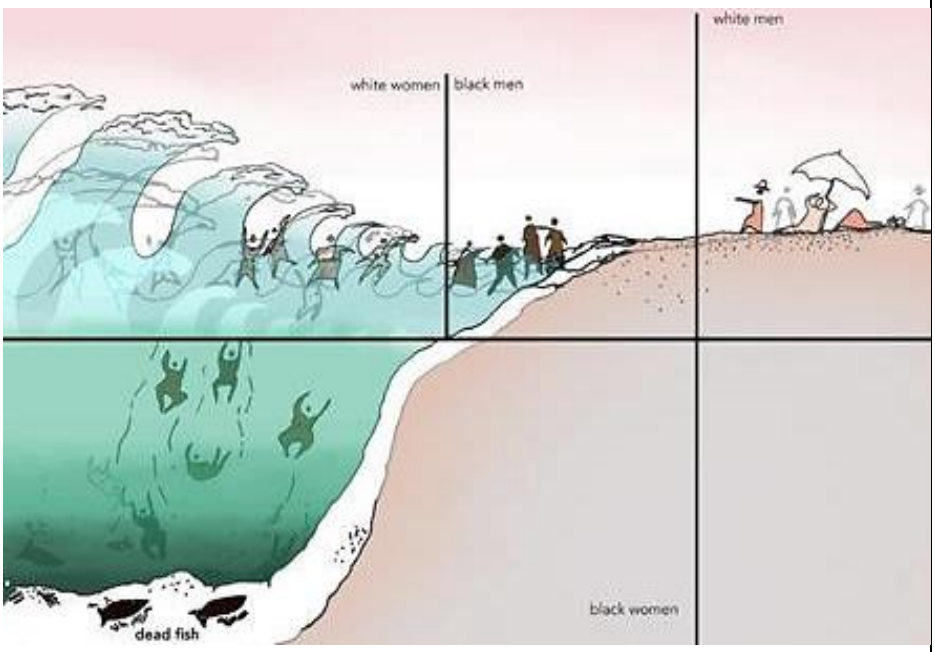

Image 1: left. Dead Fish on the Beach: the Problem with "Women in Architecture" (Source: Matri-Archi (tecture)).

2.9 Leaving architecture

In 2003 de Graft-Johnson *et al.* conducted and published research for RIBA: *Why women leave Architecture*. it was a research study with the intention of creating gender equality within the architectural industry. The study found that although there was a steady increase of women students in architecture schools, the number of practising and registered women architects remained under 15%. The findings were about 1) women struggling to complete their career trajectories, 2) legal issues, rights and equal opportunities in the workplace, 3) salaries to be equal based on age and experience, 4) access to future career prospects, 5) hostile working conditions, 6) taxing regulation of the profession, 7) facing cultural and diversity issues, 8) dealing with biased professional bodies, 9) facing the schools of architecture about their profile in relation to cost, 10) the schools of architecture and diversity of staff, and lastly, 11) students' demographic and numbers in the schools of architecture (de Graft-Johnson *et al.*, 2003).

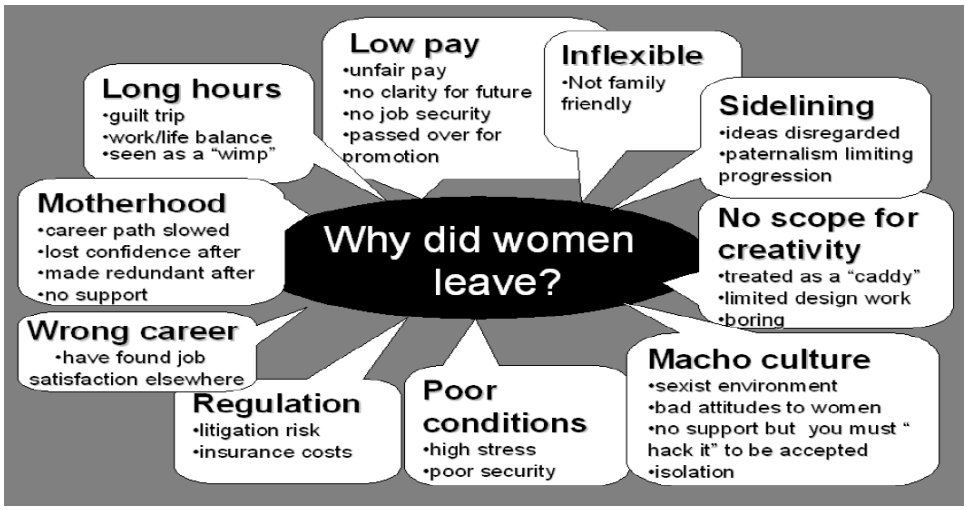

Image 2: Multiple reasons for leaving architecture **were given by the women** and de Graft-Johnson *et al.* (2003) created the diagram to the left to explain the layers of frustration women experience. No single answer was given; the women who left gave various reasons. (Source: de Graft-Johnson *et al.*, 2003*)*

In 2004, Manly and de Graft-Johnson wrote an article titled *"Why women are still leaving architecture"*, based on the RIBA report. In this article the focus stayed on why the women were leaving. The core finding was that women did not leave for a single specific reason but rather that a small incident would let the cumulative frustration cause the women to leave (Manly & de Graft-Johnson, 2004). Manly and de Graft-Johnson (2004) also found that respondents were tolerant of sexist and discriminatory conduct that was not acceptable in other professional industries. Interestingly, it seemed that an inconsequential incident was the catalyst (tipping point) that caused the women to decide to leave.

Doric (2016) explored why men left architecture. The reasons included 1) broken promises to family and friends, 2) guilt while failing as a father, having inconsistent income trouble and long working hours, 3) little satisfaction in the reward-based industry for individual expression, and 4) not having the ability to learn leadership skills and practising them safely. There are certain overlaps and similarities in these gendered perceptions, and they would therefore need further investigation.

2.9.1 Changes in work environment in response to the attrition of women architect

Based on the statistics and research in the early 2000s (de Graft-Johnson *et al.*, 2003; Manly & de Graft-Johnson, 2004), recommendations were made that impacted the experiences of women architects in the built environment. Sang *et al.* (2014) also mention how each year hopeful literature is written on how women are gaining traction within the architectural industry, yet the numbers of women in the industry stay the same(Pepchinski & Budde, 2022.).

Feminist action and interventions lead to workshops, exhibitions by women architects, coffee table books celebrating women in architecture, localised women architect networks, historical redress for women in

architecture, including women in the shaping of the image of the architect. Most of these interventions have not been included in publishable formats in academic studies, causing a gap in the academic research. Below is a table mapping all of the unpublished interventions:

Table 1: Source table of feminist interventions and changes to promote intersectional gender equality

No	Source	Book	Networks	Website	Location	Notes
1	Herperspective: https://herperspective.co.za/			x	International	South African lead database celebrating women designers and architects throughout history.
2	Spatial agency: https://www.spatialagency.net/database/matrix.feminist.design.co-operative			x	International	Data base of diverse projects, mapping various ways architecture impacts the environment beyond the professional industry.
3	Parlour: https://parlour.org.au/?s=gendered+profession		x	x	Australia	The website publishes their own articles, workshops and network opportunities.
4.	Architexx: https://www.architexx.org/about		x	x	USA based	Intention is to bridge academia and practice.
5.	Women in Architecture (WIA): https://www.wia-uk.org/		x	x	UK based	Website and network that support and advocate for women in architecture.
6.	Mas context: https://mascontext.com/about		x	x	USA, Chicago based	Website and network that support diverse and creative projects.
7.	Association for women in architecture and design (AWAD): https://www.awaplusd.org/	x	x	x	International	Website and network that support women in architecture and design
8.	Metropolis: https://metropolismag.com/about-metropolis/	x	x	x	International	Network and blogging website that document and promote alternative/critical thinking in architecture and design.
9.	Journal of the KwaZulu-Natal region of the South African Institute of Architects: https://www.kznia-journal.org.za/sites/default/files/KZNIA_Journal_2_2016.pdf			x	South Africa	A journal issue that celebrate women in architecture in South Africa.
10.	Women in Architecture: South Africa (WiASA): https://www.sacapsa.com/news/article/women-in-architecture-south-africa-wiasa-		x	x	South Africa	South African network organization that promote and support women in architecture. Mainly located in KwaZulu Natal. They hold workshops and events that support women in architecture, promote funding and procurement of women into the industry. Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/wiasakzn

Möller & Fernando (2022) comment on this phenomenon of a few years that very few papers were published. Efforts in documenting and historicising women in architecture have led to various books and tribute journal to be published (Saunders *et al.*, 2016; Broome, 2019; Hall, 2019; Kern, 2020). An exhibition at *Barbican* featuring the Matrix Feminist Design Co-operative (1981-94) was featured in 2021 celebrating the design co-operative's work and networking in the UK (Boys, 2021). According to Fowler and Wilson (2004), men dismissed most instances of gender inequality because they claimed that there were enough women in the industry, whilst women architects mentioned that it had not been achieved in respect to professional recognition, lack of promotion, and ultimately, the lack of financial equality.

2.10 Image of the architect

The production of the woman architect's image is based on the narrative set for the predominant men architects (Troiani, 2012; Fitzgerald & Morrow, 2016; Harris & Morrow, 2022). The image of labour

and productivity was formed around the architect's identity, which only focused on those that were performing the identifiable role, and they were predominantly white males. Contemporary architectural competitions and public images of architects that are based on individual identities are celebrated more often in the media and support the notion that the produced image of the architect is to be an individual one (Troiani, 2012; Zeiger, 2020).

Numerous research articles (Troiani, 2012; Sang *et al.*, 2014; Rosero, 2015; Smitheram & Kidd, 2020) discuss the importance of the image of the architect within the architectural profession. The image of the career identity as a professional in the built environment has been shaped over centuries to be a prestigious accolade and that to be termed an architect is an honour (Heynen, 2012). The image of the architect is formed by external sources (produced and established by other professionals, selected institutions and organisations such as architectural councils, designer magazines, international architectural competitions, media, society, and physical manifestation of projects) (Troiani, 2012; Zeiger, 2 020). Yet it is required to be internalised as one's identity when embarking on this career path (Martin, 1989; Troiani, 2012; Sang *et al.*, 2014; Zeiger, 2020). The image of the architect as a profession has been defined and produced around 'masculine' traits (Troiani, 2012; Sang *et al.*, 2014). The terminology Troiani (2012) uses to describe the image is 'integrity', 'authority', 'wilfulness' and 'creativity' or 'genius'. This is in keeping with societal gender roles for men. However, Troiani comments that this is rather ironic, for a woman's gendered role is built on expectations of community first through self-sacrifice, humility, conformity, and compliance. So, the very aspects that make a successful architect make a bad mother/wife, and the aspects that make her a good woman/wife/mother make her a bad architect (Stratigakos, 2008; Fulani *et al.*, 2019).

It follows that because it is based on masculine attributes and traits the internal and external image production (to the profession of the architect) of the successful architect creates a tension for women in the architectural profession. This in turn causes their discontent (Fulani *et al.,* 2019), and discomfort for those who cannot recognise themselves in the image that is created, expected and projected upon them (de Klerk, 2019). According to Martin (1989), Williams (2016), Fulani *et al. (*2019) and Zeiger (2020), women architects often find themselves to be outsiders in office/work environments because they are unable to subscribe to either male or female roles, and the stereotypical image of an architect obscures their vision of their own identity, thus concealing their self-image.

Troiani (2012) mentions that working overtime requires balancing the imposed satisfactions of their assigned roles (creative identity versus self-sacrifice), and it erodes away at the woman architect's

personal experience as well as public image (Troiani, 2012). As a man architect it is accepted to establish a career of long working hours and limit other commitments in lieu of a promising career (Troiani, 2012; Zeiger, 2020). In contrast, a woman architect who measures herself against this image often finds herself falling short of the expectations and suffers when she is not acknowledged as a real architect or a woman (Martin, 1989; Troiani, 2012; Fulani *et al.,* 2019).

2.10.1 The individual as a successful architect

Heynen (2012) in her paper *Genius, Gender and Architecture: The Star System as Exemplified in The Pritzker Prize* describes the Pritzker Prize and its community as follows:

> The Pritzker jury has a certain definition of architecture, an almost 19th century notion of great men and of design that is generated through the genius of one mind. It has taken a long time to find a woman to fit these notions (Heynen, 2012: 332).

The image of Zaha Hadid is a powerful one and used as a standard that is upheld by the successful woman architect. Often, she is quoted or referred to when one discusses the aspects that women architects experience (Zeiger, 2020). Men architects often use her image to illustrate how the architectural world is changing towards gender equality (Fowler & Wilson, 2004; Zeiger, 2020). Yet, she has been raised in the image of a man architect and thus presents other women with three requirements to fill the image of 'the women architect' (Burns, 2012a, 2012b; Burns *et al*., 2015; Troiani, 2012; Zeiger, 2020), which are discussed below.

The first aspect is Troiani's interpretation of Simon de Beauvoir's(1997) principle of "true woman disguised as a man" principal, which states that a woman must learn how to disguise themselves as a man in the industry in order to succeed; the second is the Stratigakos(2008) principle that being an architect expands the scope of labour tasks for a women (the image grows); and lastly, women architects who choose to balance their career with their gender and have children will need to employ others to fulfil the reproductive labour tasks (Troiani, 2012; Lokko, 2016). This is to rise as the individual singular architect who has become 'successful' in their career and does not allow the collective effort of 'teamwork' success to be explored and awarded. Lokko (2016) warns that contracting out the reproductive labour tasks of a women perpetuates the cycle of poverty and racial divide in South Africa.

According to Troiani (2012), changing the notion of the individual architect will be the real work in creating a successful women's architectural image. Troiani adds that being a success in the architectural industry would mean that a collection of architects and other professionals allows that

success (Troiani, 2012).

With the production of the architectural image the industry plays a key role in maintaining the need for an individual identity as an architect (Heynen, 2012: 333). Heynen explores the aspects that maintain the idea of the individual architect through creating prizes and competitions in the industry, and this perpetuates the idea that some architects are geniuses, and the rest are just mediocre. Heynen mentions a prescribed role and stereotype in the industry – that women who tend to work collectively are at a disadvantage and could not be acclaimed as an international success because of these processes. These prizes and awards further inscribe the image of the architect as male since the designated gendered role of men in society allows men to perform individual functions and encourage individual celebration.

Women in western societies are to perform roles of self-sacrifice, community duties, mothering (Glynn, 2018) and caring roles and thus a women architect will have to move outside of her identity as a collective woman to apply and receive an award (architectural awards based on individual or single project) as an individual (Mark, 2016; De Bene, 2017; Zeiger, 2020). Heynen (2012) explains that in order for an architect to win an award their work has to be "cutting edge, innovative, daring, original" *(*Zeiger, 2019*)* and even though Fine (2010) dismisses the fact that these characteristics are naturally masculine, they surely are aspects that are cultivated in men and that they are allowed to display. Based on Gqola's (2009) research and investigations in the South African context of social structures and Casale *et al.*'s (2020) understanding of households, it is important for the research to investigate the cultivation of attributes needed to be an architect in South Africa as well as what it will mean to be gendered as a woman.

In his book chapter called *Site Parade* in the *A gendered profession: the question of representation in space making* (Harriss *et al.,* 2016) Williams (2016) wrote the following: "Integrity and honesty govern professional conduct and it has been argued that these values and the trust gained through outward appearances and manners reflect 'socially accepted standards of repute and respectability'" (Williams, 2016:80). Williams (2016) adds that being the 'perfect professional' requires the architect to fuse the 'personal and professional identity' to establish trust. Williams (2016) alludes to the fact that the personal identity becomes one with the professional and to maintain the power and professional status in relationships it is important to maintain a holistic and trustworthy identity as an architect. Williams (2016) further explains the distinction that being an architect is as much being an individual as it is to match oneself with the identity of being a professional architect that is part of a group of architects.

This internalisation of self and the architectural identity is a requirement of both the external world and the internal world. The BBC in 2014 excluded the celebration of a women on the RIBA board by asking her to step out of the frame for pictures to be taken. The theme of the reporting was "*Brits who shaped the modern world*" in a TV series (Waite & Mark, 2014). The image the media portrays plays a significant role in the internalisation of the architect, the image, and gender, and needs to be addressed in future research.

2.11 Intersectionality: Politics and production of space and sense of place

Amoo-Adare (2013) described in her book *Spatial literacy* (2013) that tertiary education of architecture is based on aesthetic colonial ideologies about design that are reproduced rather than based on human interaction, engagement and specific narratives that define spaces. Amoo-Adare (2013) wrote that she was taught by academia to perpetuate (by their claiming it is the best way to design and consider space) and reproduce the spaces that brought her discomfort in her sense of *belonging and sense of place*. Amoo-Adare explained that the problem with her education was that in the space productions that were presented as great designs it was never considered that they might instil a different experience for other people (Amoo-Adare, 2014).

Architects are the designers and creators of space and therefore constantly have to consider the sense of place they create (Agnew, 2011; Amoo-Adare, 2014). To cater for human beings (Krasny, 2022), architects need to care, and they often do (Coetzer, 2023). Amoo-Adare mentions the *production of space* (Hayden, 1997) and how it refers to how architects create a *sense of place* (Hayden, 1997; Broome, 2019; Krasny, 2022) and that it will always be political in nature (Amoo-Adare, 2014). Architects are very taken by creating spaces and buildings for their clients yet the very *space and sense of place* they create for themselves is littered with pitfalls (Ahmad *et al.*; 2021). The importance of creating spaces that facilitate the collective diversity of human engagement is an urgent matter to be addressed (Krasny, 2022), which also relates to this research study's epistemological agenda to document experiences of women architects in South Africa. What are the experiences of women architects in their workplace and how has it been influencing their mental health in the long term? Amoo-Adare (2014) addresses this matter in her call to Asante women to create the *praxis of critical spatial literacy* in order to develop their own agency (*based in a sense of place*) for navigating freely in shared spaces. The three aspects that she mentions in the importance in the production of the space are that space is produced physically, a *sense of place* is experienced, and the practice of that space is performed. The people occupying the building do not have to practise the same performance in the spaces (Amoo-Adare, 2014). The role of an

architect in society is to partake in the construction and development of spaces. The spaces that are created are always political in nature for they include and exclude people during the performance of space based on the memories of the space (Hayden, 1997). The participation of the activities in a space often only includes selected people that understand the use of the space (Hayden, 1997). The exclusion of others (othering) is mostly based on the ownership of the space and those that participated in creating the space (Amoo-Adare, 2014). This relates back to de Klerk's (2019) observation of white men on the beach observing the struggle of others but not motivated to assist in the plight for change.

Hayden warns society and scholars not to dismiss architecture as merely a function of a profession that produces space (place) as a concept (by social scientists) but to include the sensory experience of people by not acknowledging/challenging the tangible aesthetics of spaces (Hayden, 1997). This applies to those creating the spaces too, for it influences their performance.

2.12 Summary

This literature review looked at gender, introduced intersectionality as a starting point for this research study about the narrative of lived experiences of women architects. The current literature on women architects does not explore the nuances of an intersectional lens by looking at race, class, age and gender. One of the aims in this research study is to better understand intersectionality in the South African context. The literature review aimed to understand how gendered built environment professionals experience the sense of space aspect in the literature exploring the narratives that occur in professional environments. The connection between gendered professional environments and the built environment needed to be made and then gendered labour division in the built environment was explored. The basics of the narrative structure was explored to write and research the lived experience of women architects in South Africa as well as how the architectural work environment is experienced across the world. Regarding the sense of place for architects the literature review focused on the experiences of students and practising architects. The literature showed the image production of the architect to be a key factor in the experience of architects.

Lastly, the sense of place experienced in spaces influences its occupants and thus this research study included the *sense of place* experienced by women architects.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This research study is based on finding the gendered narrative within the architectural industry experienced by practising women architects. This chapter presents the outlines of the research philosophy, the lenses as theoretical framework, research approach, design and strategy as well as the data collection and analysis method, validity and reliability in research, and ethical considerations.

Research design can be approached in many ways; the Saunders (Saunders *et al.,* 2006) research onion is a good example of how to approach research design and the researcher will be using this diagram to explain the methodology used. This chapter explains the research philosophy based on the assumptions from epistemological, ontological and axiological positions. The chapter includes the understanding of inductive and interpretivist research approaches in this qualitative research study. This chapter further includes the theoretical frameworks of feminism and an intersectional lens. A mono-method of qualitative research is explained as well as the ethnographical strategy in a cross-sectional time horizon for the data collection through in-depth interviews.

3.2 Research philosophy

The epistemological (studying how we can know the nature of the women's experiences) approach and its assumptions informs the ontological (the truth/reality of the women's experiences) assumptions of what the women are experiencing in their professional architectural workplace. This shapes the axiological assumptions of what the researcher and the women deem worthy of their experiences.

This research study is a qualitative research study and with the use of the Saunders' Research Onion (Phair & Warren, 2021), the study is described by explaining the epistemological, ontological and axiological stance of the researcher. With the use of the onion the researcher will further explain the methods of data collection and analysis.

"Epistemology concerns what constitutes acceptable knowledge in a field of study" (Saunders *et al.*, 2006:102). Epistemology refers to the study of how we can know the truth whereas ontology is the truth (Deane, 2019).

Axiology refers to the study of the theory of value (Deane, 2019), for example the study of what is the experience in life and what humans deem worthy in that experience. This speaks to the aim of this research study, which is to observe and discuss the experiences of women architects in South Africa. The epistemological (studying how we can know the nature of the women's experiences) approach and its assumptions informs the ontological (the truth/reality of the women's experiences) assumptions of what the women are experiencing in their professional architectural workplace. This shapes the axiological assumptions of what the researcher and the women deem worthy of their experiences.

With the use of interpretivism, the intention of this research study is to interpret how human beings relate to their environment and see their and others' engagement (Bryman; 2012). Interpretivism contextualises the participants' culture and environment in their everyday experiences (Bryman; 2012)

Phair and Warren explain (2021) that interpretivism is the influence that society has on the human experience, the ability of the researcher has an active role in the research in understanding and collecting the data in a holistic manner. It is also understood that cultural and societal norms inform the research.

3.3 Research approach

There are multiple research methodologies available for a study like this, for example qualitative, quantitative and mixed methodologies. However, due to the nature of the key research questions in order to capture the gendered narrative, a qualitative research approach was taken based on influence taken from similar studies.

Bazeley (2013) describes qualitative research as a "methodology based on qualitative analysis using qualitative data collection with which one works: intense, engaging, challenging, non-liners, contextualised, and highly variable. It is potentially productive of fresh insights and deep understanding" (Bazeley, 2013: 3). Bazeley (2013) further explains that qualitative research is a broad term that concentrates on the quality of the subject of study rather than the quantifiable aspects of a subject (Bazeley, 2013: 3).

This research study followed a qualitative research approach to explore and interpret the narrative of women architects' lived experiences by means of in-depth interviews. The interviews were used to capture the distinctiveness of each women architects' experience and how they perceived it in the

context of South Africa. The researcher used an inductive approach to understand the nature of the gendered experiences women architects face in their daily lives in the South African context.

The narrative exploration of women architects' lived experience entailed data collection by means of qualitative in-depth one-on-one interviews to map the thoughts/experiences of the various research subjects.

3.4 Research design

The research design and strategy are based on ethnographical research (Phair & Warren, 2021) that focuses on the participants and their experiences. The interview questions in this qualitative research study were steeped in feminist research theory, specifically intersectionality. The two frameworks are used as lenses in the inductive research approach; they are the feminist as well as the intersectional framework.

3.4.1 Feminist research theory framework

This section on feminist research theory is included in the research because of the inter-disciplinary nature of this master's dissertation. The nuances that may be observed in the interviews might be missed if only a positivist approach in this research study were used. Feminism is defined as "the belief in social, economic, and political equality of the sexes" (Feminism, n.d.) and although this is a broad statement, many feminist movements and frameworks have derived from this definition. By conducting this research in the belief and understanding that to be gendered has its own structural stereotypes, a feminist lens of equality was employed to uncover the depth of the narratives of the lived experiences of women architects.

> Feminists engage both the theory and practice of research, beginning with the formulation of the research question and ending with the reporting of research findings. Feminist research encompasses the full range of knowledge building that includes epistemology, methodology, and method (Hesse-Biber, 2011: 5).

This quote from Hesse-Biber explains the basic formation of a feminist lens; whether one claims to be in the position of a feminist does not determine or devalue the data that is gathered. Reinharz and Davidman (1992) note that 'feminism' is the lens through which perspectives are formed. The systematic procedures provide the method of study, and the feminist researcher navigates the intersection between them. This echoes Hesse-Biber's (2011) view that feminist theory and applications must never be exhaustive in nature and always interrogate and ward off one-dimensional criteria of 'one size fits all' that may occur in research.

A feminist lens entails the inclusion of previously forgotten gendered narratives, and to be truly objective, the researcher must allow the consideration of data that was not designed for but may be relevant to a research study. Hesse-Biber (2011) uses three feminists, Donna Haraway (1988), Sandra Harding (1993), and Kum-Kum Bhavnani (1993), to describe the nature of a good method to employ objectivity for addressing the androcentric in research. They explain that objectivity should be placed in 'situated knowledge' with the quest for the 'truth' being situated/explained in its context of power relations and value systems that underpin the societal structures (Haraway, 1988). By looking at situated knowledge, Presser (2005) suggests that:

> Feminist research begins with women's own perspectives and experiences. Insofar as women's perspectives and experiences are subordinated in scientific inquiries and the larger culture, feminist researchers seek to eliminate hierarchies of knowledge construction (Presser, 2005: 2067).

Presser (2005) adds that women have a natural understanding of hierarchies and the sense of place in them. With this understanding it is important to provide a women's perspective on research to expand the perspectives in knowledge making. Presser (2005) expresses the feminist theory of the acknowledgement of the researcher: the researcher cannot be excluded from the research. She emphasises that women have not included themselves enough in their own research. Bias will always occur, thus the need to understand one's research is to understand one's own position in the research study.

3.4.2 Intersectionality as a theoretical framework

Based on the discussion of intersectionality in the literature review in Chapter 2, this master's research employed intersectionality as a theoretical framework based on race, gender, class, age, cultural background and location. Intersectionality as a theoretical framework shaped the research outcome. The researcher was careful to explain any ambiguity that might arise in the data collection by creating stratification in sections of data collection (Baca Zinn, M & Thornton Dill, 2007; Kohlman, 2013). Based on the intersectional theoretical framework and with the intention of conducting/locating the research of the architectural profession in an African context, it was thus important to give attention to the feminist guidance on navigating *Africanology* as a research theory. Tamale (2014) and Mama (2011) warn researchers that binary views of a subject can have limiting strategies of research implementations that are not helpful to the focus of the research. They mention the importance of lived experiences as a source of data and letting the interviewee and subject matter lead the researcher during the research. Mama (2011) warns the reader of homogenising traps that are born from Western ideologies and to actively unlearn the conditioned

western and northern hemisphere values and virtues. Amina Mama explains further that:

> …feminist research practice in various African contexts thus defies simple definition. Perhaps we can do little more than characterise three broad tropes, that echo women's movements' earlier commitment to research 'on women, by women and for women', noting that these are often intertwined (Mama, 2011: 11).

This study was cognisant that the research theory to be applied in Africa is not necessarily a formula like in a positivist study but rather the use of transitive methods (Mama, 2011) that are flexible in the contextualisation of the study. Transformative research methods refer to the research method being compatible (Mama, 2011) and 'transitive' in data collection and analysis in order to 'get across ', 'connect' and 'facilitate potential transformation' in understanding of researcher and interviewee (Schäfer, 2013). Mama (2011) explains that it is important to foster the ability to adapt, by using 'critical feminist theory'. *Critical feminist theory* aims to inform societies with transformative ideas as well as ignite and provide a platform for social justice. She explains that an activist approach may undermine the research data gathering with the agenda for change and exclude other nuanced data.

In this research study, an activist approach is not taken; rather, a lens of enquiry is employed to explore the complexities of gendered narratives in the architectural industry. In her introductory chapter of *Exploring the Contours of African Sexualities*, Tamale (2014) warns that without careful consideration of how to approach feminist research in an African context, a researcher can undermine the care and intention of the data collection. For this reason, open-ended questions were used in the in-depth interviews to allow participants to describe their lived experiences. Mama (2011) explains that the adaptability of feminist research theory is crucial in an African context for it has to consider the oral history and speech patterns that occur in each region. Care has to be taken with the application of broader research theories as they may limit the scope of data that the researcher intends to gather (Mama, 2011:12-13). Often feminist theories are based on colonial and post-colonial systems that drive their implementation and are not open to the narratives within the research study. Mama (2011) mentions that in an African context it is essential to be open to the story telling, oral histories, and biographies of the women and other research subjects to avoid perpetuating the status quo. To understand the nuances that shaped participants' perceptions, one-on-one interviews with them were conducted. Questions related to their upbringing, the place of birth and education were asked. In a feminist approach, the researcher used compassion, tolerance, self- reflection, respect, empathy and courage. Tamale (2014) encourages the feminist

researcher of gendered topics to be open to fresh ideas relating to gender in the exploration of women and other marginalised groups. She adds that the interviewer should be open to listening to experiences beyond their own understanding and be willing to embrace diverse viewpoints, virtues, values and experiences. These key factors were used in the interview process.

3.5 Research method of data collection

Using Saunders' (Phair & Warren, 2021) research onion regarding data collection, the strategies that may be used are the mono, mixed and multi- methods research.

3.5.1 Method choice

Table 2 below provides a summary of research methods used in other studies asking similar questions to this research study:

Table 2: Research methods used to gather gendered narratives in the professional architectural environment

Research Method	**Authors**
Interviews (mono-method)	Boys (1984) Caven (2004) Caven. & Navarro Astor (2013) Caven & Raiden (2005) Caven (2008) Caven *et al.* (2016) Caven *et al.* (2012) de Graft-Johnson & Manley (2016) Harriss *et al.* (2016) Mullany (2009) Mullany & Schnurr (2023) Sang *et al.* (2014) Stratigakos (2001)
Self-complete questionnaire (mono-method)	Sang *et al.* (2007) Fulani and Amole (2016)
Literature review (mono-method)	Heynen, H (2012) Manly and de Graft-Johnson (2004) Sanders (1996) Boys (1984) Quinlan (1995) Spaeth and Kosmala, (2012) Lokko (2016) Möller & Fernando (2022)
Survey (mono-method)	Fulani *et al.* (2019) Pathak & Bhamkar (2022)
Mixed methods	Adams and Tancred (2000) Barton and Harriss (2017)

Stratigakos (2001) and Boys (1984) used qualitative in-depth interviews to gather research data whilst Boys (1984) used a feminist lens of gender equality for her research. In the anthology *A Gendered profession, the question of representation in space making* (Brown *et al.*, 2016) that is based on the gendered perspectives within the architectural profession, most of the papers use narrative gathering in the form of one-on-one interviews. Clark's (2016) *Six myths about women in architecture. A Gendered Profession* uses "… detailed qualitative accounts of careers in Australian architecture that counter many clichés" (2016: 15) by means of surveys and, after completing the survey, opportunity to provide qualitative context.

The research study relates to similar statistics of student gender graduating versus the low number of practising women architects as in the South African context. Mindful of the foregoing, a cross-sectional qualitative mono-research method was found to be the most suitable strategy for the current study to probe the nuances and in-depth knowledge of the participants' experiences.

3.5.2 Method of data collection

Access to potential participants was one of the main factors that influenced the data collection methodology, along with the fact that lived experiences were gathered. Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were chosen to avoid potential bias and the limitations of structured interviews that might prevent participants from sharing the knowledge they would like to part with.

The interview format was designed to take approximately one hour. The outcome of the data collection was that some interviews took longer than one hour because the respondent provided more detailed answers to some questions, or because they recalled an experience with another role player rather than providing a quick answer to the question.

3.5.3 Instrument of data collection

The semi-structured interview protocol format with in-depth questions and prompts was developed to collate information regarding the gendered narrative in the architectural Industry based on the themes from the literature review and the position of the researcher. A sample of the semi-structured interview protocol is attached as Appendix A.

The interview was tested with the first participant and some of the questions were simplified due to the nature of the answers.

3.5.3.1 Interview design and breakdown

The interview design was based on Sharlene Hesse-Biber's (2007) paper "The practice of feminist in-depth interviewing" and Linabary and Hamel's (2017) paper "Feminist online interviewing: engaging issues of power, resistance and reflexivity in practice". Hesse-Biber (2007; 2011) focuses on using feminist principles of knowledge making. This includes understanding the plight of women and allowing them to speak freely about their experiences without the researcher's bias influencing the responses to the questions. The interviews were conducted in a semi-structured interview format and the open-ended questions allowed the participants to answer in their own manner. The questions were thus often not asked sequentially as long as the themes (as set out in Appendix A and B) were covered. This allowed for in-depth interviews.

To help participants to understand and apply a gendered approach to answering questions, further probes were included in the designed interview. The interviews have five distinct sections, as follows:

1. **Introductory questions**: **Section 1 was designed to** establish trust and understanding with introductory questions.
2. **Architectural education: Section 2 was designed to** understand the participant's contextualised architectural education, mentoring and student experience.
3. **Practising architecture/being an architect**: **Section 3 was designed to** understand and gather information regarding the nature of the architectural practice as an architect.
4. **Views of a gendered environment: household and career: Section 4 was designed to** understand and gather information about the participant's experience of being a woman and having a professional career.
5. **Closing remarks / reflections**: **Section 5 was designed to** close the interview and allow the participant to add anything they felt was appropriate to the topic at hand not covered in the interview. (For further details, refer to Appendix A and B.)

3.5.3.2 Procedure of data collection

The process of finding, securing and conducting semi-structured interviews with the participants during COVID-19 in 2021 and 2022 was difficult.

The study aimed to find participants through snowball sampling, but this did not materialise after the first interview with Participant A. The researcher resorted to purposive sampling on various platforms such as architectural data bases, industry searches on LinkedIn based on women who had been practising in architecture in South Africa for a minimum of five years and held an undergraduate degree at a tertiary institution in South Africa. An invitation and call to participate poster/flyer was

designed (see Appendix D) to circulate on emails, public spaces and to send to contacts. The researcher wanted a representation of diversity in the participants. Approximately fifty women architects were approached via a personalised email on the social media platform LinkedIn, SACAP website and a few other women-led architectural practices were telephoned to request their participation and engagement with the study. The women responded positively yet ignored multiple follow-up emails. A few participants responded that they did not have the time to dedicate to an interview and a particular woman architect mentioned that they were willing to participate in their professional capacity but did not wish to engage in the demographic questions based on upbringing, gendered culturing and family life. The list of women that were approached and the level of the engagement with them are documented in Appendix C attached.

Nine participants were willing to be interviewed in the time provided. Two of the respondents wanted to meet in a face-to-face setting and the other seven were more comfortable being interviewed on the Zoom platform due to COVID protocols. The demographic data is represented below in Table 3 based on information provided by each participant, including age, marital status, professional standing, location and children.

Table 3: Demographic detail of participants

No	Participant Code	Age	Position	Title	Ethnicity	Years of experience	Location	Relationship status	Children
1	A	37	Partner/director in practice	Interior Architect	White	15+	Cape Town	Married	Yes
2	B	52	Partner/director in practice	Professional Architect	White	20+	Cape Town	Married	Yes
3	C	29	Full time position	Professional Architect	White	5	Johannesburg	Partnership	No
4	D	59	Full time position	Professional Architect	Other	25+	Cape Town	Married	No
5	E	61	Sole proprietor	Professional Architect	White	25+	Cape Town	Partnership	Yes
6	F	37	Associate	Professional Architect	White	10	Johannesburg	Married	Yes
7	G	29	Full- time position	Professional senior architectural technologist	White	5	Cape Town	Partnership	No

8	H	60	Retired	Professional Architect	White	25+	Unspecified	Married	Yes
9	I	28	Full- time position	Candidate Architect	Black	5	Johannesburg	Partnership	No

3.6 Method of data analysis

The data analysis was done in a sequential and meticulous manner. The face-to-face interviews were recorded on a voice recorder, and the online interviews were recorded on the Zoom platform. The data was downloaded from the Zoom platform and all the voice recordings were transcribed by the researcher. An edited transcription style was used in order to include laughter, silences and repeated words that convey emotion and tone. The exact words were conveyed in the transcriptions.

The transcripts were checked, and all names of companies, individuals and participants were redacted to ensure anonymity and the confidentiality agreed upon with the ethical clearance certification, see Appendix F. The interview transcripts are saved on a secure laptop and the files require a password to access.

A simple transcript style (Have, 2004) was adopted. This style is based on capturing pauses and gestures from videos (Have, 2004) and observations of participants' behaviour whenever possible to relay nuances that might be missed by merely reading the text.

The data and coding process entailed three layers of engagement. Thematic analysis, based on the research questions and an inductive analytical strategy of coding, was initially done by hand, moving to NVivo software for cross referencing. The first layer was an initial analysis during interviews that included notes and impressions of the interviews with the participants. Secondly, the transcripts were imported into MSWord and colour coded in themes and codes. The analysis and observations made during transcriptions that included physical note taking and sorting of similar items were included in this phase. Redacting sensitive names of third parties, and making comments and observations based on similar data and patterns emerging were also part of the second phase. The third phase was to move the comments and redacted transcripts from Word documents into NVivo. Formulating the themes into diagrams was the final stage of this process.

The interviews were important and were coded in NVivo line by line. There were initially 633 codes, but after cross-comparison and with the data analysis 142 codes remained. The number of codes and how often they are coded are represented in a table in Appendix C.

3.6.1 Thematic analysis

An inductive thematic analysis approach was adopted, closely linked to the research questions. Code families from NVivo (see appendix E) are grouped into themes and links in Figure 3.1 below. Thematic analysis instruction was taken from Braun and Clarke's (2006) article, *Using thematic analysis in psychology*, which describes thematic analysis as a five-step process. The analysis revealed a final five themes that are interlinked with and influenced by one another, as shown in the diagram in Figure 3.1 below, which explains the links between the themes.

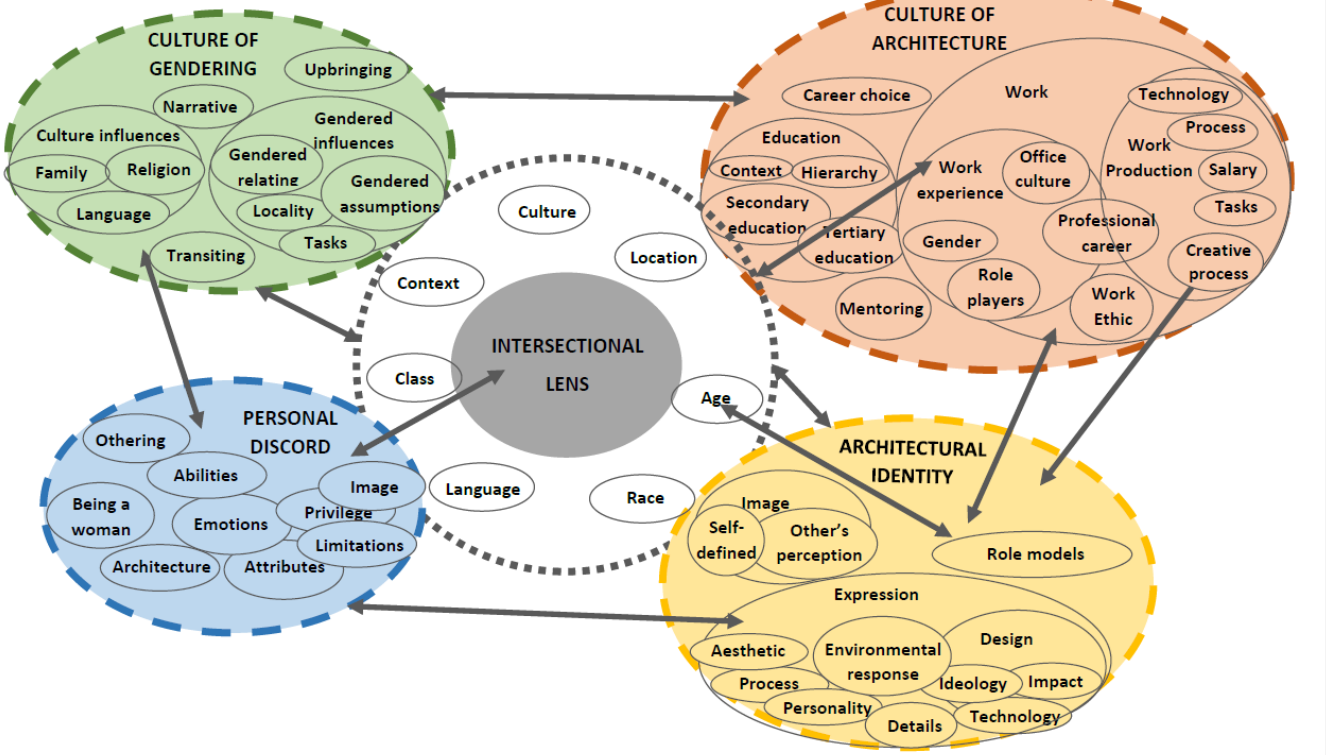

Figure 3.1 *Links between themes.*

Based on the figure, the themes are firstly viewed through the perspective of an intersectional lens and how it is interpreted in experiences within the gendered narrative in the built environment. Secondly, the culture of gendering that informed behaviour and experiences in the built environment; thirdly, the architectural nature of education, work and experiences; fourthly, the architectural identity that drives career decisions and influences creative expression; and lastly, the personal discord resulting from certain experiences as an architect. The five themed categories emerged from coding and are explained next.

Intersectional lens: this comprises the understanding of how layered experiences can be based on a person's race, age, class, gender, sexual orientation, physical ability/disability, experience, context, and how it can influence discrimination/disadvantages or marginalisation in society. Most of the

participants displayed a certain level of knowledge of how it affects them or other women in the architectural industry**.** The intersectional lens was used in the coding as a theme but occurs across all the themes and reveals the various nuanced experiences of the women.

The culture of gendering: refers to how community and society relate and inscribe gender in everyday living. This theme refers to socialisation, but also the inscribing of gendered narratives within society.

The culture of architectural practice: is based on the various phases of a professional architectural career. This theme incorporates the career decision making, the choice of tertiary education, the education experience, and finally the experience of practising architecture.

The architectural identity: this theme focuses on the personal display of each participant's architectural work. The formation of the architectural identity is separated from the culture of architectural practice, because it is based on each architect's agency and choice as to how they want to practise architecture.

Personal discord: the self-reflection theme emerged when the participants displayed their internal dialogue based on what they remembered from the experience during the recounting of incidents and experiences. This theme is based on how the participants navigate their environments when certain conflicts/incidents occur.

3.7 Trustworthiness and credibility

Qualitative research studies rely on the trustworthiness and credibility of the research to keep the research relevant and verified. Golafshani (2003) explains that validity (in qualitative research the validation of truth in relation to quality) and reliability (in qualitative research by 'generating understanding', trustworthiness and dependability) were initially only used in quantitative research but these factors are also relevant in qualitative research. Creswell (2013) expanded on validity and reliability by reviewing research design literature. Creswell (2013) summarised the terminology as presented in Table 4 below.

Table 4: Perspectives and terms used in qualitative research validation (source: adapted from Creswell. 2013)

Perspectives and Terms Used in Qualitative Validation		
Study	*Perspective*	*Terms*
LeCompte & Goetz (1982)	Use of parallel, qualitative equivalents to their quantitative	Internal validity External validity

	counterparts in experimental and survey research	Reliability Objectivity
Lincoln & Guba (1985)	Use of alternative terms that apply more to naturalistic axioms	Credibility Transferability Dependability Confirmability
Eisner (1991)	Use of alternative terms that provide reasonable standards for judging the credibility of qualitative research	Structural corroboration Consensual validation Referential adequacy Ironic validity
Wolcott (1994b)	Use of terms other than validity, because it neither guides nor informs qualitative research	Understanding better than validity
Angen (2000)	Use of validation within the context of interpretive inquiry	Two types: ethical and substantive
Whittemore, Chase, & Mandle (2001)	Use of synthesised perspectives of validity, organised into primary criteria and secondary criteria	Primary criteria: credibility, authenticity, criticality, and integrity Secondary criteria: explicitness, vividness, creativity, thoroughness, congruence, and sensitivity
Richardson & St. Pierre (2005) Lincoln, Lynham, & Guba (2011)	Use of a metaphorical, reconceptualised form of validity as a crystal Use of authenticity, transgression, and ethical relationships	Crystals: grow, change, alter, reflect externalities, refract within themselves Fairness representing views, raised awareness, and action; hidden assumptions and repressions, the crystal that can be turned many ways; relationships with research participants

3.7.1 Credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability and authenticity

Golafshani (2003) adds that by embracing their connection to their research, researchers have been allowed more robust engagement regarding the research (2003: 600). Cope (2014) explains that credibility of qualitative research is based on the presentation of the interpretation of the data revealed by participants. Cope (2014) adds that the researcher maintains credibility by describing the processes and experiences during the data collection as well as clear recognisable presentations of the data. The researcher therefore used verbatim transcription to keep the interviews and experiences revealed by the participants as clear as possible to read and understand.

Regarding transferability of the study, Cope (2014) refers to the ability of the research to be applied to other areas of studies and subject matter. The researcher of this thesis designed the interview questions in five different sections that could be applied to any other study. Cope (2014) mentions that the criteria for transferability should also include that the study has meaning to a wider audience and not only the people participating in the study. Other researchers should find enough information about the participants and context in order to judge for themselves whether the research is fit for transferability. Therefore, the researcher included a table of demographics of participants who were approached for sampling as well as of the participants who participated.

Dependability is the consistency of the data over similar conditions (Polit & Beck, 2012; Cope, 2014)

and the verification of the data collection/analysis from another researcher during the various stages of the research. The dependability of this research study and its in-depth interviews is therefore more based on the latter than the former for each participant will express their experiences differently.

Confirmability (Cope 2014) relates to the objectivity and focus of the data analysis and interpretation of the participants' experiences and expressions rather than the researcher's opinions. Confirmability is enhanced by describing how conclusions and interpretations were made during the analysis of the research (Cope 2014). In this research study this process was tackled in a thematic inductive approach to mitigate potential bias.

3.7.2 Power dynamics in interviews

To instil credibility and confirm reliability in the research the positionality of power dynamics is important to acknowledge. Due to the fact that the research method entailed one-on-one interviews it is important to note the power dynamics within interviews. With in-depth qualitative studies in Africa, Mama (2011:18) encourages the researcher to address multiple power inputs, various complexities, specific nuances of the study, interviewee and interviewer, multiple input of local societal influences/contexts, and to look at gendered narratives relating to the environment as well as global influences. She also reminds the researcher to use a critical feminist approach with the understanding that the sense of self (identity) is related to the construction of the power relations of the environment that surrounds women who are driven by sociocultural and historical indicators of that region.

The power relationship in an interview has subtle nuances of macro and micro level effects from the interviewer to the interviewee (Presser, 2005). The interviewer as the 'caller' and director of the interview (regardless of their social status) sets the agenda and steers the interviewee towards disclosing data that is useful or desired by the interviewer (Schegloff, 1982; Sprague and Zimmerman, 1989). The interviewer also uses their listening skills and filters during the interview to steer towards further information until enough data has been gathered (Presser 2005: 2). Thus, the power lies with the interviewer to convey the narrative and data in the presentation of the data afterwards and influence the selected facts and data capturing (Presser, 2005: 2071). These aspects are thus at the core of good ethical conduct and follow the principle of 'do no harm'. The interviews were semi-structured with the above in mind to allow the participants to express themselves and to assert their autonomy and power.

As an 'outsider' (the researcher), the researcher took care when collecting and storing data not to harm the interviewee by revealing data that might be damaging to their reputation or position in the architectural industry. Care was further taken about how much information and data the participant was willing to reveal, and not to provoke or push the participant on any aspect they did not wish to answer. With the participant as the 'insider', the interviewer took care not to steer away from data the research study needed in order to probe the gendered narrative in architecture.

Marxist and Hegelian's ideological principles suggest that a human being's lived experiences from their understanding of the world and its social structures is a 'mode of production', and it may justify social inequality (Hesse-Biber, 2011). Their specific employer and worker perspective dynamic comes to mind where the employer mostly knows their own world and their view is sometimes distorted by their limited engagement with like-minded people, whereas the worker has to know the employer's world as well as their own in order to navigate their world. Hesse-Biber (2011:11) mentions that:

> … it is a woman's oppressed location within society that provides fuller insights into society as a whole; women have access to an enhanced and more nuanced understanding of social reality than men do precisely because of their structurally oppressed location vis-à-vis the dominant group, or men (Hesse-Biber, 2011:11).

Because men are the benefactors of patricidal principles (often being the employer) all other marginalised groups will have a greater idea of social structures and have a richer set of "explanations of the lives of the oppressors and the oppressed" (Hesse-Biber, 2011:11).

It is important to widen the scope of knowledge production and ward off potential bias of one dimension. A positivist's subject–object approach to methodology often excludes nuances that indicate emotions, values and subtle indicators of a greater set of data available (Sprague & Zimmerman, 1989; Sprague & Kobrynowicz, 1999; Creswell, 2013). However, traditional research theory and methods are still used yet include the intersectional lens.

3.8 Ethical considerations

To maintain moral and ethical standards within the research it was important to understand how it would impact this research study. Ragin and Amoroso (2011) explain how some research studies influenced the ethical code we use today. The Belmont report, which advocates for the respect of human life, justice and responsibility for results as well as benefits for participants was compiled as a result of ethical failure and inhumane treatment during research conducted on humans (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011).

The standards a researcher must uphold comprise prioritising the rights of research participants, ensuring of accuracy of epistemological approach (scientific or sociologically grounded) and protecting the intellectual property rights of participants and funders (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011; Altelisy, 2018: 5). Based on Ragin and Amoroso's (2011) ethical conduct with human subjects, this study followed the protection of the rights of the participants including informed and voluntary consent, minimising mental fatigue, acceptance of the freedom to withdraw from a study, and allowing benefits from participating in the study to outweigh the foreseen risks. This study also undertook to assess risks and exercise a fair selection of participants.

The ethical concerns that relate to this masters' dissertation with human participants included considering the relationship with society and the research participant, the treatment of the participant and mitigating professional issues that might occur (Ragin & Amoroso, 2011; Altelisy, 2018). These aspects applied to the women architects to ensure that their identity in relation to their work environment was protected and that there was a sense of safety in revealing sensitive data, that the engagement of the participant would be interactive, with a sensitivity to allow participants to reveal information they were comfortable with, and lastly, that their professional standing in society was not compromised by data that they revealed.

Bias in research must be mitigated for sociology has shown that there will always be an inherent bias in research (Doyal & Harris, 1986; Fleetwood, 2014). Whether it is positivist, deductive, or inductive, research is always seen through the eyes of a researcher who has an agenda to prove or disprove a theory. This will influence their actions to be somewhat biased (Sprague & Zimmerman, 1989; Martin, 1991; Sayer, 1992). Thus, declaring the position of the researcher in their research indicates the potential blind spots that might occur in the study. For this reason, the research methodology and data analysis have been applied to mitigate potential bias and potential blind spots.

3.8.1 Context and positionality: Researcher's background and experience

In feminist research it is customary for the researcher to articulate their positionality to define potential biases that may interfere in the data gathering. Furthermore, the current dissertation and research knowledge are situated in feminist theory so, in accordance with Haraway's (1988) feminist objectivity, it is important to mention the positionality in order to understand the power dynamics between researcher and participant and the power imbued by observing others' lives. Similarly, Amoo-Adare's (2013) study in the politics of space also presented her positionality for the same reasons and therefore the researcher is mapping her personal experience. Describing the researcher's position in establishing the credibility in collection and mapping of other individual

narratives and thus comparison and sharing of knowledge can be used in the analysis process.

3.8.1.1 Sense of place: gendered narrative in socialisation as a child

As a child born into a privileged white family in the 80s in South Africa, the researcher experienced a sensitivity to space in relation to memories. The structure of the researcher's family was built on a patriarchal and Christian foundation steeped in benevolent sexism (Winter, 2022) and the consequence of not following the patriarchal ideals of how women should behave in relation to men often resulted in hostile sexism.

3.8.1.2 Personal indicators that Influence career decisions

In high school there was the opportunity for the researcher to take two art subjects, painting and ceramics. With the immersion into these subjects, the opportunity to explore how the materials are manipulated, pigments and mixing medium for paint and firing at certain temperatures for specific clays was very exciting. When career decisions were to be made, parental guidance steered the researcher away from art into architecture because it was a more professional career choice.

3.8.1.3 Practising as an architect

During the first few years of studies, it seemed that there was a natural skill to practice as a successful architect and there was a draw to sustainable and alternative architectural space making. Once in the industry, other nuances started to play a role.

In personal life, the researcher struggled with the assigned labour tasks because she married shortly after graduation and work demanded an approx. 10 – 12 hours a day's labour, leaving very little energy and time for her reproductive labour tasks at home.

The narratives of these experiences and attachment to spaces situate the researcher in a position of power whereby interviews might be swayed unconsciously into a direction that supports the narrative to suit this research. The researcher's bias towards certain life experiences and inscribing of experiential viewing may sway the interviewee to also find scenarios and aspects to suit the narrative this research is focused on.

Thus, predefined themes and a basic open semi-structured in-depth interview schedule with open-ended questions was used. This questionnaire went through the ethical clearance process. As a person born with privilege in certain areas of the system, the researcher was careful not to inscribe those values, assumptions and preliminary conclusions about the data collected. Consequently, the

use of the intersectional lens was inscribed in the data collection by allowing the participants to freely explain the impact of racial, class and contextual realities in their lives.

However, with the lived experience the researcher declared above and practising in the architectural industry as a gendered woman, racialised as white, the nuanced insight during interviews with participants allowed them to relate to the researcher as an insider and confidant. The power relationship in relation to the subject matter and the data collected was directed towards the set objectives and thus care was taken that data was collected in a sensitive manner that allowed the participants to claim their own agency and talk more about their experiences in the interviews.

3.9 Summary

This chapter presented a discussion of the theoretical frameworks that underpin the qualitative research study, and the various approaches that were incorporated in the data collection and analysis process. The following chapter will discuss the research and the interpretation of the data collected.

Chapter 4: Culture of gendering

The aim of this research and data collection was to gather, understand and represent the gendered experience of architects who are women, in South Africa. The interview questions were based on themes that were identified in the literature review, namely, cultural upbringing, religion, gendering within family structures, choosing architecture as a career, studying architecture, architectural work, divisions of productive and reproductive labour, and the identity of the architect in the professional environment. The questions aimed to understand how a woman's experiences might be gendered while practising as an architect.

4.0 Data presentation

Based on the NVivo coding, code families and themes in Chapter 3 and Appendix 3, the nine interview content and emerging patterns are categorised into the five main themes in the diagram in Figure 4.1.

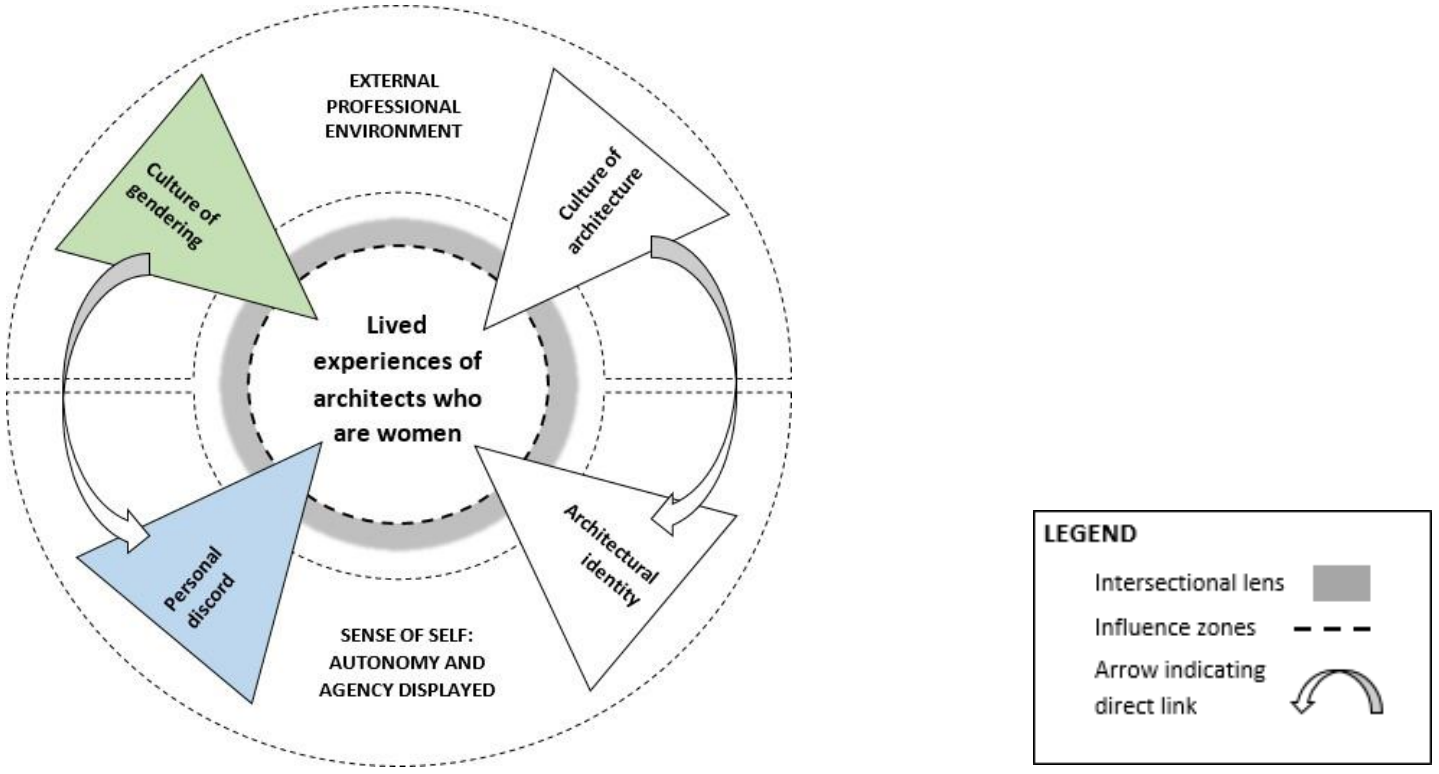

Figure 4.1 – Observation of how the themes influence the participants' experiences

The themes were the perspective of the *Intersectional Lens* (indicated as a grey circle) and how it is interpreted in experiences within the gendered narrative in the built environment. Secondly, *The Culture of Gendering* informed the behaviour and experiences of the women interviewed in the built environment. Thirdly, the *Culture of Architecture* explored the nature of women's education, work and experiences. Fourthly*, The Architectural Identity* that drives the women's career decisions and influences their creative expression, and lastly, *The Personal Discord* resulting from certain experiences of the women, the reflections and self-reflections on the engagements and responses of the participants. The five themes are observed to influence and be linked to each other, as discussed below.

In Figure 4.1 the two main overarching themes that explain the gendered phenomenon of being a women architect in South Africa today through the *Intersectional Lens* are pervasive throughout all the data. Regarding the remaining two themes, *Personal Discord* falls under the *Culture of Gendering* main theme*, while* the *Identity of the Architec*t comes under the *Culture of Architecture theme*.

The two themes of the *Culture of Gendering* and Culture of A*rchitecture* are both based in the external environment of the participants' cultural upbringing (*Culture of Gendering*) and the professional workplace (Culture of A*rchitecture*). The external environments are determined by societal norms and legislations outside the participants' control unless they were key role players in organisations that determined rules within their culture or architectural profession.

The themes *Personal discord* and *Architectural identity* belong under the internal response of the participants' sense of self – how they express themselves and their identity in response to their external environment. The personal discord emerged in the interviews with the participants reflecting and commenting on their own interaction/responses to the engagements and experiences in their lives. The architectural identity was naturally discussed when the participants discussed their approaches to their work and their position in the workplace.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the research findings according to the main themes; Chapter 4, this chapter, is based on the *Culture of Gendering*, and Chapter 5 is based on the *Culture of Architecture*. Chapter 6 presents a consideration of the theme of architectural identity.

4.1 Culture of gendering

The theme *Culture of Gendering* tackles the socialisation of the participant in relation to gender constructs in their specific cultural structures. It maps the external influences on the participants' lived experiences being gendered as women and mainly explores their upbringing, career choices, and predefined gender narratives. The intersectional lens is applied to observe how the different positions the women are in affect their experiences. Additionally, the current experiences of the participants are influenced by *The Culture of Architecture* and often displayed in *The Personal Discord* theme.

The *Culture of Gendering* tackles the participants' experiences related to their specific gendering through their upbringing, their culture's predefined gender narrative and influences, the context of transiting between spaces in post-apartheid South Africa, gendered tasks and assumed attributes. The *Personal Discord* theme explains how the external factors of the participants' environment influence their internal responses and self-reflections.

4.1.1. Gendering during upbringing

How the participants were raised, and their socialisation refer to the influences viewed through the intersectional lens based on the participants' religion, local community, family structures, school, language and sport, race, class and sexuality. Through the intersectional lens the positionality of the participants influences their values and references, their access to opportunities, and the influences of their limitations. The narrative the participants describe about their upbringing is based on their relationships and engagement with their immediate environments (family, community and culture). For example, the values of what a boy should wear (as opposed to a girl) is often seen to be based on a colour like blue or pink, and the shape of the clothing is either dress and frills for girls and straight, cute and loose clothing for boys. Participants A and F both spoke of this in their upbringing and added that they both did not experience it in a negative light growing up. It was only when they interacted with their peers during the teenage years that it became a point of judgement and potential exclusion in their friendship circles. Participants A, B, D, E, H and F spoke of popular culture's influence of physical gender characteristics/attributes, feminine and masculine characteristics and how girls' dress sense was internalised based on a visual aspect. The interviews of the younger Participants C, G and I echoed the feminine dress sense as a girl, but they weaved in the aspect of gendered dressing throughout their conversations and how other women around them dressed as well.

Participant F explained that she was brought up with pink as the colour for girls, liking fashion design, shopping, and buying pretty things at the mall with her mother, whereas her brother and father she labelled as 'petrol heads'. She did not elaborate on what petrol heads do other than going to go-kart racing and tinkering with the cars in the garage. This was echoed by Participant G when she spoke of her earlier years; how she and her sister were raised to be polite young girls in dresses. However, she explained that she had learnt what to do through negative enforcement of what girls were not allowed to do. Below, Participant C explains how she observed how this happened:

> So, I grew up (…) to quite religious parents. Um (…) Christian (..) Afrikaans Christian. I was never too into that (…) um (…) it's a long story. I felt it was very like restrictive, especially in terms of your role as a girl and sort of like what you were allowed to do, and you're not allowed to do (…)
>
> Jaa, then obviously grew up with that and went to school (…) kind of like a similar experience like you know, there are different rules for girls versus boys and (…) um. Like even other girls will treat you differently if you aren't into, say, like normal girly things (…) um (…) Or if you at 16 decide that you want to go out of it more (..) it doesn't sit well with the other girls who do sleep overs and go to church together. (giggle)

Above, Participant C explained how her gendering was linked to her language and religion in relation to how values of gender were instilled in her upbringing. Participants C and F echoed the assumed understanding of being brought up in an Afrikaans home with conservative values. All the participants talked about how the influences of Christianity shaped their understanding of gender and roles within their communities and families. This included those that were not practising Christianity.

Participants A, D and E were nonspecific about the particular religious culturing and only referenced their relation to Christian principles/values, for example at bible studies at school.

Participants B, F, G and I explained how their community, parents and family enforced Christian values and holidays in their everyday lives. Participant F explained it as a relationship with her god, whilst Participants G and I experienced the values more like limitations imposed during their upbringing.

Participant B, in particular, spoke of how, while growing up, Christian celebrations infiltrated and influenced her and her family's lives, and how they were still celebrated today. This emerges more specifically in the following quote:

> So, my mother was (…) Anglican and we. The school (…), so we did go to church, but we weren't particularly (…) dogmatically Christian. My father called himself an agnostic. He brought; he actually was Afrikaans. He grew up in the Dutch reform church and rejected it. So, he was (…) he called himself, he didn't call himself an atheistic, he called himself agnostic. So, no (…) religion wasn't (…). I suppose you know (…) you only realise later on in life that one does have a culture in (…) Christmas

> was important (...) Easter is important, whatever. But no, it wasn't a (…) there wasn't a dogma of religion at home at all, Jaa.

Participant B further mentioned how religious bias could influence one's perception and the idea of the world. More specifically, she says:

> (..) do you think that these sort of perception of, say, maybe if you've grown up in a more, and you know religious household back to say Muslim, for example, this perception that people (…) you know, aren't allowed to do certain things (but that's not true necessarily), (..); it's not necessarily as obvious as one thinks.

Here Participant B links gender bias and religion together and show how her preconceived ideas about a religion might not be true; thus, she realises that it is to be investigated. Participants G and I both explained how they observed how their Christian religious upbringing inscribed gender norms and how this limited their experiences being gendered as a girl/woman. Participant G explained how religious socialisation had an immediate effect that informed gender as a binary and that women were limited in their expression. She explained that Christian values inscribed in her culturing a need to be more of what her parents and society deemed fit based on their moral Christian values. Here she explains in her own words:

> Uh well (…) you had to be quiet, you had to be (…) ahh pleasant. (laughter). Jaa (…) I remember (…) you always had to be a pleasant child and like not ask too many questions.
> So, so I would always question things and, like, I think, from a religious side, like you, don't do that.um (…) because then someone has to give you really hard answers, or they don't have an answer and they'd rather not do that, there are… they want you to kind of accept the things (…) um (…) and .Jaa (..) and it made it very difficult to also like kind of accept myself because(…)I didn't quite fit in (…) Like in terms of like religion and being like softer (…).

The above need for women to yield, adapt and accept things was echoed by Participant I. Both Participants G and I explained they were treated differently from the boys around them. They observed the boys playing and being boisterous and they were told to be well behaved and quiet, and the reasons provided by their caregivers were based on their nuclear family's religious Christian upbringing.

Based on the larger family structures, Participants A, C and I explained how their grandparents played a role in their understanding of gender. Participant A explained how her grandmother had shown her how to be a "lady"; that is, poised and emotionally guarded. Participant C mentioned how values of right and wrong were introduced in her upbringing. Participant I explained how her parents' and grandparents' influence formed her understanding of domestic tasks and gender in relation to men and expanded on how a domestic violence legacy had been passed on from generation to generation in her family. Here she provides the following explanation:

> Um (…) I think growing up… so I come from this village (…).
> So, I come from a family there was like some violence (…) domestic violence and (..) Um (…) that was the big chunk of it (…).
> So.um (…) I from just that, I (..) my under (…) my me seeing a man just it's just it's fuelled by a lot of anger. And that's just coming from my (..) my family dynamic energy for the extended.
> (…) My grandmother also experienced like a lot of domestic violence, a lot of emotional abuse. So (…) and I was very close with her so in conversations with her I just, I kind of saw that (...).
> I see women as just objects, because that's what I've seen. You know, she's just this object that is honestly visible, invisible. So (…) already, in my view of all my relation to men, this just just starts off from a disadvantage. (smiling) Um (…) So (…) Jaa (…) My granny didn't live far from where we lived. It was just that I got to spend more time at her house just cause all our cousins and everyone was there. But my grandfather passed away long ago. Um (…) So um (...) like she was (…) her body was like tired (...) she had (…) you could like see these black marks and she would tell me she had these black marks from being beaten. She has a big grounding in the family dynamic it's just the circumstances that lead to whatever. The man is usually the head of the household, so that is in mine and my grandparents' home. That's how the dynamic is. The men are usually the head of the house.

Above, Participant talks about the nature of the head of the household that was taught in Christian families. She further explains how her experiences in a rural setting showed her how limited binary practices of marginalisation of women are introduced:

> Actually, I didn't realise it, but I saw even in the church, the church I go to. So, the male and the female are a uniform that you that you guys' wear, but because a time where for instance, let's say the lady falls pregnant, they have to change the kind of way the original attire (…) because they are impure. So then (…) but the males they still dressed as the way that they are. There's no evidence of them not being a man, they still a man, they show *it's fine*. But as soon as, like (…) it's just to a female, they have to change. Um (…) to almost show the impurity.

Participant I's statement above shows and supports the ideology of how men's actions and experiences are normalised and how women are 'othered' for not abiding by societal norms.

4.1.2 Predefined gender narrative

Initially, Participants A, B, D, E, F, and H claimed they were not gendered in a way that set them apart from boys or other children or that gendering was not different for the sexes during their upbringing, but after a while in conversation they realised that their gendered perceptions were in fact based on their upbringing. Participant D's statements below support this:

> I was the middle one and my, my father was (…). treated us all equally. He always said you know; I love you all equally and we all felt kind of love equally although I found out later that he treated my brother differently privately.
> There was a gender narrative. So, I was I was thinking, okay. Are these (…) another gender story (…) you making you think of all these gender stories that have denied? (Smile turning to laughter).
> And so, I did well with that and I defined myself (…) I had the space to define myself in my very predictive (…) A very controlling family was yet still I was able to (…) I had space, so I never felt gender squashed. I was aware of that as an irritation. As an external irritation but it didn't stop me.

The above statement suggests that it took participants a while to comprehend and put gendering's

internalisation and normalisation in context with how it affected their lives. However, Participants C, G and I responded to the question of being gendered from the beginning of the interview and spoke reflectively about being raised as a girl and their experiences as women. This suggests that feminist theories have been internalised, interrogated and applied by the women under thirty.

A predefined gendered narrative (engagement between gender roles) from the participants' cultural upbringing seems to have informed participants' childhood experience and their current work/external environments, based on their community, family and the built environment culture. The gendered narrative was understood and described by two distinct gender roles and norms by all the participants as that of a man and a woman and that each of these roles has certain characteristics of either masculine or feminine. In the binary the two are held in opposition to one another; for example, if the participant is not feminine, she thus must be masculine. Participant F explained the binary presumptions of the two roles best in the following quote:

> Oh, I must mention, now that I'm talking about it, I could always do both. You know, so I could be (…) I like being a girly girl, but if my brother wants to play touch rugby with me (…) or wwf (…) I could also do that. (laughter). So, it's you (…) know I could always play cricket with them (…) So it wasn't like I didn't enjoy that stuff I just meant that girly girl like. I love the financing stuff that girls like and I love hanging out with my girlfriends I have more girlfriend than guy friends. Jaa, and, yes, I guess that's me what what that means.

All the participants explained how their nuclear family structures of mother, father and siblings played a significant role in their lives, in understanding gender and influences on values in experiences. The influences from their family members included how the dynamics of the head of household, and how the introduction of gendering in household dynamics (e.g., rules, roles, hierarchy and relationships) were shown and instilled by the larger community (school, neighbourhood, location and religion) in which the family surrounded themselves. The influences are further defined in the South African context of classifying/positioning people based on their skin colour and social standing. The larger context of South African culture making, based on class, location of home, time growing up all influenced participants' perspectives. Participant I explained how she knew she was classified and valued in the larger South African context as follows:

> So already I have like, my, my (…) my gender structure. Like I already understand the gender structure in my head and in my heart or whatever. And then I'm used now into, Afrikaans area, going to the primary school and (…) and even the area, these just these images when you grow up, and you just see the bakkie and there's the Afrikaans man at the front, and then the black man at the back with the dog. And it's like these pictures, where or (…) maybe in a restaurant, we the the, the (…) black waiters have to speak in *Afrikaans, we have to know Afrikaans* (…) So it's all these layers of things that and umm. we're already, just (…) (gesturing with hands) (…) at a disadvantage, and (…) So I am, I'm (…) introduced to the world with a disadvantage.

Here Participant I explained the notion of Marx's theory of class stratification, the experiences of people who are perceived to be ranked in a lower position, and how they will be aware of the aspects of other people's lives that shape both their own experiences and those of others. Participant D echoed this when she spoke of her experiences during her schooling and how her limitations of speaking and understanding the spoken language, English, and her cultural differences of being Greek brought about othering and ousting in public spaces during her upbringing. The coding showed that the participants who were brought up in a position of self-proclaimed privilege managed to acknowledge this privilege and its opportunities but did not speak of the limitations of others and othering. Understanding the culture of gendering and marginalisation of women and girls in the structures around the participants is important, for this informs the gendered lens that influences their experiences and perceptions in the architectural workplace. Based on sibling influences, Participant C explained in discussing her personal discord about being gendered as a girl in relation to her brothers:

> (…) you know, the older brother helps a lot because you YOH!
> So (…) I mean, after a while, you start realising that people just don't pick up on stuff the way you want them to, right? Or you (…) figure out that you can't really connect to a person. Um (…) And I feel like, when that happens, I usually just sit back and (…) and like, *watch the situation and go Okay cool. If I was that guy, what would I not (…)? Want me to say?* I mean, that was my defence with my brothers (…) always was thinking that I didn't want to cry, or I didn't want to go tell mom because you know, you want to impress them, or you want to be their friend.

Participant C's expression above about how girls are socialised to be responsive to their external environment; that is, in relation to the boys, was echoed by participant G through her explanation of what not to be above. In the interviews with the participants, it was evident that the gender narrative was taught and demonstrated by the participants' family/culture in what was normal through the training of adhering to various roles women have to play. The patriarchal position of power, which normalised male behaviour and certain expectations of female obligations, forms the basis of the gender narrative. Participant G explained this from her early childhood, when she was subjected to gendered forms of punishment and a form of rejection, including potentially not being married:

> Like something that's possibly can upset my dad or if I was like too outspoken about something, then I he would like comment about how, you know, I'm not going to find a husband like that (…) um (…) It's not something you say to a child. Um (…) Jaa (…)
> um (…) I wanted to be more graceful but I was very clumsy, not necessarily like a tomboy but like, I don't know (…) I had, I wanted to do more than what was sort of put in front of me (…).
> And like that didn't always sit well with my family and (…) Um (…) the kind of school that I went to I didn't have a crowd (…) that I were sort of more neutral (…) say (…) That, like you're not quite a nerd and you're not quite popular like there's not a lot of like just neutrality (…) like it can go anywhere, if that makes sense.

The participant's father used the potential of her being a spouse and thus being accepted by society's rules as a form of redirection in her behaviour as well as a form of control to get what he wanted her to do or not do. Regarding the gendered narrative, Participant A explained that being a woman for her was by being trained in "being a lady" by her grandmother. "Being a lady", she explained, was based on controlling one's actions and emotions, to have poised and gracious movements (like ballet) and soft-'spokenness', using words, reasoning and debating to solve a problem. Participant A explained how she expected this of other women in her immediate environment. During her self-reflections she explained that once she could not embody this persona, she felt she lost parts of herself during the interaction with men.

Participant B explained that the assumption that becoming a spouse and mother was a normal part of her life and the duties it required, like using a breast pump in her designer suit at the workplace, no longer suited her. She explained that the men partners were older and treated her like they were her father, and she did not enjoy that. Participant C explained that she was not the perfect woman who looks like a doll and acts accordingly in pleasant ways. She explained how she must be perceived as this loud wild woman on site with her clients. In her interview she kept her camera off for she felt she was "not displaying her best self". This is another suggestion of how women have to be aesthetically pleasing and groomed in order to engage others. All the other participants also supported this. Participant A found the required feminine look to be invasive, whilst Participant F declared that she would be sad the day the "comments and compliments stop". Participant E explained that she found that some women welcomed objectification and often questioned the intention behind it.

As to what the women may and may not do in the gender narrative of becoming a "woman,", Participants A, B, E, F and H all displayed their experience and gendered assumption in their positionality in the context of South Africa by declaring that they had never been told that they could not do something 'because she is a girl'. This suggests that they understood that it was something that was said to girls, and it was echoed by Participants D and I. Participant D explained that a few times in her upbringing she had been told by Greek community members that a woman cannot become an architect. Participant I explained that she saw that women were only supposed to do certain tasks and if they did not fulfil that role, they experienced various forms of violence (physical violence and social exclusion) within the family and community.

The gender narrative suggests that men are in power, and women must support and be supportive around them. Some participants revealed the sexual availability and objectification of women to

men as part of the gender narrative and welcomed at times. Women also have to fulfil a series of duties in order for them to be women – from physical appearance to duties in society, their home, and the workplace.

4.1.3 Specific cultural influences

Reviewing the interviews showed how the culture of each participant was defined by their language in the region they grew up in, and how they were raised determined their gendering. Participants A, C, F, and G were all raised in Afrikaans homes and the values that are ascribed to their Afrikaans culture influenced their gendering.

> Well (…) going from a conservative, in brackets, ummm (…) upbringing really. I wasn't brought up very conservative, but I'm just saying, you know. Going to an *Afrikaans skool* and going to university it's a massive leap um (…) for any child. And (…) You were with people, like they would be like people (…) who would just kiss on the grass and I like (…) (making surprise sound) (…) (laughter) Its weird but I enjoyed that leap, and I think. I must also mentioned, I used to be a cheerleader. So, I used to cheerlead for the Bulls for the Rugby team and (…) I always say to people that experience has taught me so much about life. Um (…) because you are (…) you, you get it, because of the dancing, right? So, so you would obviously dance in quite small clothing. Showing tummy and legs and everything and people will shout obscenities to you and you're able to deal with that and you're able to ignore that and you're able to know that that doesn't form part of who you are. And, like the men would shout *you're amazing* and the women would throw us with ice. In the same, you know, stretch of time (…) And it was it was like (…) *okay cool this is life I'm doing it whatever you say to me doesn't define who I am.* Um (…) I'm just like they were obviously amazing moments as well, but… but oftentimes you would deal with very drunk men.
> Um (…) and I really feel like I can handle any situation that is thrown at me because of that. Like I was in fantastic situations, in little awkward situations, like drunk situations with the guys will like (…) like being weird and… and you're able to deal with that. So, I feel like that is also prepared me a lot, for not only my everyday life now (…).

Above Participant F suggests that her Afrikaans upbringing gendered her to be conservative as a woman (no physical display of sexual interaction with another); also, not be to be exposed to areas where sexual activity could take place. However, she explained that there was a general acceptance of objectifying women in the Afrikaans community, and it was related to rugby. She had experienced benevolent sexism when her father would practise the celebration of women by buying her mother and herself gifts on Valentine's, Mother's and Women's Day. Her experiences were in a "bubble" growing up because of her Afrikaans household, community and religion.

Participants B and H were raised in bilingual homes and the terms tomboy and girly girl were used but it was not internalised. They both explained that their upbringing was with both language cultures and values. The two women both accepted middle-class gendered roles and values of what a spouse is, a mother is and what a woman is. Both displayed resistance to discussing

gendered aspects within their current lives and the workplace.

Participant D, who was brought up in a Greek orthodox home, explained that her mother and father played defined gendered roles in their arranged marriage that led them to settle in South Africa. Her mother was the homemaker, and her father was the entrepreneur. Participant D's mother played the doting wife, and it repulsed her because her mother gave up her own career and personal desires to support her father and the family. Yet, she found that within her first marriage she mirrored her mother's behaviour by sacrificing her career, ambitions and desires for her husband. Due to the "caste" system and the fact that her family was situated in South Africa during apartheid, she experienced discrimination. In secondary school she and her siblings were labelled as stupid and dumb and treated like there was something wrong with them because they spoke English with an accent and struggled to pronounce certain words. However, she won the essay competition when she wrote in anonymously.

The display of cultural identity was characterised by many of the participants as "growing up in bubbles" in South Africa. This is important to note in relation to how little diversity is experienced in the built environment. Participants (Participants B, E, F, G and I) mentioned how they felt insulated in relation to their understanding of how other communities and cultures would be experiencing culture and gendering. The participants' interviews revealed that they understood that they viewed their immediate environments as silos. Only when they entered public spaces or spaces where people of other cultures were present did they understand the vastness of the South African experiences in relation to the laws that separated communities from one another under the apartheid government.

4.1.4 Transiting between spaces

The location of each participant's upbringing, culture and community suggests that it dictates the different ways the predefined gendered narrative is applied to the women's lives and informs their experiences. This was more prominent when the participants discussed travelling within South Africa and internationally.

The experiences and views from Participant B and H about their upbringing based on their description of being raised in a bilingual home and "more progressive parents" suggests that they understood the nuances of race and gender in South Africa. Both explained that their ability to speak two languages did not equate to a higher level of stratification of culture but rather that experiencing two ways of each participant's upbringing equipped them with a broader view of

culture and gendering. Participant B further explained how her exposure to her parents' activism had helped her understand her privilege and that it was important, especially in South Africa to acknowledge and understand one's position of privilege. She added that the marginalisation in race was far more important than the marginalisation in gender. This suggests that the investigation of marginalisation in the gendered narrative is pushed aside in South Africa.

Participants B, C, D, and I all explained that while transiting and travelling throughout their upbringing and lives gender requirements were presented and experienced differently. The gendered narratives would also be different in relation to the societal position they experienced. Participant B explained how she travelled for her tertiary education and how conservative and hectic it was at the University's hostels. Girls would pair up with the older men students in their class to be able to 'get out' of the hostel and the discipline. She suggested that her parents were progressive and 'modern' but that the university had to keep them safe and thus stricter rules of gendered separation were applied. She called the men 'rugger buggers', inferring that they tried to spend more time with the women students in intimate spaces (dorm rooms). The aspect of safety and keeping safe as a woman infers physical and sexual violence as a theme shared by all the participants. The safety refers to violence or theft of property or of harm to themselves. Participants B and H both explained how, during their education, they and fellow women students would make friends with the older men with cars as a form of protection to experience the "freedom" to go out at night. Participant I explains below how the transiting from the rural to urban spaces in her upbringing influenced her experiences and perceptions of gender:

> So going from day-to-day, I commuted a lot. So (…) I was all constantly in transit between the rural and the urban area. And that intro (…) that that for me was when I was travelling in taxis a lot. So, in this community, I, I would find that men would kind of (…) because I was also like aging, so men would kind of see me as like a piece of meat. So, then this this um (…) cat calling or like, kind of being very aggressive (…) in that sense one has manoeuvring in these spaces. So (…) already I just, I kind of I either I had to kind of either adjust myself, so you don't have to look boyish or tomboyish to kind of ensure that I don't reveal too much (…) for myself to be some kind of um (…) target, target or prey, whatever.
>
> So (…) it was very uncomfortable. I hate taxi ranks, I hate them. I hate them. I really really hate commuting that the idea of just getting from one space and walking to another space, just it (…) it messes up my psyche. And I think just the fact that I have such a (…) with a with the background of a relationship of a male and a female and that interaction (…) and how the woman is an object within the interaction. It gets amplified when I when (…) I when I manoeuvre in those space. So Jaa. So Jaa, that I think is just (…) it's just what just in terms of my relationship with regarding the whole gender, gender issue, and (…). I think I then had to (…) I noticed that I had to counter that energy, you have to counter whatever that is. I had to be masculine myself (…) to ensure that (…) I had to come with the same aggression to counter that aggression.

Above, Participant I explains how she adjusted as a woman in the various spaces she occupied

during her transits. She explores the differences in how gender roles are experienced between rural and urban spaces and the perception that the larger cities in South Africa, like Cape Town, Johannesburg and Gqeberha were more desirable places to be and work (echoed by Participants B, C, D, G and I). The participants revealed that the gendered narratives in these spaces are that women are seen as inferior to men, vulnerable in transiting and therefore not safe to travel alone at night; women are objectified as vulnerable to theft and sexually available to men. This narrative was discussed in relation to their upbringing, education and practising architecture. Whilst Participants C, F, and G discussed the transiting to and from tertiary education spaces as dedication to their studies and career, the excitement of transiting and possibility of experience and change was also part of the discussion. Participant D reflects on this below:

> It's about travelling across a boundary. when you travel, you're able to look back at where you come from with new eyes and bring something fresh back into it. (…) And so that's what I think having gone to Italy did for me, and that's what belonging to another culture here.

Based on the above, Participant D explains how othering occurs in these spaces but how they also present an opportunity to reinvent herself. Viewed through the intersectional lens, Participants D and I had experienced that class and position in society had different effects on the different locations they occupied. Participant I explained that her struggles were similar when she moved from Mpumalanga to Cape Town but, during the student protests in 2016, she learnt of the nuanced problems of Cape Town as a segregated city. Participant I discussed how informal environments perpetuate a more violent display of gender roles in the South African narrative. Participant I explains below how she experienced this during transiting between rural and urban environments in a smooth manner by embodying masculine energy:

> I have to carry and learn to be masculine to ensure that I have some kind of voice or (…) a capacity to manoeuvre at the speed that a man can manoeuvre in and to get access to the things I want to get access to. But then what that, what that does then is (…) I cannot then exist in my femininity and I don't think I've had (…) I have not seen anyone or a I have seen an architect (…) female architect or black female architect flourishing as being a WOMAN. You know they kind of always have to roughen up or (…) be aggressive or, I don't know (…) kind of fall into this masculine force to kind of get there. Um (…) and I think right now that I am at that stage that I'm learning about femininity and I am getting to learn about just being a woman and it's crazy cause it's so foreign to me (…) so foreign just tapping into your divine feminine goddess. We don't know these things because we have to fight, you know, and be competitive or whatever. (laughing). So Jaa, its interesting (…) (laughing).

Above she also reveals the notion that being gendered as a woman can be a space of competition and exploration. Her honesty of being gendered as a woman and as an architect shines a light on the path of participants' struggles in the culturing they undertake. Leaving the city and coming back to her rural home, Participant I had observed how women had more agency, that

the women displayed their knowledge of opportunities and alternatives. In her own words, she describes the rural and the urban below:

> I was exposed to a lot of things just stepping out of home and not to say home is less (…), backward. Home is great. I think I gained so much also from being home with (…) it weighs the same as being in the city. Both have advantages and disadvantages, but I think there's something about living in this parallel (…) parallel worlds of rural and urban. (…) urban teaches you something that you can invest back home and the rural (…) and vice versa. So, it's, it's (smiling) it's amazing and interesting at the same time.
> So, the urban teaches you to go but to go back home and develop and the rural teaches you to go to a city and be humane and calm. kind of navigate more in on assurance scale and not be so aggressive and toxic. But I think those are the parallels that I see. And people who … who move between those spaces are (…) they, they, they, they move they have, they have control, a lot of control of certain things, because I think they understand how to (…) um (…) balance both (…) it is never great.

Participants B and I (based on quotes above) related to the gendered narrative in relation to the characteristics of the gendered roles (for example masculine and feminine traits displayed). On the other hand, Participants A, C D and E discussed the "engagement" between men and women (or male and female) as an indication of gender and/or sex as a description of the gender narratives (for example how women are perceived and treated).

4.1.5 Household productive and reproductive tasks assigned to gender roles

The productive and reproductive tasks were explained to be somewhat of a presumption of division of labour by all the participants – that men are to be the main financial providers and women to do the reproductive labour tasks of motherhood and gendered spousal commitments in the home and family. What is uncertain is how the participants' own career ambitions or views of providing financially for their family fit into this. Participants A, E and H described guilt feelings for not always being there for their children and choosing work over family time. Participants A, D and F explained that their husbands helped them with domestic tasks such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, and ironing, but this did not include the duties of being a mother. The fact that they explained that their spouses helped them suggests that they still felt that these were their duties. Both Participants A and D explained that they were currently the main breadwinners and thus they justified the help and the "role" reversals. Participant A here explains her thinking around the gendered roles:

> But I think it's his way of assisting me in a way because of the fact that I'm at this point in time, essentially that is the primary breadwinner.
> (…) I think he has (…) I think there was a, there was a time a few years ago when the roles were slightly reversed where I did not have solid income, so I did all of these things as sort of a support structure.
> So that just shows that that gender role, it's ingrained in us still. Even though with (…) the sort of forward thinking (…) the modern idea of our relationship, it is still (…) it's still there, deep down, it's still ingrained

> in what we do.
> (…) The perception could be that it potentially, it goes back to what it was before. Yeah, but I don't know if I want that. I would love it if he, if he had received the projects, and that he can do the work that he wants to (…) mostly because it would make him feel more empowered. Um (…) but I don't think I will ever be able to go back to (…) I mean, it would be interesting to see what happens if we both have the same workload. Who will be the one ending up having to do the cooking? Doing the dishes and doing the washing? Because I'm feeling it would be me (…).

Above, Participant A displays her concern that the gender roles will return to the assumed narrative of the man being the provider and doing the productive labour tasks, leaving the reproductive labour tasks up to her to perform once her husband earns money again. Participant B explained that during a time in her career she also had to make decisions based on her being the main breadwinner, advancing in her career and breastfeeding in a suit. She explained that it was not the best solution and it had to end, so she eventually left the practice to pursue working for herself. This suggests that she needed the flexibility and autonomy to navigate her own schedule for performing her productive labour and reproductive labour tasks. Participant C explained that she found the assigned gendered reproductive tasks of mothering in the workplace annoying when she had to be the one "thinking and bringing the cake for somebody's birthday" – she experienced the mental and emotional labour that was expected of her tiring and distracting. Participant D explained that she did the prescribed reproductive tasks like ironing the linen and providing an order of things in their home currently (like packing things away and creating a pleasant aesthetic in the home; her husband let things "go" otherwise) in order to allow her husband to claim the manly tasks of DIY; otherwise, she felt she would be doing everything and she explained how this did not affect his ego. Below, she reflects how this is a good thing for her:

> So, he's very hands on. He does a lot of drilling in various things up and I let him do that. I used to be able to do that when I was without him. Yeah, and as soon as he pitched up, okay. He's very good with his hands making things putting these together. I'm going to relinquish my ability to do that, which I could always do. I'm not going to do it (…) I will let him to do it for me, because it does something to the ego if you do too many things and it's convenient to just not be there (…) not do that. let's not be too clever. Don't be too interesting.

What Participant D suggests in her actions is that it is sometimes rewarding to abide by the gendered narrative in order to achieve more collaborative exchanges. This was echoed by Participant E when she talked about gender in the workplace and how it could be to one's advancement (see Chapter 5). The only different experience in gendered tasks in marriage/partnership was discussed with Participant E who was in a same sex partnership. She explained that the reproductive tasks were assigned bi-weekly. Every other week she took on all the reproductive labour tasks and explained that when she did that, she was a 'wife' to her partner and the next week it was her partner's turn. This gave the other the turn to be the 'man' for that week and not to have to take care of the

domestic tasks while the other was the woman performing the tasks. She did add that modern technology frees her up to be able to hang the washing and have a structured call with a client at the same time. She explained that this allowed her to overlap roles and made her more productive where she would normally only start work at 11 am in the mornings.

The requirement to conduct reproductive tasks as a woman is often too burdensome and Participants A, B, E, D, F and H employed a woman to either help part time or full time with the various tasks. Participants A, B, E, F and H employed women to help with caring for the children as either nanny or au pair and Participants A, D, F H and E also had help in with cleaning their home. Participants C, G and I were young and not earning enough to employ someone and thus they did the reproductive tasks automatically. It was a source of laughter at some point because the younger participants just declared the reproductive tasks did not need to get done. Participant G was the only one with a live-in partner with whom she shared the reproductive tasks but both kept hours that might demand longer working hours and she declared that they 'just split it'. Participants A and H both displayed carrying an emotional weight with the sense of guilt not being able to perform certain tasks as a mother, spouse and also their own self-care. Participant H explained that she retired early to be with her children.

> I apologised to my son recently about being an absent mother. I could not fulfil the role of an architect and a mother. I have such guilt feelings. But (…) I have been feeling guilty that I haven't spent enough time with my children. That they were raise by other people. I sacrificed my family (…).

Motherhood was a topic about which the women had similar points of view and the influences of tasks related to that role responded in similar ways. Participants B, E and F both took ownership of their motherhood tasks and shaped their work life and home life around their assigned tasks. Participants' reproductive labour tasks dictated the duties within their private lives, and they revealed that they managed these duties and commitments around their productive labour tasks from their professional career.

4.2 Gendered assumptions: attributes assigned to women and the process of being gendered

Based on the predefined narratives and culture of gendering in South Africa, the attributes the participants as women had to display comprised a threefold expectation. Firstly, to be a woman is to look a certain way; secondly, to be a spouse is to perform certain tasks; and lastly, to be supportive and to be a mother is to nurture, as illustrated in Figure 4.2. Participants A, B and D explained how femininity and gentle demeanour were linked to being a woman, Participant C said that women were normalised when they were petite, prim and proper but would not get what needed to be

done when acting like that as an architect. Participants A, C, D, F and G discussed how the beauty of women was perceived to get attention from men. Whilst Participant F welcomed the objectification and attention that she received from grooming herself, she also disliked it when the comments were too sexual or, in her words, "below the belt". Participants A and I echoed the discomfort they felt when they were treated like sexual objects. Participant G mentioned how she had observed that some women enjoyed the attention, while Participant G mentioned how she was sexualised from an early age to desire being a spouse to someone. Participants A, B, E, G and H explained how they were often seen as 'the help' and not taken seriously because they were women. Participants B, C and D observed that they had to take on nurturing/mothering roles within their workplace. Participants A, B, D, E, F and I mentioned how they were socialised to be good communicators as women and that they were driven to assist in good community making or fruitful environments.

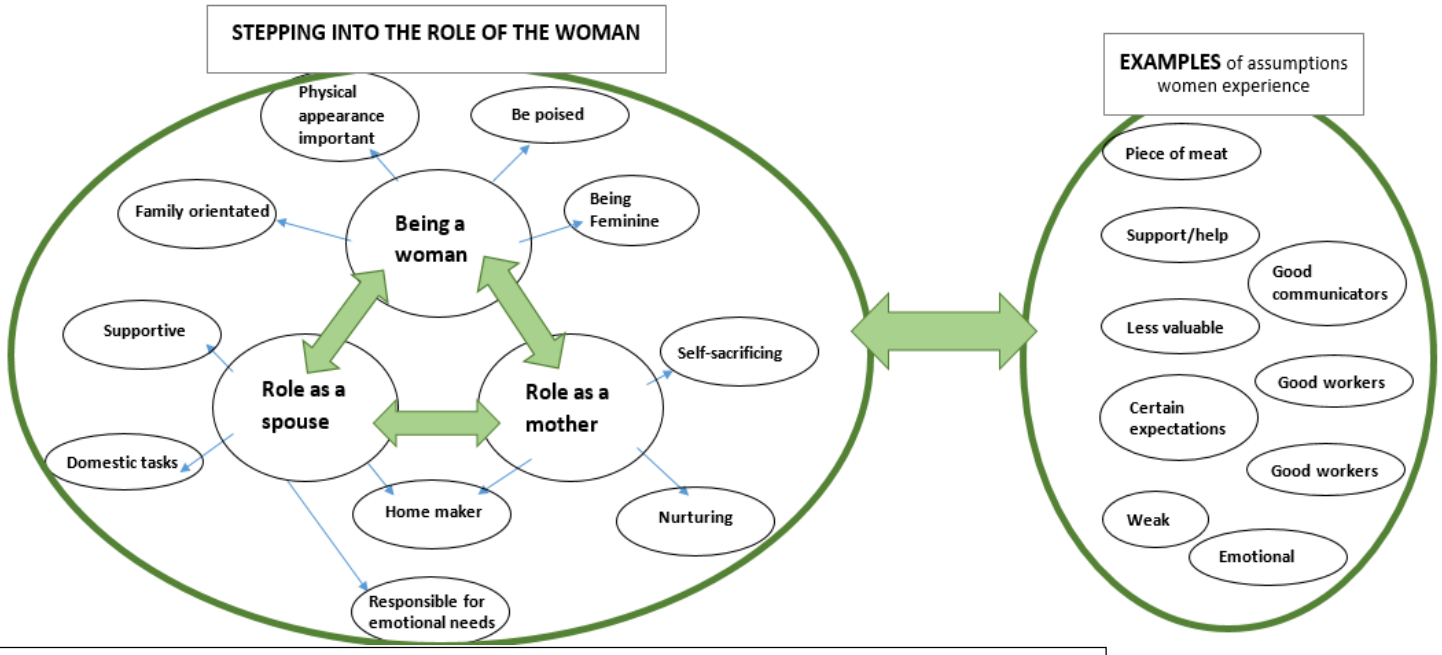

Figure 4.2 – The experiences of being gendered and meeting the gendered narrative

The three roles that are associated with being socialised as a woman are illustrated in Figure 4.2, along with how the external environment has influenced and continues to assist in gendering the women through interactions and experiences throughout their childhood. The diagram explores how the three roles are inscribed as the holistic role of a woman and how the external environment reinforces and expects certain behaviour from the participants.

4.3 Personal discord

The personal discord of the participants is based on how the they navigate their lived experiences as women through revealing their internal dialogues throughout the interviews. These dialogues display their internal knowledge of their own abilities, fight or flight responses during recounting traumatic experiences, showcasing how the women navigate limitations or barriers based on gendered assumptions they encountered in their lives. The personal discord is often influenced by the culture of gendering but occurs throughout the interviews.

An example is when Participant A contemplated her understanding of being gendered and her potential career choice as an architect:

> I've always, when, when this journey started in high school, thinking about architecture (…). I actually never thought that I would be able to be an architect because I'm a woman. That was the that was actually a thought that I had. So maybe there was something deeply ingrained gender issues, but I didn't know I actually had, yes (…)

With this example she reveals how she thought of herself in relation to the potential male career choice and how she did not consider this until she went to a lecture on architecture by a women architect. Her own internal discord about what she is allowed and not allowed being gendered as a woman is evident.

4.3.1 Self-reflections

All the participants reflected on how they experienced tense encounters regarding gender in their external environment. Through the intersectional lens of class, race, age, culture, language; the self-reflections of the participants varied in display of emotional and intellectual contemplation based on their experiences. The participants explained through their interviews the external environment they encountered and how they were gendered in their roles based on how they had been raised in relation to the expectations from them. Participant I explains through her self-reflection below how she was gendered into being constantly yielding as a woman:

> I'm just speaking from my experience, but maybe if you speaking to a male, it could be in ways that I may not understand. But I think I'm just speaking with regards to my relation, and just observed relations with, with the men I've been around. Also, remember, I come from quite a traditional, it's not extremely traditional, but it's quite rural areas are quite traditional and quite strict, straightforward, white and black. No, you have to just (…) they say this the saying (…) (inaudible) they say most of the time. So that means like, a woman hold, you know, a knife, you, they say a woman should hold it (…) even on the sharpest side. like (…) you have to be able to just hold it.
> S o that means you just bear with it. You just have to take it and deal with it and soldier on and it will be okay. So, it's that thing with men not. It's not the same. They can like leave, or whatever. And it's just they have so much agency. And I don't know if it's because we do this to ourselves or I don't know, it just I'm still trying to kind of (…) um (…) understand that as well. And it's been instilled in us for a very long time.

Above, Participant I reveals the responsibility she knows that comes from being a woman and the burden it places on her existence.

4.4 Summary

All the participants alluded to a gendered role, but they mostly spoke about their responses to the gendered role in relation to the narrative. For example, Participants A, F and H felt guilty for not always being able to do committed duties because they chose their work over their domestic responsibilities. Participant I touched on important points of leadership assertiveness and how these were perceived negatively in being a woman. Participants A, C and E also related to the dualistic rules that are ascribed to women and working, and that the gendering of women is based on previous experiences of other women, which suggests the tension women experience in South Africa due to the vastness of different ways women are gendered through cultures. However, the assumed narrative is a culmination of many different things women did before she arrived, and she is expected to immolate and step into that expectation. Participant I later added that she had observed that she might arrive as a woman but asked the question: would she be received as the woman she arrives at? This suggests that the women that have internalised the gendered role might not be asking these questions. In Participant I's reflecting on being gendered as a woman, she is asking herself what womanhood means to her due to her dabbling in both masculine and feminine characteristics. This insight assisted the creation of Figure 4.2.

The interviews with the nine women revealed that they had assumptions and presumptions about themselves and other women – how they act, how they are, how they present themselves, how they are presented as women in the built environment. The analysis revealed three roles in which they were gendered as women and how this was reinforced by their families, communities, location, the South African context, and their encounters through their commitments as a spouse and motherhood. The roles (woman, spouse and mother) entail certain expectations from the external environment (of men and women) that being gendered as a woman is performed in a predefined manner. The assumptions based on women being a weaker sex results in women being perceived as unable to fulfil roles of leadership or assertive behaviour. The requirement of women to be "reasonable", "poised", yet assumed "volatile", "emotional" and because of the inevitable "period" has an exhausting effect on the women. Some of the participants spoke of striving for perfection (Participants A, D, F and G) whilst others were still trying to understand how to navigate the expectations and assumptions (Participants C, G and I). The homogenous nature of the preconceptions of gendered women's role puts pressure on women's lives for it dictates/expects

them to act a certain way based on what another woman has done in the past or what is expected of what a woman is supposed to be or do.

Chapter 5: Culture of Architecture

Based on Figure 5.1 the theme *Culture of Architecture* refers to the cultural makeup of the architectural industry and the personal discord experienced by the women who are architects. As a theme, it speaks to the cultural effect the architectural industry has on the participants and influences the experiences the women face in their daily lives as practising architects. This theme reflects the path in the "making" of a professional practising architect and consists of architectural education, the architecture practice, the office culture, and an architect's various tasks, professionalism, and mentoring in architecture.

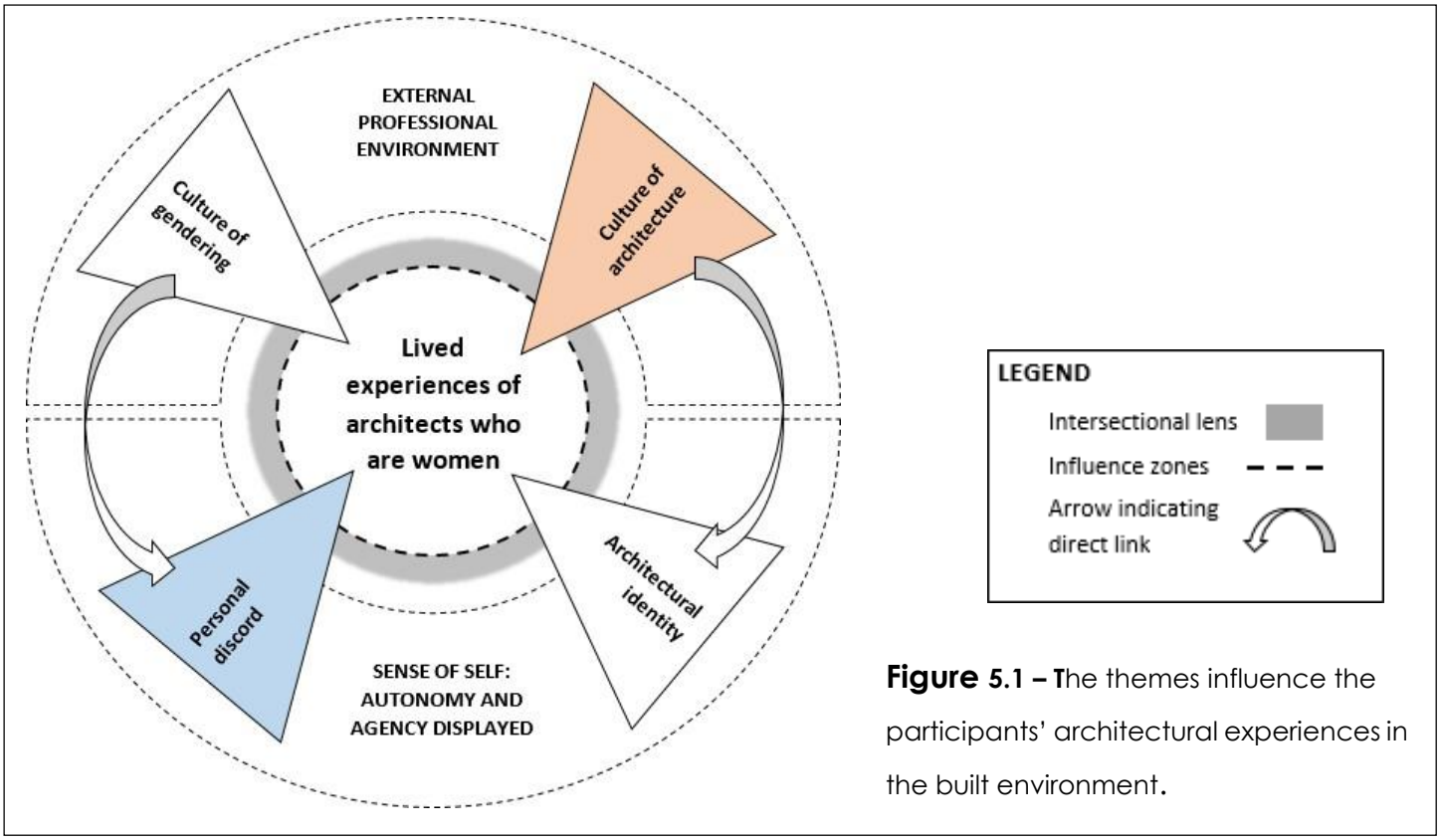

Figure 5.1 – The themes influence the participants' architectural experiences in the built environment.

5.1 Architecture as a career choice

For this research study, it was important to observe and collect data on why the participants decided to study architecture since practising architecture is often described as a vocation. All the participants displayed a talent towards creative expression in relation to either practical application or in combination with science and maths from an early age.

Participants A, B, D, E and H explained that they had early indications and knowledge in their childhood that they wanted to pursue architecture as a career. They played/practised being architects with friends or pursued drawings and projects related to their schoolwork. Participants C, F and I found architecture as a career choice as a fit to their attributes and aspirations regarding design, practical application and technical abilities through either an aptitude test or through being exposed to architecture during their schooling. All the participants told the story of how they had discovered that they wanted to do architecture. Participant A explains best how she and her mother knew that it was right for her with the following recollection of that moment:

> Funny story, I was in standard eight, and I wanted to play the violin. And there was a violin teacher that taught at our school as an external mural subject. And he said that he does not take all the students. So, I begged him to come audition.
>
> And in the end, he did accept me as a student. So, he at that point, was studying architecture. So, he was in his second year. And I was fascinated by this, the models and things that were standing around his house. I remember him (…) And he asked me, if I (…) he asked me to draw a bird's eye view of my room, and which I've been doing really well (…) he said*, well, you obviously have a really good spatial experience*. So, this is interesting. So that's actually where it sparked.
> A year later, which was actually I was in a talk with a friend of mine, of my mum's daughter, (…) she studied architecture first year. So, I went to a lecture with her during my holiday. And it was fascinating. It was absolutely amazing. I remember I was in a lecture of history of (…) what we call an essentially history of architecture. And I was hooked. I was stuck, I thought this is what I want to do. And went home told my parents because at that point, I was kind of fluctuating between medicine and architecture.
> And my mom smiled. And she pulled out these little books that my brother, my brother, and I chose a few books. And there she pulls out these little books that said, *Voor daar boukuns was*. So, it's essentially (…) uh (…) sort of an architectural history little, little book. And, and she said *it seems that this has been coming for a while*. So, because I never really (…) you know, I'm just actually realising this now. I've always, when when this journey started in high school, thinking about architecture (…) I actually never thought that I would be able to be an architect because I'm a woman. That was the… that was actually a thought that I had. So maybe there was something deeply ingrained gender issues, but I didn't know I actually had, yes (…)

What Participant A revealed here is that she had always thought architecture was gendered toward men and therefore she needed a visual and intentional prompt to realise that it was something she could pursue as a woman. Participants A, B, D, H and I also explained how their artistic and practical talents were noticed by their parents, who encouraged and nurtured them by providing the support during secondary education. Participant I here explains in her own words:

> So, it's all these layers of things that and umm. we're already, just (…) (gesturing with hands) (…) at a disadvantage, and (…) So I am, I'm (…) introduced to the world with a disadvantage. So then, I started going to high school in Johannesburg. Um (…) I actually, that's when I did ballet in (…) Luckily, my mom, my parents were able to identify my crafts, or like my talents, so (…) I was able to (…) they were able to try call people to ask*, oh, my child is good at this. And I don't know what school to take her* (…) Because the school's back home is like, very underdeveloped. So (…) I wouldn't get, I wouldn't be able to get the needs that I wanted from from those schools. So, then I went to NSA National School of the Arts.

All participants displayed a sense of satisfaction in choosing architecture as a career by providing examples of how they overcame certain obstacles to get into or continue in architecture. The participants explained that the career choice was made because they (and their parents) saw it as a professional career option rather than just a job or a way of life (like being an artist). Recounting that they chose architecture is a significant aspect for all the participants and seems important to the women to establish that they belonged in the architectural industry.

The one thing that stood out through the intersectional lens was the positionality of opportunities in society the participants had/have experienced in their lives. The opportunities influenced the various reasons for choosing architecture, for example it was based on the sense of fulfilment for Participants A, B, D, H, F and G and a sense of duty and responsibility for Participant E and I. Participant A explained that if someone is drawn to architecture, they already somehow know how much it encompasses their whole life in relation to space, community making and performance of space. Participant I echoed this when she explained that she never knew that architecture was something beyond brick and mortar when she grew up. However, once she learnt about architecture in her secondary school, she internalised the tools of architecture to build and develop the spaces around her rural home. She mentioned the inequality of space making based on apartheid principles and that she felt the responsibility to use her skills of architectural building.

5.2 Education

This section deals with the experiences the participants recounted, which ranged from secondary to postgraduate experiences.

5.2.1 Secondary education

During the interviews, secondary education school subjects were mentioned in relation to choosing architecture and preparatory steps needed to qualify for a university degree. The participants either explained that they had interest in art subjects, dance, practical design application during play (Participants A, B, D, E, F, H and I) or by the balancing of practical school subjects like science and maths (Participant G) in relation to design, drawing artistically or technically (Participant C). The requirement of these subjects as combinations was what most universities required in conjunction with a matric exemption. Participant I explained the toll it takes to complete the various levels of education and development of schools: "Moving from a rural community, I was afforded the opportunities to enter schools with more resources". Based on this information, she elaborated on how important it was to consider that South African students are to "compete" and perform at

university as if there was an equal start in the educational space. She added that it was important to allow the transiting between spaces for all learners as well as access to creative and artistic spaces to express themselves. Participant B echoed the notion that opportunities for learners in South Africa should be made equal and sensitively considered. Secondary preparation in relation to choosing and pursuing architecture is an important first step of architectural education. This supports the notion that pursuing architecture as a career was not something taken lightly in the participants' lives and thus the dedication to complete their architectural studies was taken very seriously. In the university experience and the gendered experience, most of the participants revealed that lecturers treated students equally related to gender. However, throughout the conversation most participants remembered gendered marginalisation throughout their studies. All the participants mentioned that the ratio of men lecturers towards women lecturers was higher, and the examples of design, architects and lecturers were mostly men. All the Participants (A, B, D, E, F and F) over thirty experienced the fact that most lecturers were white men, yet they could recall one or two women lecturers who stood out for them, and they commented that there were women idols, and that the curriculum was based on the western ideal of architecture and space making. The younger Participants C, G and I all mentioned a greater diversity of lecturers of gender and ethnical background and Participant G mentioned how the race and class of the lecturer and their views showed her the variety of expertise she admired and enjoyed. The participants mentioned a fair proportion of female students and suggested that they comprised between 40% to 60%, depending on the year of study and the tertiary institution. The only participant who mentioned that women students were in the minority was Participant A, who was studying a new degree in interior architecture where all the students were women.

Although the participants noticed the gendered script in education, they each observed this differently. Participants E, F and G mentioned that they experienced university as a more gender-neutral environment than what they were used to. However, Participant A criticised a lecturer and herself when she did not act graciously and used her calm demeanour to get ideas across. The lecturer acting outside the gendered prescribed script of dressing correctly was mocked and demeaned behind her back. She recalled that the lecturer, who did not wear a bra, dressed more naturally and the students, herself included, gave the lecturer a hard time.

The older Participants B, D, E and H recounted knowledge of sexual harassment of women students by men lecturers or students. Participant E said there were moments she was cornered in the materials storeroom, but she showed her assertive side by warning that “it is not going to happen”.

Participant F mentioned sexual harassment by a gay lecturer towards promising men students and another lecturer who hyper-sexualised architectural design and equated it to the female body during his lecturers. She explained that it was noticeable by all the students that he was 'gross' and 'being dodgy'. Participant D saw first-hand how a lecturer touched a woman student during the crits and quickly mentioned in the interview that "he tried with her" but she explained how she had made a concerted effort to stay out of his way. Participant D experienced a sexist moment during a 'crit' when she was accused of using her boyfriend to do her work because it was a very bold and a good design. Testicles were used to describe her work as a display of manliness and boldness in her designs; there was laughter, which was a cause of embarrassment for her. She recounted how she was left confused and deflated after all her work. It is an indication that body parts of a person's sex are reused to be a metaphor for masculine characteristics. This suggests the enforcement of the binary narrative that men are masculine, bold, strong and women feminine, gentle and understated.

Participants B and E recounted how the women students were a lot more diligent in their work and thus got higher marks due to their work ethic. Participant F explained how certain men students received more attention from a lecturer (which she learnt years later), that they were invited to the lecturer's home, and that their marks were the highest in the class.

All the participants talked about working closely with others, having 'crits' independently from lecturers, and working late at night.

5.2.2 Undergraduate studies versus post-graduate studies

Most participants (excluding Participants A and B) recounted that there was a vast difference in teaching in undergraduate versus postgraduate education. All the participants commented on the workload intensity, explaining that it took dedication beyond what is normally required and long working hours as well as intense concentration. Participant C explained how her lecturers in undergrad would often say that most of them would not make it and she felt that because of her tough upbringing she would be able to handle whatever was thrown at her. Postgraduate studies are described as mentoring and guiding where the closest relationships happen between student and lecturer. Most participants explained this supervisory relationship and engagement as a mentoring process.

Participants D and I both discussed how getting their degrees in different universities in different locations helped them to experience and assess their knowledge and to add to their architectural

skills sets. The movement between the different universities gave them different strengths in applying and seeing architecture. Whilst Participant D explained how her undergrad provided her with design skills, she managed to acquire very good theoretical knowledge in her postgraduate studies. Participant I's undergraduate studies helped her gain skills in design and drawings, while her postgraduate studies taught her how to know herself and be able to speak confidently about her architectural designs.

Both spoke highly of the experience of changing universities. Participants D and I discussed how challenging it was to try to achieve the predefined aspect of what good architecture is in undergrad at the university they attended. The master-mystery they had to try to match made it difficult for them to know what they were lacking. In the quote below Participant D explains how she experienced her undergraduate studies:

> I always put it down to cultural knowledge. They were(..) they were unspoken, there was no theory. So, there was no explanation of why things were they were (..)it was all about your gut. It's all about how what your sensibility (..)what you felt, and I would like listen to crits and think, How the hell did she know to do that and that the lecturers would like it? Why don't they like what I'm doing? And it was never really skills based, it was taste based. Just was like beautiful architecture is beautiful. What is it beautiful for you? What makes it beautiful? Why is that approach? So amazing? And(..) and what I'm doing (..)not? And that how do I know? How do I enter into the thing? And I always used to do well in conceptual stuff. I'm still more strong conceptually.

Participant C was in the same postgraduate master's program as Participant I and explained how the institution's teaching method allowed them to explore their own skills, knowledge, and views and how it was applied to their design and technical skills. This made her confident in knowing herself and how to conduct herself confidently in all spaces. This was not about knowing the world but about helping her understand herself in relation to architecture and being an architect. In the following quote, Participant C explains the difference between the two approaches of undergraduate and postgraduate studying as a surprise.

> But I think what, what actually did that made that shift, it was my post grad. I mean, it's, it's insane. Nobody tells you, that masters are all about, you know, you figuring out who the hell you are, and where you're gonna go. I mean, it's obvious, as soon as you're in there, and you're tied in, and you can't get out. But nobody tells you that this, it's this massive exploration of who you are and what you want. I mean, that, to me, was quite a, it was a shift. Because up to that point, I had been doing everything I could to (…) uh satisfy someone else. To kind of make the cut to, you know, be what I thought they wanted (me) to be or what they actually explicitly said.
> (…) Because I think for the first time, I realised that people are not going to make the rules all your life, you know, people are not going to set the bar wherever you know, they go, sometimes you have to do it.
> And then Holy shit. That's a different ballgame. Very different ballgame. Masters definitely told me what I, what I am. It doesn't necessarily didn't necessarily touch on what I want or where I want to go. But it did solidify my thoughts of, you know, what I (…) what I see when I look at things and I think I have a

> very particular way of dealing with people in (…). Listen to that. Everybody does a bunch of general stuff every day, but you forget that.

The suggestion that Participant C experienced being initiated into autonomy and agency in relation to her own life could either mean she was socialised to look for guidance and rules from others and/or that in her maturing in the making of a professional architect she was shown how to embody it.

5.2.3 University location

The interviews revealed that diverse South African tertiary institutions have different approaches to teaching architectural content and professionalism in architecture.

Participants B, C, F and G all mentioned that they had to consider various institutions for studying and how the universities and their location mattered in the decision making. Participant B grew up in a coastal town and mentioned that the most highly regarded architectural tertiary education when she had to decide where to apply was at a sought-after university. Due to family pressures, having academic parents, she rejected technical universities and colleges and decided based on the ranking and the location of her university.

Participants A and F, who went to the UP at the same time, mentioned that they were taught "the greats", referring to the internationally renowned starchitects. They explained that it was a studio-based teaching program with separate subjects for technology, history and theory of architecture. Participants B, D, E, H and I all did their undergraduate degree at the same university and described studio-based 'crits' and student interactions as the main aspect they remembered and enjoyed. Participant D explained how she struggled with technology and design and was told to rather do art because she was not good at tectonics. But once she took a semester off, she decided to continue with architecture due to her love of it. She was then approached by another lecturer in the studio who saw her work and realised that she had been understanding it all along. She just did not know how to draw the technology correctly. This is a great example of how the master-mystery style of teaching neglects students with the label 'they just don't get it' or 'don't have the ability to do it' instead of cultivating the knowledge by building skills to achieve the objective of knowledge transfer and effectively detailing architectural sections.

According to Participants C and I their postgraduate degree used a unit system that was "student lead" with tutors. The outcome is that the graduates are versed in being the principal agent and can lead any creative project, starting other professions as well, such as the film industry. Both

explained how the institution's teaching method had developed a certain knowledge about themselves in relation to how they are in the world. Participant C explained it as a way she "now sees the world" and Participant I felt that she could "breathe now" because she felt that she had the right to express herself authentically.

Participants D and G revealed that there is a perception in the industry that students coming from a certain university are more design orientated and less technically inclined. Participant E discussed the changes in education. She often mentored students and mentioned the fact that the current education is using modern technology and how the work is done on computers. This made the sharing of design and accidental collaborative engagement different and might lead to isolation in current students.

Participant G was the only interviewee who had attended a university of technology and her four-year BTech degree awarded her the highest in SACAP ranking of senior architectural technologists whereas other universities' undergraduate programs awarded them the same title.

5.2.4 Hierarchy in architectural education

All the participants alluded to a hierarchy of importance in the ranking of architectural professionals and an understanding that a professional architect is at the top. Participants A, F and G explained that anything in front of architecture such as interior, urban or landscape ranked below its purest form of architecture and thus importance in the industry. In Participants A and G's view, in so-called lower ranking architectural degrees, the type of education is also seen in light of its importance, with design universities at the top. The lower ranks in architecture are often also paid in a hierarchical form defined by SACAP. Participants A, F, and G revealed their prejudice of internalised classification with a Freudian slip by explaining how another role player may have taken them for the interior designer, and the participants tried to avoid the lower ranking by explaining how they corrected the misperception. Participant A (transferred from architecture to interior architecture) explained how she was undermined for holding the title of interior architect, yet she often found that she knew just as much or more than the principal architect because of her experience, spatial knowledge and design knowledge of materials. Participant A expresses the impact this has on her daily life as follows:

> (…) that's something that is very prevalent in my day to day, even today. There's kind of hierarchy of architecture (…). But I've got kind of dealt with that, from a personal perspective (a) while ago(..) (to) Accept the tool that I can't, I can't register at SACAP, that is the tool that I missed. Because of the fact that my, my, my degree does not allow me to, which(..) I don't know if that's necessarily a gender issue, but it's very frustrating(..) (laughter).

> So, with (…) so essentially, having all of the skills and the tools that my counterparts had in the same studio (…) which I find is (…) excuse my French, fucking ridiculous. (laughter) Um, because I've, I feel in some instances that I have a better approach to design and architecture than people who have that, that skill or that tool at their disposal.

Participant A explained how it affected and followed her in her career and how decisions were made when she was younger. This aspect of marginalisation in architecture was echoed by Participant G, who explained how she was experiencing discrimination due to her degree at a university of technology and that she was also unable to break free from the ceiling it created for her. Participant G could only afford going to a technical university and hence her title and position as determined by SACAP and the negative effect it had on her salary and professional standing. She explained that only with more studies (not through gaining experience) and doing her master's would she be able to attain a higher status. She mentioned how some months this was crippling her financially. She had to choose between going to the doctor or paying her professional SACAP fees. She added how the architects she worked for exploited her skills and talents by paying her low fees, claiming that they could not afford more, yet she observed them going for international holidays. This happened after she had to receive a pay cut during COVID and remained with the same income for three years.

The cost of university and architectural studies is very high, and the day-to-day cost of producing designs is not included in the fees. In the interviews, Participants C, G and I mentioned how costly their studies were and that they all managed it only with the help of bursaries. This suggests that because they were under 30, their knowledge and memory of the cost of studying was still fresh in their minds. All three mentioned the cost of travel to and from campus as well as the fact that certain universities were more expensive than others. Participant C mentioned the dedication to complete their studies with the price tag attached as evidence of their dedication and intent to be successful in architecture. This is a statement that is not made lightly, for it is often mentioned that women should just have a bit more grit to be able to "do architecture", which was echoed and supported by Participants B and F.

5.2.5 The South African context's impact on education

The history of South Africa in relation to the apartheid policies and unrest during the 20th century was mentioned by all the participants over 50. They spoke of the influences from parents and fellow students during university protests and other activism. Participants B, D, E and H referred to the unrest and student protests in relation to their studies and how they were partially insulated and in a "bubble" at the school of architecture. Participants B and H recalled how older male students joined

them after their "national service" and how this allowed them freedom to move around with these men as they had cars. Participants B, E and H talked about safety on campus and how it was important to stay safe during long hours (all-nighters) of work completing projects. They also mentioned the protests but because their studies demanded so much time, they rather focused on the studies. Some form of guilt was evident as they declared they had believed they (Participant B and E) could do more "good" once they graduated than to protest during their studies. Participant H explained how she and her classmates wondered whether some of the older men in their class coming from "national service" were spies and therefore they did not declare their political standing out loud at the time. Participant D spoke of the South African context in relation to its diversity and separate "bubbles" as cultural bubbles that did not know or naturally integrate because of apartheid laws about segregation. She explained how at UCT there was a division of students based on the apartheid classifications.

She explained that she believed her own marginalisation, experiences of discrimination and othering were based on "Anglo Saxon arrogance" and marginalisation in schools, while Participant I spoke of the types of education in certain schools and the unequal access to funding and resources.

The student protests that erupted in 2015 – 2019 with the #Rhodesmustfall and #feesmustfall movements echoed similar inequalities in education and in South Africa. Participants G and I recalled how the student protests influenced their experiences at tertiary education and teaching; Participant I discussed the emotional impact and experience the student protests had on her and that she felt she was not represented in the curriculum of architecture:

> And I think we were the group of students that (…) There was we had a lecturer who was giving us a lesson and we weren't really we weren't happy with the material that we were given. We wanted material that related to us more. And one more way I can see a reflection of myself in it. And not (…) I don't want to see myself as like, oh, they were slaves, and then they were in just huts. And you know. I don't think (…) I don't, I don't think Africans are (…) can be minimalised as such to those two things with regards to architecture, and just just their existence. So, we wanted more like feed me more like I want to understand this blood that runs through my skin. And I want to understand how not just how I got here, but that way I can go as well. So, a lot of those the words that we were showing were like Greek architecture, classical architecture, so it was just like so. I was so tired. You're so tired of seeing it. (…) So, we just needed a bit more like, African content. Like, you know, so. And not just even that like Ndebele, Tswana (…) Like, just all of it. We wanted, like a lot of it just as much as we got of western or European architectural themes. And you just realise *that oh, wow. Like, we are really being brainwashed.*

Whilst Participant I explained the student protests from what was desired, Participant G spoke about forming and heading a student committee that liaised with the lecturers during the protests to negotiate the reshaping of the experiences of architectural students to enhance the access to work

environments and explain the need for reasonability in expectations of completed projects because students were not from equal economic backgrounds. She added that safety was a concern for students who lived far away and were not allowed to sleep in the studio when all-nighters were required.

> There was a lot of tension based around race (…) um (…) more than gender I think (…). Anything related to gender that really came up with more (…) from like an older male student (…). But luckily, like everyone would kind of stand up against that or (…) um (…) or just say no.
>
> But I think the biggest tension was more around race. I think CPUT was trying to also employ more lecturers of colour but there wasn't always availability, but I also think, maybe the package that they offered wasn't worthwhile for someone who, maybe is doing well in a firm. Um (…) so (…) I feel like for some students, they will (…) wasn't as much representation (…) um (…) in that regard and then also with like the whole Fees Must Fall protests. A lot of the lecturers weren't empathetic to(..). ahh(..) the lack of resources. When it came to either time or end result projects. So, I think that was the bigger and most significant divide if there was one there was. (…) There was one (…).

Above, Participant G reveals the nuances of the student protests and how lecturers as well as students tried to address the needs of the architectural students.

5.3 Mentoring

The participants explained how mentoring (a guiding relationship) assisted them to become professionals in the architectural industry. The participants spoke with endearment and respect about their relationships with their lecturers, supervisors, and mentors and the guidance they received. For Participants A, D, F and I the mentorship started during their architectural education, whilst Participants B, C, E, G, and H explained that their mentorship happened mostly post their graduation. Mentoring occurred in a variety of ways; it included the natural mentoring and connection between a lecturer and a student, the natural draw from a student towards a lecturer based on similar viewpoints, the systemic mentoring system of a lecturer being a supervisor, and the guidance and mentoring/sponsorship of a young graduate in the built environment.

5.3.1 Mentoring during education

Participants explained how the lecturer's/supervisor's role of knowledge transfer and guidance provided them with inspiration, self-knowledge and motivation to continue with their studies in order to graduate. Participants D, H, and I explained how the relationships between lecturer/supervisor and themselves became mentorship beyond tertiary education. For Participants A and F the mentoring was in the display of humanity in lecturers towards them during their studies, showing examples of how they as lecturers conducted their lives as family-loving individuals (in contrast to other lecturers who neglected their personal lives in pursuit of their careers). Participant F specifically

explained how a particular lecturer showed her that he loved rugby and his family gatherings, and this gave her heart that she too might be a successful architect.

The participants all spoke fondly of some lecturers and mentioned how their relationships were different from those they had with their teachers at school. Participants A, F and I explained how one of their lecturers became an idol they admired and whose ideologies and perspective on architecture and the world still inspired them. These aspects are mostly what the participants deemed important in their engagement with lecturers and the relational aspect of personal connection with them. For Participant A it was how the lecturer took time to apply process thinking to her process by explaining she needed to clear her thoughts in order to finish tasks. It was also how to logically apply her initial instinctive design to test its viability for the project and its context. All three participants explained that they still carried these learnings with them in their careers. Participants B and D mentioned the basic respect that they had for their lecturers and that there was a definite distance and professional relationship from their lecturers. Participant H spoke of lecturers she admired and personal connections with her postgraduate supervisors.

5.3.2 Mentoring at the beginning of the career

The mentoring relationships of the participants in the early part of their careers made them feel supported, validated and seen. All of them expressed gratitude towards the role players who had helped them in the architectural industry. Three participants (B, C and H) had a form of sponsorship as mentoring whereby they were vouched for and provided opportunities of work that enhanced their careers so that they could become principal agents of their own practices early on in their careers. All three started their own companies very early in their careers.

Participant I recalled how her relationships with lecturers helps her to keep abreast of what is going on in the architectural industry and how this makes her feel included in the academic space. It afforded her the opportunity to be part of the tutoring program as an alumnus. Participants A, C, E and H described their mentorship relationship based on respect and idealising an older colleague in the workplace who showed them the application of architectural skills that they personally admired and tried to cultivate within themselves.

5.4 Work: the architectural practice

Through the intersectional lens the participants' recounting of work experience was somewhat nuanced by years of experience, education, type of work (for example residential, commercial or industrial properties) and their age. Participants E and H observed that when they started out in the

industry, they were the only women in the industry and environment where they practised. Participant C echoed this in her current position of being in a professional partnership in her own practice. She mentioned that this was based on her work in industrial architecture in Randfontein, Johannesburg, which is a predominantly Afrikaans men dominated area.

5.4.1 The role of the architect: Type of work

The participants' workplaces ranged from being employed by a practice to self-employment. Participants D, F, G and I were currently employed in middle/large sized companies, whilst Participants A, B, C, E and H were currently either in partnerships, sole proprieties or self-employed.

All the participants had started their careers working in a practice. However, after Participants A and E were retrenched, they decided to become freelancing architects. Participants A, B, C, F and H mentioned that some companies gave too much responsibility and high workloads in relation to that responsibility to young employees. Participant A mentioned how she experienced this and realised later that she had failed to perform certain projects because of the lack of knowledge and experience. Participants B, D. C, G and E explained how they observed how other young architects were often given low-level tasks that meant very little in gaining experience, such as being the "tea girl", minute taking, window and door schedule drawings, council approval (walking plans) without proper instruction and as a way of proving grit and stamina. All the participants declared that with experience and age more senior responsibilities and respect were gained in the built environment. Through the intersectional lens, the location and work of the architect depends on the type of architect one is and the experience the women have is based on their age, position in society, their education and position in their practice.

All the participants referred to working as an architect in a practice, being the principal agent of building projects, and the importance of being a practising professional architect and the duties it entails. Self-employment was seen as the ideal position for an architect, as mentioned by Participant B, and it is what someone would work towards in order to express the individuality of professional practice. Participants A, B, C, E, and H all started their own companies out of a need to be self-reliant after being retrenched or by being given a "joint venture" opportunity with clients to run their own practice. Participants D, F, G and I were still employed in a practice setting and explained their role in the practice. Participants D and F were over 35, and they had both chosen to be professional architects in a practice due to their proclaimed experience in working well with other people and providing support rather than being the lead architect. Both understood and explained that they were better in a team than being the main driver of a practice. Participant D explained that she

realised that she as better at bringing the best out of others and this was echoed by Participants E and F.

Participants B, E, F and H explained that managing the building process as the principal agent requires cohesion (collating/liaising the various role players and their work) as well as facilitating timeous planning approval and organising of legal matters to complete a building project. Participant A and C discussed the tasks of costing as the architect, which was not part of the architectural education, and how daunting this responsibility was at times. Participant A explained that she usually procrastinated doing costing whilst Participant C found the responsibility overwhelming at times. The participants' contemplation around their work, expressions as architects and their experiences shaped their view of their role in the built environment. They revealed that the role of the architect is often defined by SACAP and other professionals as that of a practical person driving the brief of a project through its certain phases.

Figure 5.2 is based on the reflections of the participants about the fact that some architects are more community-based architects, some function based on the administrative work, adhering to regulation, legal documents, design, and conceptual architects and others see themselves as the curators and makers of spaces (project managers) that must live longer than themselves.

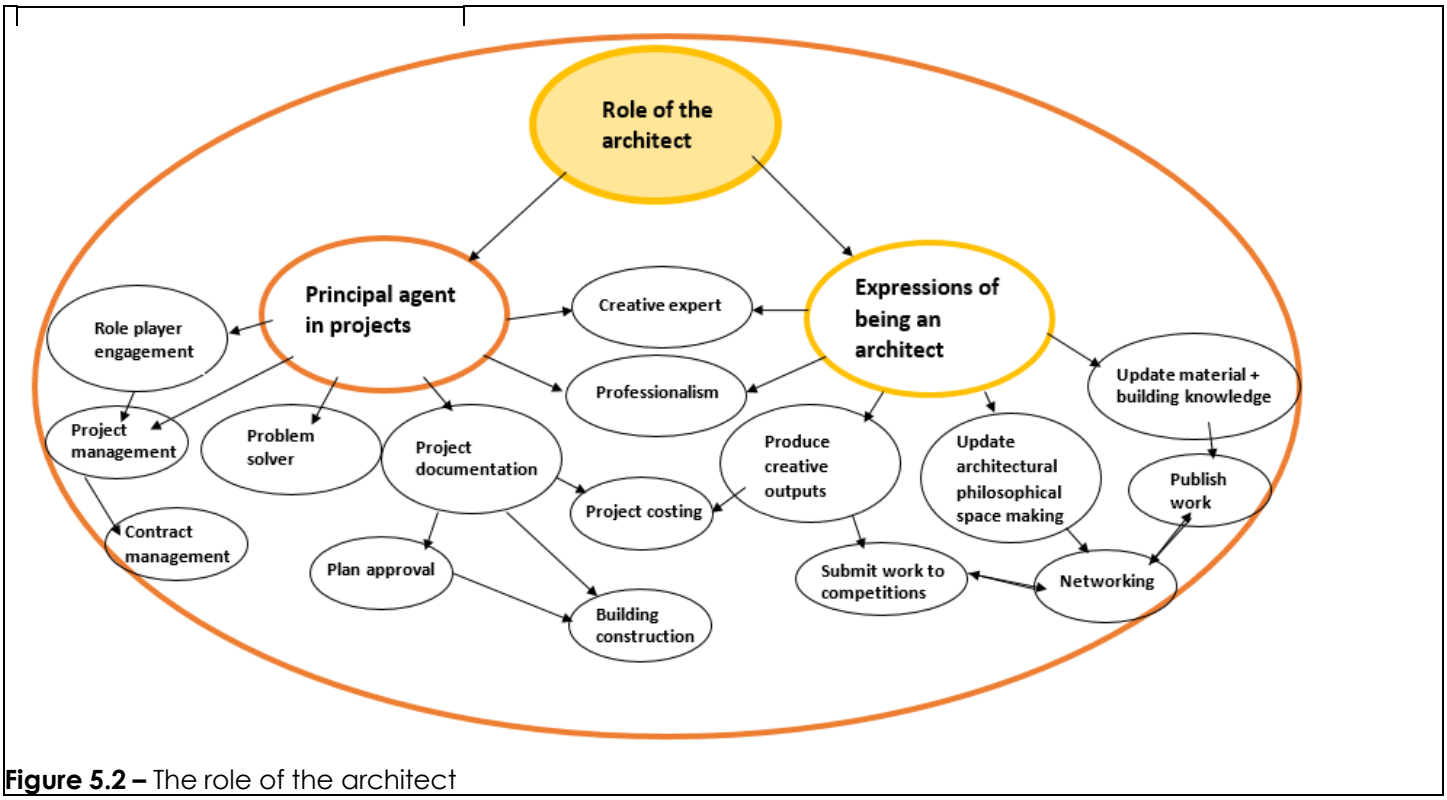

Figure 5.2 – The role of the architect

5.4.2 Enacting the role of the architect, work hours

All the participants noted that working in architecture demanded long hours that exceeded the normal 9 – 5 workday. Participants A, E and H explained that this was because the client's needs had to be met because they were the ones paying. This means that often the workload needed the day to be extended beyond office hours and either had to be completed at home or they had to stay late in the office.

It was interesting that the participants who were self-employed mentioned the long working hours yet explained that the motivation for them to work hard was to complete the project in the best possible way. The driver was not money, because the hours spent on the project far exceeded the income (Participants A, E and C).

5.5 Gendered narrative in the workplace

All the participants spoke of gender roles and the marginalisation of women that occurs in the architectural workplace. Some participants (Participants B, D, E, F and H) excluded themselves initially from the fact that they had experienced marginalisation, discrimination or sexist behaviour directed towards them but after a while felt comfortable enough to explain what they had experienced as women. From her gendered perspective, Participant F described how the men interns often pulled in the cars out of personal preference and not because they were instructed to do so based on their gender. This has to do with how gender is thus internalised and performed as a natural aspect of the workplace.

All the participants above 50 explained that "it gets better" being a woman in the perceived "male dominated industry". Participant B explained that she was provided with many opportunities and that she and her business partner often discussed how they did not know and understand the marginalised experiences of other women. Participant F initially spoke very freely about her belief that women lacked grit and that they should simply try harder. Yet later in their interviews both Participant B and F described scenarios that had inflicted trauma and marginalisation.

Participant H also denied that she was a victim of marginalisation (discrimination) but left the interview with a final comment that the industry needed fixing in relation to the experiences of women. This suggests that declaring that they had experienced any marginalisation would render them vulnerable and victims, which might conflict with their identity as a successful architect who is or has to be strong in the workplace. This relates to the strength that is not spoken of: when Participants B, F and E all explained how they experienced how women were harder workers and more diligent and meticulous in architecture than men.

As a lesbian woman born with disability, Participant E mentioned that she did not think that she was the right person to discuss the gendered aspects in architecture. She explained that she often contemplated the gendered narrative in a different manner by mentioning that it was a choice to uphold the narrative; she added that a gendered task such as being made the secretary might even benefit her because she saw details/meetings of the project she would otherwise not have seen. She suggested that the gendered narrative of binary gender roles might also harm men by excluding them from those spaces where they could learn intimate knowledge of the practice and support certain narratives that influenced the outcome of projects. She generalised and mentioned characteristics of men being seen as stronger; but she also spoke of men being gentle in nature and overlooked in the architectural industry (for this characteristic can be positive) or a woman with a strong character who challenges things. This suggests that she accepted and had internalised the gendered narrative that women are soft, kind, supportive, nurturing and men are strong, bold, assertive.

Through the intersectional lens, Participant I explained how she was treated during a probation period and her reflection on her position in society when she had asked to become permanent but was requested to stay as a temporary employee. She explains having to fight for the permanent position in her own words:

> So, it was(..) it was quite questionable on(..)on the resistance to kind of automatically just put me in permanent (…) even though I've just finished the probation period. Yeah (…)
> As to I thought I could be on values thing.
> Why is it such a change negotiation, which I can understand (…) um. Because you want, you want employees that can really do the utmost best for the company, but I thought that(..) I was in a position that I've kind of proved myself enough to be able to request something like that, also, because I'm (..)
>
> And then was the question on freelancing. So, I, I think I kind of do a bit of everything, but I try not to let the (…) like the one cause the other so I do have to do freelance (…) freelancing…
> Because I find myself extremely exhausted having to do like five things at once (…) um (…) So (…) that I know that I need that money. And I also think also like the salary umm. the salary range or rank, whatever for architects, are just just ridiculous. You know, you study for how many (…) seven years. And you also are not only competing with like (…) um (…) other people, but you're competing with men, and you're also competing with your white colleagues or your white males (…). So, it's, it's actually it's quite devastating to have to try and make amends and Jaa. So, you kind of have to scratch the surface every way and however way you can (…).
> I think the first mistake that corporates or private sectors do(..) even going to an interview that they ask, how much are you earning before? Already, that kind of sets the bar that you can't even setup or understand the value that you set up in, within the instance, within the industry.
> So, your reference is your references, it is not dissected, it's not changed, it's just gonna just stay. As is like, you can only do better from where you cut with the salary that you earned. But you can't do better on in terms of how much I actually value myself.
> If I actually stayed the figure that I know I'm worth, they wouldn't be able to afford me. But I kind of have

two days a set system that your kind of (…) Um (…).
Jaa, just that question just already sets you up for just being having a disadvantage. And I think just looking at the companies I've worked for before (…) I have, it's not transparent, so you kind of have to be (…) um (…) you'll hear in conversation that, Okay, so this person is, or you will hear that. Okay, so this white male is earning much more than I am as a black female.
However, I studied it just as much. And I know, I'm just as capable. But I'm wondering then, like, why so much? Why such a big difference? Is it because I'm just prone to like being in a township? Because that's, that's where my salary cap should, should, should kind of be because I don't need to afford Santon. I can just go to (…) to ALICE so I can just go to (…) do you get what I mean?

Above, Participant I relates to the position, the South African context, and the cost of living that are required as a professional and how it does not match the salaries offered to young architects. This is an important element in the gendered narrative for a young woman architect in South Africa who is expected to perform in a professional capacity without access to the resources it requires to be professional, for example money for a car, or medical aid.

5.5.1 Observed experiences of others

In response to being asked about how it is being a woman in architecture, many of the participants related to this question by recounting experiences from other women. This suggests that the participants either needed time to digest and relate the question to their own lives or that they were trying to deflect this question's answer away from themselves. Participants A, D, E, H and G explained that they had observed sexual harassment towards other women in various forms throughout their careers. Participant G explained how a colleague of hers would be treated badly by her previous employer, explaining that it was because she was expressively feminine, wearing dresses, wearing makeup. The lead architect she experienced as being sexist towards women and especially towards women of colour, He enjoyed making fun of women in the workplace by saying women over 30 were unemployable and useless because of their need for reproduction.

5.5.2 Own experiences

As mentioned before, towards the end of interviews all the participants started to open up about their own experiences as women in the built environment. Participants A and F both described incidences of sexual harassment in the workplace that took place in the boardroom as well as on the construction site. Participant A experienced it in an incident where a property developer objectified and made a humiliating pass at her in front of all the other role players. She explained that the laughter of the role players intensified her embarrassment. Participant F explained that she was treated as the assistant to the architect and immediately asked to join the other role player in his room at the municipality so that he could do her a favour with the plans she was walking. She

explained the discomfort she experienced for she was not sure whether the situation posed a threat. She declined and walked away pretending to find it funny. When Participant I was asked how she experienced being a woman in architecture she explained that it was not easy, that she found it exhausting and was second guessing herself at times, make her feel she herself was really the problem. Below, she adds how she considers dealing with it:

> I would say it is taxing. Almost as taxing as being black. Um (…) Urgh (…) I think (…) was a lot of it is (…) the fact that you (…) you basically try and (…) try to constantly teach and (…). Basically, lecturing people on how (…) on how you want to navigate a space (…). And some people may never get it or maybe not want to understand it. So that's where the frustration comes, comes in.
>
> But I think you are constantly (…) so you are trying to adapt or you are trying to teach people how to (…) um (…) how to cater to your needs. Um (…) so (…) it kind of falls in between two things (…). either you've been exhausted or frustrated. Um (…) But I think (…) I don't know how…

Here Participant I reveals the intention and action that stems from the interactions with others based on being a woman.

5.5.2.1 Emotional and mental labour

The participants revealed that a lot of time, self-reflection, and contemplation went into the emotional and mental labour required with the role players' engagement. Participants A and C explained how they contemplated how to speak their minds and think twice how they would approach the engagement with others around problems and letting people know that something was wrong. Participant C explained how she would think like a "guy" and how someone would perceive her as a woman coming from nowhere. She added that this was how she had perfected the art of problem solving with emails. Participant A also explained how she did a "double take" by rereading her written instructions on emails, checking that the "tone" of the email was correct. Participants G and I both described how they would later question the engagement they had in meetings (on site or in the boardroom) or in and around the office and whether their perception of the engagement was correct. All four described finding this exhausting, feeling that men architects did not have to double check their emotions. Participant A explained that if she showed anger, assertiveness or frustration she was either asked if she was having her period or was told afterwards that she needed to 'tone it down'. Feeling that she loses herself whenever she must assert herself in this violent way, it seems sometimes to be the only way to get the men to listen and act. She relates this to her socialisation of how to be a "lady" by her grandmother. Participant B added that she also at times had to assert herself to get things done the correct way and had to use her ego to do that. This she related to a masculine trait. Participant E explained how she was struggling with clients who undermined her and often wondered if they would do the same if she were a man. She had often

experienced this throughout her career.

Participants A, B, C, D, F and G described very traumatic incidents they encountered as women practising architecture and during their recounting, all of them explained how much internal checking and consoling they did in that moment. They explained the humiliation and embarrassment they felt about the incidents in relation to their emotions and actions in response to what they encountered.

5.5.2.2 Motherhood in the workplace

Participant F discussed how her current practice mostly employed women and had women interns because they were harder workers. For Participant F the duties of womanhood, spouse and motherhood were easier to juggle once she insisted on the current practice of introducing policies of maternity leave/care and flexitime. However, she still described her flexitime as a privilege that she would do anything to keep, comparing circumstances with another architect and mother in the office who was not supported by a flexi timetable but rather a half day workload that gave her a lower standing in the office. Participant F referred to the resentment and expectations from all the women to be good mothers as well as exceptional architects, adding that she still had a full set of spousal duties to fulfil at home and did the school runs during the week. For Participant B pregnancy and breastfeeding became difficult when she found herself in a suit breast pumping in her first job and decided to quit the practice because she realised that she did not want to do that.

Participants A and E explained how they were not natural mothers but wished to spend more time with their families. Participant H experienced guilt at not spending enough time with her children. Being a woman enforced certain gender roles and expectations related to the public idea of what a woman should be. Participant C spoke of being the nurturer and the mothering role and how she was naturally positioned in the workplace and expected to display mothering characteristics. For Participant C the expectation of nurturing in the workplace as the intern mentor and running the program in the office was exhausting and a distraction from her actual architectural workload.

5.5.2.3 Gendered tasks in the workplace

The participants revealed that tasks within the workplace were not necessarily gendered (for example drawing plans, walking plans is gender neutral), but certain behaviours around tasks were observed. A sense of marginalisation for Participants B, E, F, H, G and I was observed by the women such as being seen in an assistant role or as help (tea girl/interior decorator or personal assistant). When Participant E was treated as the secretary and had to do all the minutes in meetings, she

found that she learnt more at times of detail, instructions and project management for she had to sit in on all meetings. She mentioned that this put her men colleagues at a disadvantage because it may have taken longer to learn the finer details she shared with the practice's director.

Participant C was often asked to make and pour the tea. Participant F explains how the men interns decided out of personal preference to pull the practice cars into the garage after they were used. Participant B explained that women architects were inclined to arrange meetings to stimulate engagement between the various role players.

5.5.2.4 Site experience

The site is a place of contention and mentioned by all participants as a very gendered and uncomfortable place for women. The participants' interviews revealed that women are often treated with disrespect and in need to prove themselves. Participant C explained that it was a place where you needed testicles and she told the story that on one of her first site visits she was the only woman on site (and the architect) and the contractor introduced himself to everyone but ignored her presence. Participant H explained she disliked dealing with site construction and asked her husband and business partner to conduct their projects' site aspects and project management. Both Participants B and G mentioned that one had to dress correctly for the site and Participant B explained that she suited up in order to not be distracting, For Participant G, it was a place she dressed down for. The sexual tension was prevalent on site: an architect had found the site workers watching pornography in their breaks. It would be important to investigate the class and power dynamics that women have to navigate on sites during their careers.

5.5.2.5 Desire for career advancement

All the participants spoke of their ambition for career advancement and how they navigated their ambition in relation to their workplace, personal lives and opportunities. Participants A and B had experienced early (by 30 years old) success in reaching a senior position in the practice where they were employed at the time. However, the early success meant they had reached a glass ceiling and could not advance further in the practice. Both decided to leave the practice soon afterwards.

Participant D had struggled with her first marriage and reflected how her architect husband made decisions in their lives that advanced his career but required her to play a supportive role. Below, Participant D reflects on how this affected her when her husband was doing his thesis:

> (…) That's what so (…) what I realised then was, I always said I would follow, I would do what my dad did and find my own way. And I ended up doing what my mother did. I saw myself then being my

> mother. Because it was everything my mother had done. I started doing, I was like coming home from work, asking him how is it going*, Okay, I'm typing up for you.* I built the box for him and I covered it with fabric, and I got the things printed and all I processed everything for him. I did everything.
> I don't do that because it wasn't equal. And then when we were in Italy, and he, he registered at UCT for his master's. Then again, I didn't have the choice. And I kept on struggling to do my (…) I was trying to do my exams. And I realised I couldn't do my exams, because there's this thing that he was like, under pressure to finish. Because in Italy, you could just take as long as you liked with whatever you're doing. And so, then I just dumped that and just helped him finish and drove it. And he finished it. I wrote it for him.
> So that's very gendered. But I was very aware of that. And it was part of the breakdown of this (…). And so, although we weren't gendered in our everyday lives (…).

Participant D reveals above her desire to complete her studies and advance her career but instead having to earn an income and support her husband in his choices of career advancement. This suggests that there was an assumption that she would put her desires second. She explained how she was now able to see how she had internalised her gendering in her family, and her mother's influence and childhood. The same-sex parent's role and influence in relation to a young woman's career will be an important aspect to consider in future research.

5.5.2.6 Equal pay

Participants D, E and I personally encountered unequal pay when they started out in their careers, Participant D's monthly rate was the same rate that another received weekly. When she started out, Participant E had discovered that a man intern equal to her was earning more. She explained how she confronted the company director and rectified the discrepancy, adding that it is important for women to be assertive and redress the inequality whenever they encounter it. This echoes Participant F's comment that women need to have more grit. Participant I was employed full-time but needed to do freelance work and seek other forms of income due to her low salary and high cost of living. This was echoed by Participant G, who mentioned how she was struggling financially during COVID and at times had to decide whether she could afford going to the doctor or putting petrol in her car.

5.5.2.7 Reflection on limitations and privileges

Through the intersectional lens and the reflections and self-reflections of the participants the interviews revealed how the women viewed the financial limitations and privileges they faced in South Africa. Participants B, F and G understood that their upbringing in South Africa put them in a privileged position of resources and opportunities. Participant B explained how her parents' influence in anti-Apartheid activism activities had given her access to the nuances of diversity in society. Participants I and D reflected on the marginalisation and the limitations they faced based

on the racial "caste" classifications.

5.6 Professionalism within the architectural industry

All the participants discussed professionalism in architecture as the principal agent in their profession. Professionalism was discussed in the form of dress sense and also professionally performing architectural duties. Thus, professionalism in architecture has a physical appearance but also a way of being associated with it. Participants A, B, C, D, F and G discussed the fact that professionalism is seen in how they present themselves as women, what they wear, how well-groomed they are. Participant A explains in her own words:

> So, there was a time where I was extremely pedantic about what I wore, to work (…) But I don't and maybe if I (…) if I have a very important client that I'm meeting for the first time, I would make an effort. But at this point, it's not really (…) I don't know if that interferes with my idea of success, but I don't think so.

Participant A explained how she made an effort to "look nice" and lady-like, while Participant B had been cultured by her first employers to wear suits and to not wear too flamboyant clothing for it would distract the other role players. This was echoed by Participant G, who explained that there was a requirement to wear neater clothing. Participants C, E, F and G described feminine traits of make-up, being petite, dresses and high heels as the professional dress sense for women, while Participants A and G found it to be invasive and oppressive, Participant B accepted that she had to dress and present herself in a certain way.

Another aspect of professionalism for South African architects is registering and renewing fees at SACAP. There are regional (location specific) regulatory bodies such CIA, but the most mentioned is SACAP, which is required in the architectural profession to practise as a professional in South Africa. All the participants but one had managed to become registered. While Participant G explained how difficult it was to pay the fees on low salaries, Participant A added that the hierarchy in the architectural industry based on education makes it more difficult for those with a less desirable degree to become a professional architect. Participants A and G both referred to the exclusion and seeming punishment of not having enough money for particular institutions and degrees which generated extra obstacles to gaining professional status. The limitations for the lower ranking professionals are not only lower fees/salary, they also limit the professional to only design and facilitate certain sized projects to be processed even though the architectural skills required are the same. The same amount of liability /indemnity insurance and engineering sign-off is needed (required for each municipal project in South Africa). Participants believed that this made the limitation to smaller projects based on degree level unreasonable because they still had to pay the

same insurance and be vetted by an engineer.

5.7 Leaving architecture

Leaving or quitting architecture was a theme that the participants considered throughout their careers; two participants had left and another was still considering leaving the profession. Participant H retired early after a very successful career and decided to dedicate her time to her children and grandchildren. Participant E also desired to retire early to spend more time with her family and adoptive daughter; adding, however, that she never had wanted to leave architecture but had wanted to continue work on projects because of clients, other role players or the difficulty with the project build. Participants B, C, G and I echoed the desire to quit a project but not being an architect. Participant C explained two scenarios that really made her question whether she belonged in the industry based on how she was treated and not based on her work.

Participants A and F had both left architecture for a period; Participant F for more money and travelling opportunities and Participant A left architecture twice after traumatic experiences but was not really able to leave. The last time she left architecture, she sold her car, and moved in with her mother to do something else. She even applied to universities to pursue a new career, but now had a very successful architectural design practice.

5.8 Summary

The participants explained how they were dedicated to pursuing architecture as a career, followed and completed the preparatory steps and focused on advancing their careers. Architecture is not chosen out of a desire to be the embodiment of an architect but rather as a sort of vocation. The participants spoke of the responsibility they embodied as architects, the workload, and how the external environment influenced their experiences as women architects. The research reveals that the tension between being socialised as a woman and being a professional architect may lead to guilt and tension about where to focus their attention. The participants mentioned help and privilege in order to embody the dual roles of the architect and a woman. It is evident that the participants experienced that they were unable to fulfil the duties of both due to the hours each role demands. Some participants managed to buy other labour for the reproductive tasks they were unable to perform yet they still performed some of it for their families. The younger participants were still grappling with what was required of them in the architectural industry and Participant I said she would only be able to comment on the various tasks perhaps in a few months after she had reflected on how she experienced the requirements of being both an architect and a woman.

Women have to prove themselves whilst enduring jokes about their periods when they lose their tempers or are regarded as mere assistance or support staff. Furthermore, the participants had to direct their engagement differently to spare another's feelings, or experienced minimising women's worth to that of sexual object by sexual advances towards them even when they were married. The implication that they were worthy only of being sexual and not professional was a show of power or humiliation by diminishment. Sometimes the participants had to play a mothering role despite their professional status.

Chapter 6: The Architectural Identity

The Architectural Identity focuses on the nature of the participants' architectural work and how they display and express themselves as architects. The interviews with the participants revealed that identity in architectural expression is thought of in two ways: first, the expression of one's identity in the building aesthetic (like a particular building style), and second, the interaction between role players in order to complete a project using architecture as a tool. *The Architectural Identity* is shaped and formed by T*he Culturing of Architecture* but unlike *The Culturing of Architecture* it is an internalised expression (and therefore incorporates all the themes. See Figure 6.1) based on inner drivers and personal talents and skills.

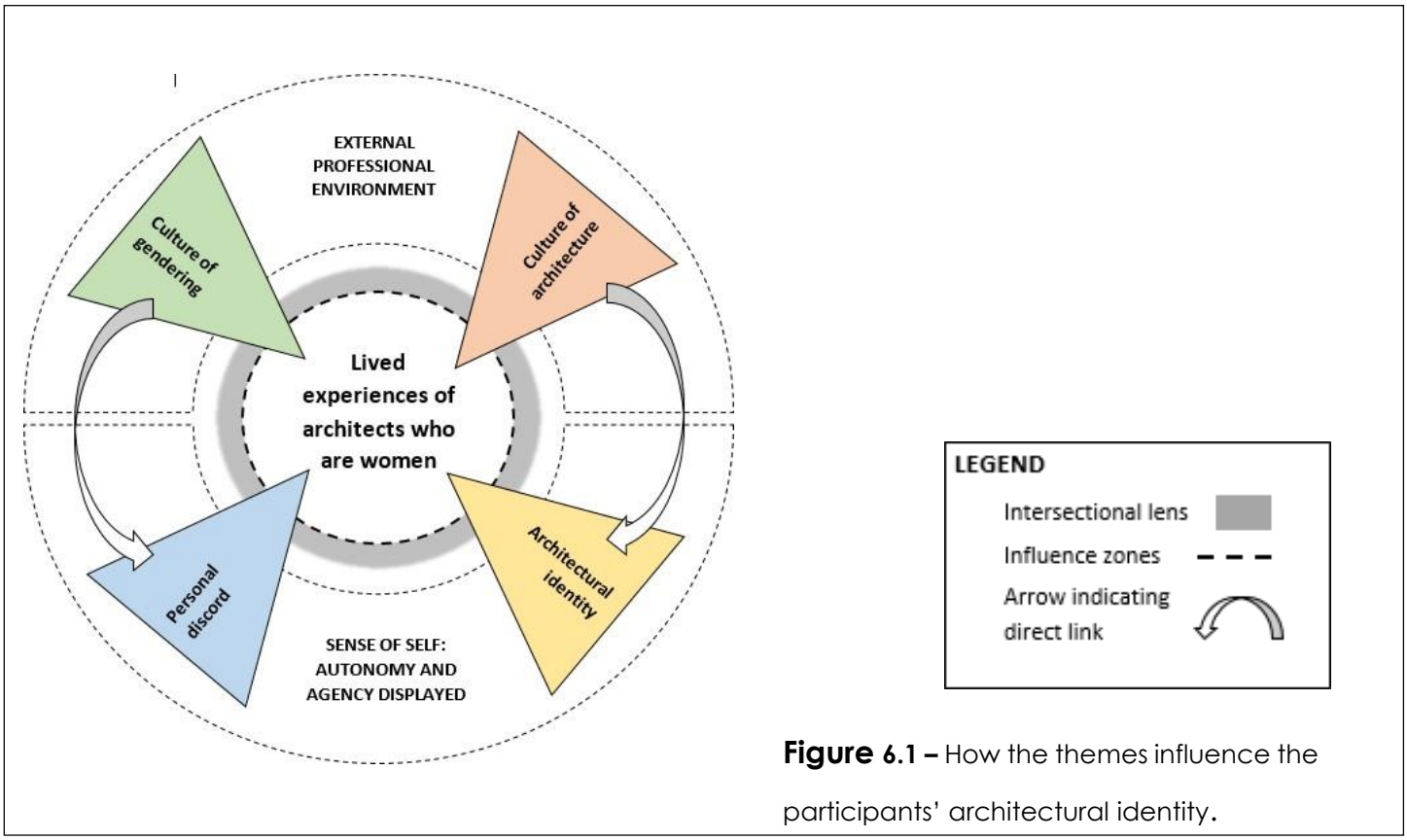

Figure 6.1 – How the themes influence the participants' architectural identity.

6.1 Design expression as an architectural identity

The participants discussed how the professional architect defines itself in a more philosophical manner; that the architect's duty is to provide spatially for the inhabitants it designs for and leads to many hours of contemplation about the best way to do this. The participants explained that there is a technical aspect and a theoretical aspect that needs to be implemented when being the architect. Regarding the identity of the architect, Participant B explained that it was "uncool" to be

working for another architect and the "ideal" was to have one's own practice as an architect. This suggests that the individual architectural practice connected to name and architectural work output is important for the individual expression of the architect.

The creative expression in architecture was seen as a design identity by most participants (A, C, D, G H and I) but many explained the way the architectonics are put together was how they enjoyed designing and finishing building projects. The detailing of technology and how it is applied in building was mentioned by a few participants (Participant A, C, D and G) as a basis for their identity as an architect and philosophical approach. Participant A explained how details in relation to finishes were her interest and basis of expression, while Participant D mentioned how the details in relation to costing is a very creative process and important in design. Participant G explained the care in creating spaces with bespoke materials that enhance the inhabitant's spatial experience. Participant C believed that the exploration of creative space making is limited in the construction of industrial buildings and driven by the National Building codes, yet she still found enjoyment in delivering great spatial designs for her clients related to inhabitant comfort, ergonomics and anthropometrics. Participant H's career was based on her design identity. In the quote below Participant I explains how her cultural heritage influences her creative expressions, how much design and expression mean to her as an architect and how she internalises the responsibility she feels.

> I would call it (…) um (…) Organic Brutalism. Referring to informal space making like townships. I've seen before or I need randomisation to (…) to like (…) go to this, I just have to say it because that's not to say that those versions of this (…) that we have references that we automatically have in our (…) that are inscribed in our minds (…).
>
> But um (…) I think it's the assertiveness of Brut architecture that I find that (…) When black spaces are produced or black spaces are made there are no assertiveness (…) So the fact that people build with galvanised sheeting already has the (…) the suggestion that this is temporary. Like you're not going to be here for long, you should be erased and moved to somewhere else. So, the assertiveness of Brutalism's shows (…) this shows that I am here and I belong here and I am supposed to be here. (…)
>
> And I'll be part of being here no matter how grand or even the effect that I am here (…). Don't look at concrete as like the literal material, but concrete in the sense that (…) I want to be here and I'm supposed to be here. I think there's some kind of assertiveness with Brutalist. But with the softness, I'm just saying in the sense of architecture relating it to the people. So, I think that that's where, in terms of my designs, how I (…) how I kind of approach it.

Participants A and B described how design is a sort of infiltration in every aspect of the project delivery and therefore not a once-off occurrence in the beginning of a project. Participants C, E and G discussed how the type of building and client dictates the design and building processes needed for an architect to fulfil.

Participant H had partnered with her husband professionally as a practice because she was better at conceptual aspects of architecture and design than the project management and site visits. Participants C, D and F believed that the flamboyance of architects was only suited for certain personality types and that it alienated others in the industry. However, they all equated the flamboyant to the image of what an architect is. For Participant I architecture as a tool did not support the notion of flamboyancy and she therefore struggled with the identity aspect of her work.

Whilst some Participants (A, C, D, H and I) viewed their approach to architecture as a form of identity that is either aesthetically driven or process driven, the rest of the Participants (B, E, F, and G) explained that striving for an identity in architecture was unattainable and only for "*starchitects*". For Participants B, E, F and G their architectural expression was in completing the building projects. Participants B, E and F elaborated on their duties as architects and how they enjoyed being the project manager and facilitator of project completion. They viewed the design process as a small aspect of being an architect and that the work supporting the design equated to a lot more time than the design itself. Participants B, E and F all explained that they enjoyed design and instructing building in a team and that there was more to the building's expression that must be considered. Participant B explained that the context of the building (environment and client) would dictate how the design would be expressed and that style/design is a mere "pastiche" to apply. Participant I echoed that this, explaining how architecture was a great tool in the process of urban development.

6.2 The responsibility of practising architecture

The principle that architecture becomes one's life when choosing to study architecture is a prevalent expectation. This notion suggests that the participants internalised architecture as a way of living. Whilst Participant I stated that she had internalised the responsibility of architecture before she knew how to conduct architectural practices, Participant A explained that architecture is a way of life before one chooses architecture. The notion of vocation is thus employed and assumed by those practising architecture. However, the notion of architecture was only understood as a spatial forming and artistic expression as a vocation by some participants; others viewed the vocation as the call to the responsibility of buildings' longevity. Here Participant A explains her point of view from the performing of architecture, internalising it and the duty to create spatial expressions for society:

> I don't think it is, I don't think it's a conscious choice. I think the nature of what we do (…) is prevalent everywhere we look where we are, so you are constantly assessing different spaces, even though you don't always realise it. So, drawing inspiration from certain things. I mean, going just going for a hike in the mountain at some point is like, *oh, this colour is incredible, or how does this relate to a project that*

I'm busy with? So, there's this concept of back stream of (…) It's very difficult to just switch off and not not engage in any form whatsoever with the subject matter. So (laughter).

The responsibility of the architect emerged for many of the Participants (A, B, C, E, F and I) and Participant A explains it best in the quote below:

> You as an architect (…) I believe that you have to understand space and emotion and people. You need to understand how people experience space, things that make them feel safe or unsafe or what the needs are in terms of needs of humans to dwell and and (…). By splintering it, you actually creating more of a problem, and I think maybe that was what I've struggled with in the past. Our architecture is (…) it felt like it lost that. It lost the human connection (…)? I mean, you could and you can understand the theory behind and whenever it also, there's nothing that really relates to human. There's no (…) I find it frustrating the people that understand that the hole point that this industry exists is because of people, people will need space to love and to be together as a community or on their own or, you know (…) as finding some higher purpose if you think of churches or cathedrals, mosques mean that that is the reason it's people (…) Something that that last longer than your own life. And I think that's the typical God syndrome that (…) that people referred to as oxygen. I think it's a definite thing. I think the ego is
>
> thing, we have the ability to create a change in a landscape that is (…) that last longer than we do. And you you want to leave a legacy, but I feel that if we as an industry would focus less on the legacy being a structure and the legacy being more, how did you change your community? Did you provide a safe space for their kids to play? That is a much better legacy to leave. It's the underlying essence of our industry. And we forget (…) But it's all about, I also feel it's more about longevity and mortality. You know, I've and I find this in my own life, I would still drive cars, things like (…) I did that.

Above, Participant A explains the importance of considering the personal legacy as an architect, the future of the building and development in relation to what humanity might need and how to marry the two intentions.

6.3 Self-care and the architectural identity

To "live, eat, breathe architecture" is a typical phrase used in architecture to describe the creative output process and successfully delivering a building project. The demands for excellence are internalised and externalised by the built environment industry, either by being company employed or a client. Participants A, F, H and I were the only ones to discuss self-care (or lack thereof) and how it affected their lives as architects. Taking leave or caring for familial responsibilities brings a sense of guilt and feels like a lack of dedication. Participant F explained how this was part of her training at 'Archi-school', and how there are perceptions that one must always think of architecture first. Participant A mentioned the notion of balancing self-care as caring for her family in relation to work demands. She found that she struggled to know the right choices and spoke of her guilt for not choosing her duties as a woman who cares about stepdaughter, husband and mother – she later mentioned self-care and how surprised she was that it was always last on the list.

For Participant H juggling work and personal life often resulted in her choosing architecture and responsibility to clients above her family's needs and herself.

6.4 Self-reflection on practising architecture

The personal discord on engagement as an architect with other role players was a significant theme that all the participants raised. The role players may be other colleagues or built environment professionals that treat them in a particular way. The participants displayed considerable personal discord in their self-reflection about whether their interaction and responses were suitable for the situation. Participant A explained that a natural reaction as a woman was not often acceptable as she was expected – herself as well as others – to be poised. She mentioned how she felt she had let herself down when losing her temper and stepping outside the prescribed role. Participant B viewed this aspect of asserting herself differently: it was important for her to use her identity and ego to get a job done by losing her temper or being insistent that something be done the way she wants it. Participant E mentioned a few times that she was undermined as a woman when encountering certain scenarios and showed her discomfort in her personal discord in such instances by asking out loud if she was a man. She did not want to go into details but explained that it often happened with clients and other role players. She mentioned that it happened when she was younger and the only woman in the industry around her, but she still experienced such disrespect at the age of 60.

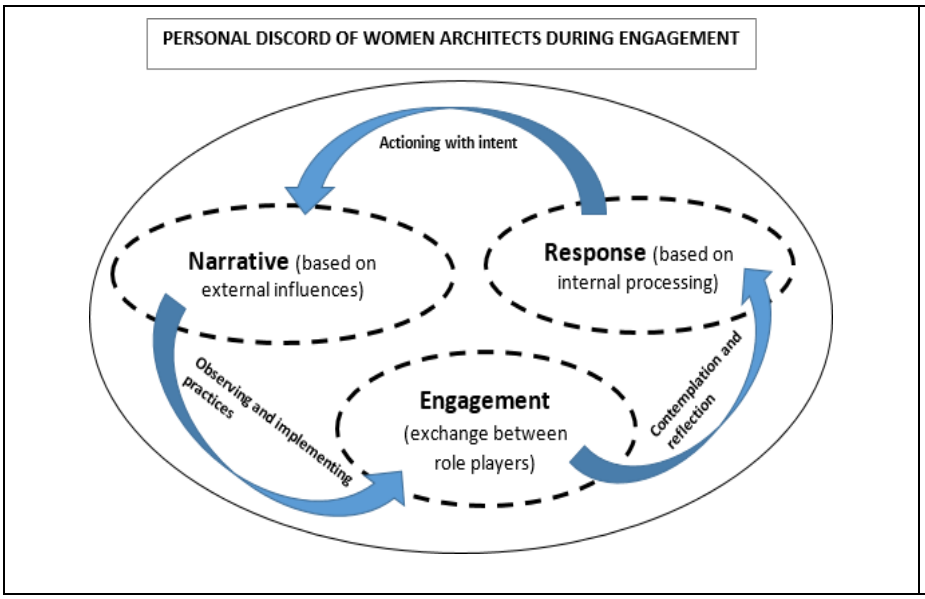

Figure 6.2 left **–** Personal discord of the women architects.

Figure 6.2 denotes the personal discord and way of relating to role players. This diagram is based on the participants' position of self-knowledge and internalised identity of being both a woman and an architect. The personal discord displays the seriousness and responsibility the participants carry and cared to display and explain during the interviews.

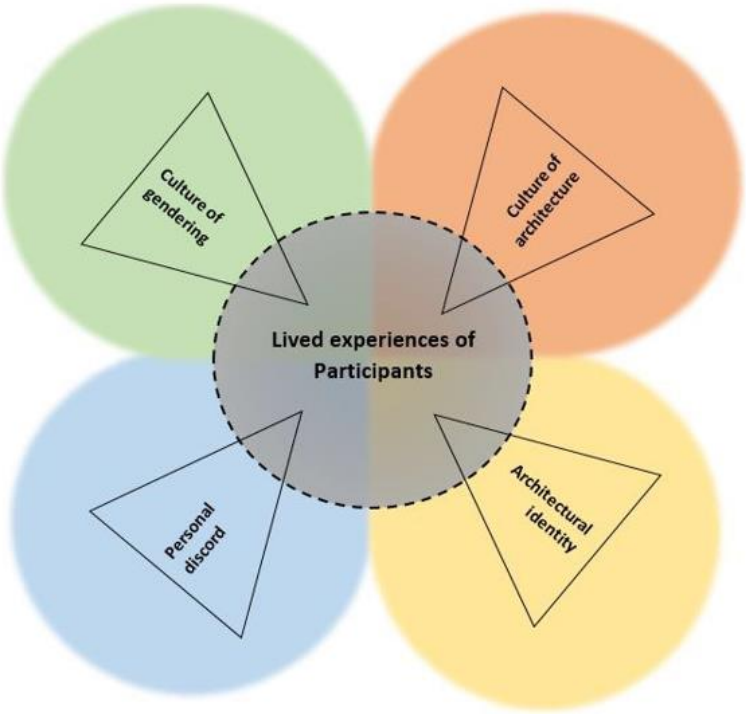

Figure 6.3 – How the women express

The participants' experiences are influenced by their external and internal environments and the influences are overlapping in nature, with lens-like influences on their daily encounters (see **Figure 6.3)**. Each participant's experience varies based on how their lenses are structured during their upbringing, education and work environment and look more like hazy lenses like in Figure 6.2.

6.5 Summary

The participants revealed that the identity of the architect has been internalised in a different way for each of them. Two different stances were taken in their understanding of their own architectural expression; first, the expression of a specific aesthetic style, and second, being a conduit and leader of other role players in order to complete a project. The latter sees working with architectural skills as tools rather than a way of life. All the participants understood architecture to be a theoretical (ideological) process as well as a technical application of skills and tools. The sense of responsibility was displayed by all participants and overshadowed the drive for personal expression; some even dismissing individual expression for only "*starchitects*". The internalisation of being an architect as a woman was displayed in personal discord and the women revealed patterns of engagement, contemplation and sense of self.

Chapter 7: Conclusion and recommendations

This master's study set out to explore, interrogate and theorise gendered narratives of women architects in South Africa. This chapter reports on the findings and meaning of the data presented in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 and provides recommendations for further research.

7.1 Review of research aims and objectives

Nine participants were interviewed, the transcripts were coded in NVivo, and a thematic analysis was used for the data analysis. The themes in the questionnaires and in the analysis are based on the identified aspects in the literature review in **Figure 1.1**.

The research aimed to first answer how South African women architects experience gender narratives within their professional career trajectories. Secondly, I looked at what this suggests about the current gendered script/narratives occurring in the architectural industry. Thirdly, I explored what South African women architects are experiencing in their professional education in terms of being seen as "women". Lastly, the research asked whether South African women architects experience gender narrative dynamics as producing tensions in their professional growth.

7.2 The limitations of the study

Only nine participants were interviewed and mostly online interviews were conducted. The research study could not secure a more diverse range of participants in age and professional positions. The study do not include further support or engagement with participants.

7.3 Reflecting on the findings of the research

The nine participants revealed that they experienced the prescribed gendered script for "women" as a distraction and obstacle in their careers that left them exhausted. Although the gendered script is presented as a homogenous ideology, the women explained their experiences as different narratives based on culturing experiences. Through the intersectional lens, the current gendered script is a complex map that is integrated with intersectional aspects of age, position in society, position in career/ practice, access to opportunities of mentorship/sponsorship, grasping one's own understanding of gendering and role player engagement in different settings based on projects. The gendered script is based on the *culture of gendering* and how the participants and other role players enforce it. For most participants, the gendered script was based on middle-class values imposed on women, which supports Mullany's (2007) and Mullany's and Schnurr (2023) theory of gendering and middle-class values. The women discussed how they were gendered in three

different ways (the aesthetic and graceful manifestation of a woman, the spouse, and the mother) with nuances of language and location-specific cultural influences, such as sexual objectification or nullification of women on construction sites. The participants showed how they responded to the script by resisting the prescribed gender role assigned to them. The resistance was shown in their dismissal of the gendered script with their initial answers.

In contradiction to other architectural education research (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995; Toy ,2001; Troiani, 2012; Rosero, 2015; Sang *et al.,* 2014; Fulani *et al.,* 2019; O'Connor *et al.*, 2020), this study reveals that great strides are being made in the diversity of lecturers; however, the type of education is based on the area of expertise of each university and studio-based learning (Quinlan *et al.*, 1995; Çıkış & Cil, 2009). The access to the more desirable university and degree options, with a salary that marginalises those that do not achieve the desired degree or university entrance, is not addressed within regulatory bodies. The participants explained that it allows discrimination and the perpetuation of inequality within the industry. This is a similar finding to that of Manly and de Graft-Johnson's (2004) study in the United Kingdom about why women are still leaving the industry.

The participants revealed that being gendered as a woman and the culturing of architecture the intersection between the two roles are difficult to manage, This echoes the findings of Rosero (2015), Troiani (2012) and Caven and Raiden (2005) that being socialised as a woman and culturing in architecture demand a lot of time to complete the workload. Regarding the South African context, the research revealed that extra help and care is needed for the women to complete their personal expectations. Even though they get help from, for example, a nanny/au pair/ housekeeper/ husband/partner, the guilt the women feel for not participating and facilitating their familial responsibilities carries weight in the gender dynamics, echoing Fine (2010)'s research about caring guilt when not being able to fulfil their gender roles. Being both a mother and spouse requires women to prioritise other responsibilities and their careers above their own lives.

7.4 Making meaning of the research

The notion of the gendered script being dictated by a generalised South African understanding (Le Jeune, 2006; Cuncliffe & Strydom, 2017; de Klerk, 2019) of what a woman is (supportive, weaker than men, emotional, feminine, motherly) and what her duties are in relation to those of a man was reported but also challenged by the participants. Many of them revealed the exhaustive mental and emotional labour to stimulate fertile and collaborative work environments for all (Fine & Sojo, 2019). There is no question that the participants embodied invaluable skills and characteristics of contemplation, diligent work and implementation that the architectural industry requires. This

echoes what Caven and Raiden (2005) wrote regarding the drive and need in practising architecture to work long hours and the results of mental health breakdown (Participant A spoke of this), unhealthy habits (little sleep and unhealthy eating habits) as well as family conflict due to absenteeism (Glynn, 2018).

The nine participants revealed that In South Africa, there seems to be a dual standard of rules for women and men in the architectural industry. The women must prove themselves, for example have to fight for a fair salary, whilst the men architects automatically receive respect and acknowledgement of professionalism/skills (and a good salary). This relates to Mullany's theory (2007) that it is the normalisation of being gendered as a man, a leader, and the theory of Harriss *et al.* (2016) that being a professional creates tension between what is expected of architects and the need for proof for anyone not fitting the biased 'normal'. The general gendered script makes women experience discrimination and question their abilities, which extends beyond the built environment professionals. It also includes clients and the public undermining women regardless of their age or experience.

Caven's (2008) assumption of women leaving architecture early on in their career due to various reasons (for example discrimination, financial difficulties, neglect) and women who can manage to 'hang' in and stay within the industry till the age of 35, is supported in this South African research study, with the older women architects declaring that it 'gets easier as you get older'. All participants over 35 mentioned that they experienced being treated with respect and dignity when the other role players observed their age, position as a mother and expertise. This carries the positive outcome that the gendered narrative of women not-having-enough-grit, 'being socialised incorrectly as women' (with the need for an architect to display seemingly masculine traits) (Troiani, 2012; Rosero, 2015) and needing to display binary feminine traits can be changed. The research revealed that the challenge for future young architects to succeed is the need to be respected in the workplace, supported with knowledge transfer and mentorship and sponsorship (O'Connor *et al.*'s, 2020) early on in their careers. The participants' narrative of their preparation, diligence, training, experience and responsible input in the architectural industry proves that women have more than enough grit and drive to pursue being an architect(Fulani *et al*, 2019). The emphasis is on how the participants' external environment (access to opportunities, good standing in their personal and familial responsibilities) is gendering them in ways to succeed, fail or to stagnate. The findings of how the external environment influences the women's experiences supports the notion of Manly and de Graft-Johnson (2004) in their paper *Why women still leave architecture* that women's frustrations accumulate slowly, culminating in their quitting architecture over one seemingly small 'thing'. The

intersectional lens reveals that the aspect mentioned above does not speak to the nuanced South African context of racial discrimination and financial inequality, the lack of equal access to opportunities when they enter the professional workplace. The neglect, undermining, terrorising, harassment and gendered expectations to fulfil a specific woman's role, limit and place demands on the women architects that are not designed by themselves. The participants revealed their experiences in their professional careers to be based mostly on the demands of their external environments. Using a man architects' image, role, (Troiani, 2012; Sang *et al.*, 2014) and experience as per the norm (Mullany, 2007; Mullany & Schnurr, 2023) puts women architects in positions where they have to commit themselves to two sets of rules – being assigned extra feminine defined roles that are obstacles to them and committing to work as if there are no woman's requirements and expectation of them. Phrases like 'being lucky' to have flexitime and 'the family come second' undermine the women's own desires and experiences to determine their own autonomous actions in their career(Möller & Fernando, 2022). Similar to Manly and de Graft-Johnson's (2003, 2004) research where the respondents were tolerant of sexist and discriminatory conduct towards women architects, the participants of this research study revealed that the assumptions they had to bear and the 'negative behaviour' they had to ignore undermined their commitment to this vocational career.

7.5 In conclusion

Figure 6.3 depicts the relationship of the influences on the participants that led to the experiences they described. The research revealed that these nuances are based on the various differences in upbringing, architectural education, their internal and personal relating to others, architectural expression/drive/skills and the intersectionality of systems.

The gendered role of being a woman is to be aspired to or enforced by culture and society in the experiences of the women. The gender role is either enforced by a 'stick' scenario such as a religious limitation, for example if a gendered duty is not completed it is described and labelled as causing the woman to be punished by any form of discipline. Or the gendered narrative around the woman is carried out by the 'carrot' scenario of benefitting from taking on the gendered role, for example promoting the woman to a position of leadership. Throughout the research and personal discord, the participants reflected on such multiple carrot and stick scenarios and how differently these occurred in their lives. The notion of the carrot and the stick is based on the engagement of the gendered roles in benevolent and hostile sexism (Boris & Salazar Parreñas, 2010).

As per Holmes' (2009) research of middle-class values that become the predominant text for the gendered script, the participants revealed that these middle-class values of the culture of

gendering are easily accepted by those whose upbringing is in alignment with those values. However, those who grew up in a less fortunate position and ranked in a position of a lower financial class had to learn how to accept these prescribed middle-class gender norms inscribed by the built environment. This means that the gendered script that is used within the built environment is not a universally applied one, but one adopted as middle-class and upper middle-class values based on the need for professionalism in the making of the architect. The undermining of women occurs when they do not subscribe to these values in professional capacities but in certain cases the participants found that they experienced being undermined by merely being women, for example the participant who was ignored on the construction site as she was the only woman there. The participants' response to this prescribed script in order for them to commit to their work was to resist the narrative. Some participants even showed their annoyance and unfamiliarity with the script in response to questions about being a woman in the built environment.

The intersectional lens of the research shows that some women experience different levels of marginalisation and may not include the fact that other women may have different experiences. This often leads to misunderstanding someone's expression of their trauma, resulting in statements about women 'not having enough grit'. Based on **Figure 4.2**, the participants revealed that when they entered a space in the built environment, they entered it with the requirements and expectations of three roles, the mother, spouse, and professional woman. This research calls for more engagement between role players to assist the transformation of diversity in the architectural industry. As per Hayden's (1997) caveat that architecture is not merely a function of a profession, care is to be taken to cultivate, preserve and celebrate diversity in architecture in South Africa. Therefore, retaining and cultivating dedicated women in architecture are essential for the built environment to ensure diverse productive output in South Africa.

7.6 Further recommendation

Based on the view through the intersectional lens and some participants' understanding that tackling racial discrimination is more important than the marginalisation of women in South Africa, further research is needed on how the women architects' external environment is conducive to their work environment, how racial stratification based on the "caste" system impacts the lives of women architects and the level of success achieved. The access to resources and opportunities in schooling, artistic training/skills development, and diverse architectural theory in the making of the architect also need to be investigated in the context of South Africa and the statistics of the lack of representation of diversity in registered architectural professionals (Lokko, 2016). Universities of

Technology are known for their technical knowledge and practical application. This will be important to investigate further as to what types of skills are provided by which universities in South Africa.

Based on Participant E's experience, as a lesbian woman, of challenging and discussing the perpetuation of the gendered script (Barton & Harriss, 2017) it will be important to gather more nuanced research of how the LGBTQ+ community (Mcgrath, 2016) experiences the gendered script in the built environment in South Africa. The notion of professional belonging (or the lack thereof) in architecture as a woman as addressed and discussed by various participants is in keeping with the paper of Spaeth and Kosmala (2012) that uses the term of identifying with the profession by *disidentification* of themselves within the profession. It will be important to investigate the levels of identification as an architect and what it means for the industry, for the women themselves and how effective this identification is.

Lastly, a further recommendation is to explore a larger sample pool with a self-complete survey for the future participants in order to combat the time requirement for the working architect. It will be important to explore this in future studies, relating it to age, gender and culture.

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Appendix A – SEMI- STRUCTURED INTERVIEW OUTLINE

Semi-structured interview outline

The study

The purpose of this research study is to explore the narratives of women as they navigate their professional career as architects in the South African built environment. The aim is to investigate what it means to be gendered as a women and practice as an architect in the context of the South African built environment landscape.

The objectives of this research are: 1) to understand the lived experiences of women architects in relation to the built environment's requirements of the architectural profession, and (2) to investigate how the women architects manage(d) their daily life in relation to prescribed gender roles, cultural and societal gendered influences, workload requirements and influences, (3) to investigate whether a sense of place and belonging has been achieved in their career/private life and whether this has had an impact on how they relate to their peers and communities they live in.

A. Motivation:

The research data from this investigation would be useful in understanding the lived experiences of South African women architects in the built environment.

B. Interview duration:

The semi-structured interviews will take approximately 60 mins and there may be follow up interviews needed to clarify points.

C. Ethical considerations:

The participants' involvement and participation is valuable in this study. Their decisions, responses and experiences shared based on the interview questions will be respected and treated with sensitivity. The participation is completely voluntary and participants have the right to withdraw from the study at any time without a penalty. The participants' right to privacy will be maintained by reminding participants that they are not obliged to share information that they may not feel comfortable in sharing. Although the interviews will be

voice recorded (in person interviews) and video recorded (online zoom interviews) for the purpose of data gathering, anonymity of participants will remain a high priority and names will not be mentioned on the tape, and pseudonym names with interview numbers will be used in the research study.

D. Interview outline:

You are required to sign the consent form as proof of permission to partake in the study.
If you do have any questions or concerns, you are more than welcome to voice them now before we commence the interview process.

(**Transition**: Let me begin by asking you some general demographic information)

a) Introductory questions

1. If you are comfortable with it, please tell me how old you are.
2. What title do you hold currently?
3. How are you currently employed?
4. In relation to career choices and choosing architecture as a profession: can you tell me a little bit about yourself, your upbringing… family, religion, school + sport. 'being a boy', 'being a girl'?
5. Why architecture? … starting with what drew you to the terrain and where you studied.

b) Architectural education

1. Where did you study architecture?
2. What was your experience of studying architecture?
3. Did you get the same experience as the guys in their cohort? Why? Why not?
4. Who taught you, and when it came to gender, were the professors the same?
5. Was there a distinct difference in undergrad and post grad?
6. What did you enjoy in your education?
7. Do you have a mentor that you connected to (or aspired to be like), and why?
8. Did you notice any gender related aspects in your architectural education?

c) Practising architecture/being in an architect

1. How long have you been practising as an architect?
2. Do you have a particular "style" or identity as an architect? Tell me more about it.
3. On site, the office, with clients: tell me what it is like to be a woman architect.
4. What do you find particularly difficult as an architect?
5. Have you ever wanted to quit architecture or change direction in your career? Did you ever quit architecture? Please expand .

6. Expand on your experiences of belonging/inclusion within the architectural and or built environment.

d) Views of a gendered environment: household and career

1. What is your marital status/ household make up?
2. What is your familial responsibilities? Children? other family members?
3. Tell me about the tasks you are assigned in your career as an architect.
4. What tasks do you undertake in your private life/household?
5. Do you undertake for the "good of society" with no economical gains?
6. Do you experience that these tasks overlap significantly or effect the other? Tell me more about it.
7. Do you experience that you have different tasks as a woman in the workplace and in your private life?

e) Closing remarks / reflections

7. I appreciate the time you took for this interview. Could you reflect on your experience of talking to me today. Is there any big life defining experience you encountered that you would like to share as a architect that is also a woman in South Africa?
8. Is there perhaps anything else you think would be helpful for me to know?

Thank you for your time, would you mind if I follow up on any aspects you mentioned above in the future for further clarification?.

Appendix B – SEMI- STRUCTURED SECTION DESIGN

Semi-structured interview design Section 1 – 5.

Section 1 was designed to establish trust and understanding with introductory questions:

Section 1 questions	**Intent behind the questions set**
1. If you are comfortable with it, please tell me how old you are. 2. What title do you hold currently? 3. How are you currently employed?	The first three questions are quick and simple answers The questions are to establish trust and assist the participant in getting used to thinking about themselves and their life.
4. In relation to career choices and choosing architecture as a profession: can you tell me a little bit about yourself, your upbringing… family, religion, school + sport. 'being a boy', 'being a girl'?	This question aims to capture demographic detail as well as establishing further trust. This question is to allow the participant to think about their life, their upbringing and being gendered.
5. Why architecture? … starting with what drew you to the terrain and where you studied.	This question is an open ended question to understand the factors that lead the participant to choosing architecture as a career.

Section 2 was designed to understand the participant's contextualised architectural education, mentoring and student experience:

Section 2 questions	**Intent behind the questions set**
1. Where did you study architecture? 2. What was your experience of studying architecture?	The first two questions are quick and simple answers. The questions are to help the participant think back to their studies and the context of their environment during their studies.
3. Did you get the same experience as the guys in their cohort? Why/ why not?	This question is asked in order to relate to gender differences in a structured manner. This question is open ended to allow the participant to express herself as she recount her experience.

4. Who taught you, and when it came to gender, were the professors the same?	This question is open ended and ask two aspects; one to recount lecturers (part time & full time) and if she perceives being socialised and gendered differently to men students it gave them a different experience.
5. Was there a distinct difference in undergrad and post grad? 6. What did you enjoy in your education?	If the participant did not tackle this already in their answer from before this question is set to allow the participant to discuss the different experiences and emotional responses they may have had during their academic studies.

7. Did you notice any gender related aspects in your architectural education?	This question is asked to allow the participant to recount potential gendered aspects that may not relate to her but what she observed as part of the gendered narrative around her.
8. Do you have a mentor that you idealise (aspire to be like), and why?	This question is set to understand the nature of how the participant related to her lecturers/superiors and the nature of their relationship. Due to the fact that architectural professionalism is about experience and requires signoff from registered professional architect by SACAP this experience forms part of the architectural career. This leads into the next section

Section 3 was designed to understand and gather information regarding the nature of the architectural practice as an architect:

Section 3 questions	**Intent behind the questions set**
1. How long have you been practising as an architect?	This question is to relate to the participant's experience in the architectural industry. There are two aspects of this question and that is the time and career trajectory they has as well as how they became a registered professional.
2. Do you have a particular "style" or identity as an architect? Tell me more about it.	This question is to understand the participant's creative expression as a trained and practicing architect.
3. On site, the office, the boardroom, sitting with clients: tell me what it is like to be a woman architect.	This question is to establish the gendered narrative the participant is experienced. This question is broken up in two sections; the one the various spaces the participant would encounter and the second the recounting of the various gendered relationships she would encounter.

4. What do you find particularly difficult as an architect?	This question is open ended to relate to things the participant would find difficult or perhaps experienced as obstacles in their career trajectory.
5. Have you ever wanted to quit architecture or change direction in your career? Did you ever quit architecture? Please expand	This question is related to the potentially hostile environment the participant may have encountered and giving the participant to reflect on this.
6. Expand on your experiences of belonging/inclusion within the architectural industry.	This question is set to find the participants understanding and experience of a sense of belonging in her career and profession.

Section 4 was designed to understand and gather information the participant's experience being a women and having a professional career:

Section 4 questions	**Intent behind the questions set**
1. What is your marital status/ household make up?	This question is to establish the participant's relationships and potential role in that relationship.
2. What is your familial responsibilities? Children? other family members?	This question is to gather data regarding the participant's personal tasks and experiences around her responsibilities as a woman.
3. Tell me about the tasks you are assigned in your career as an architect.	This question is an open ended questions to understand the type of tasks the participant would do. This relates to position and title and the company structure.
4. What tasks do you undertake in your private life/household?	This question is asked only if the practical day-to day tasks is not answered in question 2. It also provides part of the gendered narrative about how basic duties like motherhood would influence their work and life.
5. Do you undertake for the "good of society" with no economical gains?	This question is set to understand if the participant partakes on aspects in society beyond their career and daily life that they have not yet discussed.
6. Do you experience that these tasks overlap significantly or effect the other? Tell me more about it.	This question is to determine the overlap of gendered tasks and their professional career as to if and how they manage the requirements of both.

Section 5 was designed to close the interview and allow the participant to add anything they feel is appropriate to the topic at hand that was not covered.

Section 5 questions	Intent behind the questions set
1. Is there any big life defining experience you encountered that you would like to share as a architect that is also a woman in South Africa?	This is an open ended question to allow the participant to share any contextual experiences they may have had that they feel is important.
2. Is there perhaps anything else you think would be helpful for me to know?	This question is set to allow the participant to freely express anything they think would be beneficial to the study and research that was not covered by the researcher.

Appendix C – POTENTIAL PARTICIPANTS

No	Potential participants	Age	Position	Title	Ethnicity	Location	Method of engagement	Level of engagement
1	Referral	50+	Architect	Sole proprietor and company director	White	Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response
2	Member of organization	28	Architect	Unknown	White	Western Cape	Email, phone call Meet up	3rd engagement lead to Face to face meeting. No contact after ethical clearance was sent.
3	Referral	50+	Architect	Unknown	White	Western Cape	Email Phone call	2nd level of engagement. No contact after ethical clearance was sent.
4	Found via online research	50+	Architects	Director and founder	Black	Gauteng	Email, Phone call Email	3rd engagement lead to phone cal. No contact after ethical clearance was sent.
5	Acquaintance	30+	Senior architectural technologist	Unknown	Malay	Western Cape	Email, Phone call Whats app	3rd engagement lead to phone call and whatsapp answers in complete interview .
6	Found with online research	28	Architect	Director and founder	Black	Western Cape	Email	3rd level response. Rejected participation due to work experience being mostly international.
7	Referral	35+	Architect	Unknown	White	Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response.
8	Partner of participant	55+	Architect	Director and founder	White	Western Cape	Email	2nd level response, no contact after ethical clearance was sent.
9	Colleague of participant	29	Architect	Unknown	Black	Gautengv	Email	Initial contact, no response
10	Referral	35	Senior architectural technologist	Unknown	White	Gauteng	Email	Initial contact, no response.
11	Colleague of participant	35	Architect	Director	Black	Gauteng	Email, Phone call	2nd level of response, no response
12	Pamela	35+	Architect	Unknown	White	Unknown	Email	2nd level response, no contact after ethical clearance was sent.
13	Colleague of participant	55+	Architect	Director and educator	Black	Western Cape	Phone call, Whats app	3rd engagement lead to phone cal. No contact after ethical clearance was sent.
14	Colleague of participant	40+	Architect	Architect and educator	Black	Western Cape	Email	2nd level of response, no response
15	Colleague of participant	50+	Architect	Architect and educator	Black	Western Cape	Email	2nd level of response, no response
16	Colleague of participant	45+	Architect	Architect and educator	White	Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response.
17	Colleague of participant	40	Architect	Architect and educator	White	Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response.
18	Colleague of participant	55+	Architect	Architect and educator	White	Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response.
19	Found via online research	38	Architect	Unknown	White	Immigrated	Email	Initial contact, no response.
20	Found via online research	35+	Architect	Project manager	White	Unknown	Email	Initial contact, no response.
21	Found via online research	30+	Architect	Lead architect	Black	Gauteng	Email	2nd level of response, no response
22	Found via online research	46	Architect	Unknown	White	Western Cape	Email	2nd level of response, no response.
23	Acquaintance	41	Architect	Director and founder	White	Unknown	Email	2nd level of response, no response.
24	Found via online research	37	Architect	Project architect	Other	Gauteng	Email	2nd level of response with ethical clearance sent no response.
25	Found via online research	35+	Architect	Unknown	Malay	Durban	Email	Initial contact, no response.
26	Found via online research	40+	Architect	Lead architect	White	Gauteng	Email	Initial contact, no response.
27	Found via online research	39	Architect	Unknown	White	Unknown	Email	Initial contact, no response.
28	Found via online research	38	Architect	Lead architect		Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response.
29	Found via online research	30	Architect	Unknown	Other	Gauteng	Email	Initial contact, no response.
30	Found via online research	42	Architect	Unknown	White	Unknown	Email	Initial contact, no response.
31	Found via online research	35	Architect	Unknown	White	Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response.
32	Acquaintance	40	Architect	Director and founder	White	Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response.
33	Acquaintance	40	Architect	Associate	White	Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response.
34	Acquaintance	42	Architect	Director and founder	Other	Western Cape	Email	Initial contact, no response.

Appendix D – Poster and flyer invitation for the call for participants

TELLING HER STORY IN ARCHITECTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

ABOVE: TEMPLE UNIVERSITY AND UPENN DESIGN STUDENTS SHARE WHAT THEY WOULD DO WITH THE READING RAILROAD

This research study is looking to capture the story of women architects in South Africa and would like to interview you.
If you are a women that has practiced as an architect in South Africa and would be interested in contributing to this research study please contact me @ ann-marie.ellmann@uct.ac.za or cell +27 79 077 2926.

THIS RESEARCH STUDY HAS BEEN APPROVED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN'S EBE ETHICS COMMITTEE (EBE EIRC 05/31/2021 ID. 20437291).

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

Appendix E – NVIVO CODE FAMILIES

Name	Files	References
CULTURE OF ARCHITECTURE	**9**	**450**
architecture as a career	9	43
encouragement of doing architecture	2	5
practical play	2	2
school subjects	8	15
talents visible	1	1
education	9	163
choice of tertiary education	3	8
cost of architectural studies	1	1
experiences with lecturers	6	33
gender of lecturers	5	16
relationships with lecturers	2	6
gendered narrative in architectural education	7	19
post grad	2	4
secondary education	3	6
teaching methods and architectural icons differ	2	2
Under grad	9	56
university experience	8	33
student protests	3	5
mentoring	9	34
architectural mentor	4	8
work - Architectural Practice	9	210
Covid influence	1	1
living breathing architecture	6	16
work experience	1	1
controlling emotions	2	6
gender in architecture	9	155
gender narrative in the workplace	8	57
men in architecture	2	2
women in architecture	9	83
proof yourself	4	4
high stress environment	2	3
leaving architecture	8	23
returning to architecture	1	3
opportunities at workplace	3	4
personal response to fix limitations in experience	6	11
grit	5	9
part time lecturing	1	1
post graduation costing a new limitation in architecture	1	1
psychological responses	5	26
personal effect	5	12
power	2	7
relating to men	3	6
professional position	5	6
retrenched	3	5
sense of belonging in architecture	2	2
work production	9	157
architecture as a responsibility	7	41
response to architecture	6	27
being a professional	6	40
difference between university versus real life	1	1
dress code	3	11
indemnity insurance	1	1
responsible too early on in career	4	9
SACAP registration	4	16
company structure	7	24
architects under cutting another	1	1
company's focus	2	3
contract versus permanent	3	4
partnership	5	13
creative process	3	17
freelance work	2	7
hierarchy in architecture	3	12
salary	3	9
tasks	0	0
costing	3	5
drawings	3	5
leadership	1	2
role player engagement	3	21
site experience	2	5
the construction industry	2	2

Name	Files	References
CULTURE OF GENDERING	**9**	**428**
culture	9	377
Family's influence	9	129
familial responsibilities	1	2
grandparents influence	3	9
language	7	12
parent's influence	8	39
father's influence	5	16
mother's influence	7	17
romantic partner's influence	7	35
siblings	7	15
gendered influences	9	179
gender narrative at home	7	23
gendered perceptions	6	18
guilt	2	10
motherhood	4	11
relationship	2	2
religion	4	13
sense of belonging	2	19
sense of self	3	5
sports hierarchy	3	9
dance	1	1
transiting	2	7
upbringing	9	51
bubble	2	5
dressed as a child	2	2
early years spent with grandparents	2	2
never said you can't as a girl	3	3
no difference in gender during up bringing	3	3
reflecting on up bringing	3	9
small circle of friends	2	2
Name	**Files**	**References**
IDENTITY OF THE ARCHITECT	**9**	**57**
architectural role models	3	5
expression	8	41
architectural identity	8	23
details	3	3
starchitects	3	5
Zaha Hadid	1	1
architectural style	4	12
role of the architect	3	6
image	3	7
perceived image of the architect	3	7
INTERSECTIONAL LENS	**9**	**124**
age	9	12
age and physical attributes	1	2
class	5	7
remember privilege	5	7
context	6	20
South African context	6	20
language	4	5
physical location	2	5
race and ethnicity	5	37
race more important than gender	3	3
reflecting on othering	3	26
relating to another	1	1
understand and observe intersectional lens	7	39

NAME	Files	References
PERSONAL DISCORD	**9**	**256**
reflection about limitations experienced	3	13
not asking help	1	2
reflection about architecture	5	18
reflection about being woman	8	80
reflection about image	4	13
reflection about othering	3	15
reflection on emotions	5	23
emotional control	1	2
emotional response	4	6
reflection on own abilities	8	52
reflection on own attributes	5	14
perfectionism	1	3
social	1	1
reflection on privilege	8	15

Appendix F – ETHICAL CLEARANCE

Application for Approval of Ethics in Research (EiR) Projects
Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment, University of Cape Town

ETHICS APPLICATION FORM

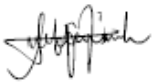
Please Note:
Any person planning to undertake research in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment (EBE) at the University of Cape Town is required to complete this form **before** collecting or analysing data. The objective of submitting this application *prior* to embarking on research is to ensure that the highest ethical standards in research, conducted under the auspices of the EBE Faculty, are met. Please ensure that you have read, and understood the **EBE Ethics in Research Handbook** (available from the UCT EBE, Research Ethics website) prior to completing this application form: http://www.ebe.uct.ac.za/ebe/research/ethics1

APPLICANT'S DETAILS		
Name of principal researcher, student or external applicant		Ann-Marie Ellmann
Department		Construction Economics and Management (CEM)
Preferred email address of applicant:		ann-marie.ellmann@uct.ac.za
If Student	Your Degree: e.g., MSc, PhD, etc.	MPhil
	Credit Value of Research: e.g., 60/120/180/360 etc.	120
	Name of Supervisor (if supervised):	Ms Karen Le Jeune and A/Prof Jane Bennett
If this is a researchcontract, indicate the source of funding/sponsorship		N/A
Project Title		N/A

I hereby undertake to carry out my research in such a way that:

- there is no apparent legal objection to the nature or the method of research; and
- the research will not compromise staff or students or the other responsibilities of the University;
- the stated objective will be achieved, and the findings will have a high degree of validity;
- limitations and alternative interpretations will be considered;
- the findings could be subject to peer review and publicly available; and
- I will comply with the conventions of copyright and avoid any practice that would constitute plagiarism.

APPLICATION BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Principal Researcher/ Student/External applicant	Ann-Marie Ellmann		19/5/2021
SUPPORTED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
Supervisor (where applicable)	Karen Le Jeune		28/05/21

APPROVED BY	Full name	Signature	Date
HOD (or delegated nominee) Final authority for all applicants who have answered NO to all questions in Section 1; and for all Undergraduate research (Including Honours).	**Dr. Frank K. Ametefe**		**11/06/2021**
Chair: Faculty EIR Committee For applicants other than undergraduate students who have answered YES to any of the questions in Section 1.	**Dr. Frank K. Ametefe**		**11/06/2021**

Page **1** of **1**