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TITLE OF THESIS: UNDERSTANDING THE SOCIAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS RELATED TO THE RETENTION AND PROGRESSION OF SELECTED FEMALE ACADEMICS IN FOUR HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN ZIMBABWE

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Key Words

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ABSTRACT

This study set out to investigate the social and institutional factors which impact on the retention and progression of female academics in four universities in Zimbabwe. Drawing on a qualitative research methodology the aim of the study was to understand the social and institutional factors related to the retention and progression of female academics in four institutions in Zimbabwe.

In seeking to unpack the factors that shape the low representation of female academics in occupational spheres, the study finds unequal gender-based patterns in Zimbabwean society as a key condition that finds its way into the four institutions. In this regard, the patterns and shape of gender relations, based on the principles of kinship, become the platform for unequal relations among male and female academic staff. This manifests itself in different ways, including the (negative) role played by the extended kin family in the progression of married women academics to higher level management posts, resistance to women's authority by both men and women, the culture of male domination within institutions which works to the disadvantage of female academics and stereotypical behaviour by men within the institutions.

Declaration

I declare that “Understanding the social and institutional factors related to the retention and progression of selected female academics in four Higher Education institutions in Zimbabwe” is my own work, and that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Moffat Chitapa Tarusikirwa

.....
Signed

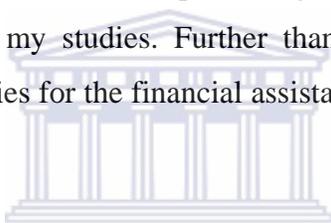
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1 Introduction

Universities across the globe are experiencing constraints of low government funding as well as the effects of increased student enrolment and a proliferation of new degree programmes (Morley, 2005). There is also the increased awareness of the lack of gender equity in university enrolments, academic staff and university administration in which resources and important decisions are still made and implemented by men (Jacobs, 1996; Subotzky, 2001; Mabileka, 2003; Morley, 2005). However this differs from country to country. There is a view that women's under-representation in senior and decision making roles represents both cultural misrecognition and material and intellectual oppression (Morley, 2005). The low levels of women's participation in Higher Education are largely viewed as a function of gender inequality within society at large (Tsikata, 2007).

Globally, women in Higher Education experience barriers in access, appointments, retention and progression (Jacobs, 1996; Morley, 2005). Moreover, there are cultural barriers in the form of persistent racism and sexism in particular, strong patriarchy that is evident across the racial divide (Subotzky, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Gender inequality has been recognized as a feature of social relations in most societies and is linked to poverty, violence, the labour market, health, housing, and education (Morley, 2005). Additionally, gender inequality has a role in structuring the relations of production and reproduction and is inextricably linked with knowledge construction and dissemination. On the other hand, there has been little sustained attention given globally to the role that Higher Education plays in challenging and reproducing gender privileges and disadvantages (Morley, 2005).

Education institutions are viewed as key socializing structures that produce and reproduce the subordinate position of women in society (Mama, 2003; Prah 2002; Barnes, 2005; Pereira, 2007). Universities have been viewed as having an ideological role

which has often been covert, and has been in keeping with the liberal political tradition and its claims of neutrality. Universities have also been viewed as important sites for the creation and reproduction of particular institutional and intellectual cultures (Gherardi, 1995). These are the products of faculty, students and administrators. They all take part in the production and shaping of such cultures (Gherardi, 1995). All institutions are seen as gendered and such a conceptual framework is important in order to understand the factors experienced by female academics in appointments and promotions in Higher Education (Gherardi, 1995).

1.1 Making a case for the study of female academics: Representation and participation of female academics in the academy in Africa.

There is a view that African nations are deeply marked by gender, class, ethnicity, religion and various other dimensions of difference and inequality (Gaidzanwa, 1992; Kwesiga, 2002, Mama, 2005; Mkandawire; 2005). As such, Africa's campuses remain difficult and challenging places for women at many levels, in ways that are complicated further by the dynamics of growing poverty (Mama, 2005). There are also the persistently inequitable ethnic, religious, sexual and other social relations such as the persistence of patriarchal and misogynistic campus cultures (Steady, 2004; Mama, 2005; Mkandawire; 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007). However, there is growing public sensitivity to sexual harassment and abuse of women (Mkandawire; 2005).

There has been pervasive under representation of women in most African countries. Inequality has been sustained for the first three decades of independence for most African countries. In the mid 1990's only about 3 percent of Africa's professorate were women (Teferra and Altbach, 2003). However, expansion of the public university sector has allowed significant numbers of women to gain access to Higher Education since (Gaidzanwa, 1992; Teferra and Altbach, 2003; Mkandawire; 2005; Shackleton, 2007). As recent as 2003, female academics in Africa, were; 6.1 percent in Ethiopia, 12 percent in Ghana and Nigeria and after a decade of affirmative action, 19 percent in Uganda.

Women Students were also lowly represented except in Libya and Swaziland at 51 percent female enrolment (Teferra and Altbach, 2003).

There is a view that men and masculinity are identified with the labour of the mind and women and femininity with that of the body (Barnes, 2007). In that regard, full professors are expected to make seminal contributions (Barnes, 2007). In the African university, the majority of full professors are male, leading to male dominance in university high ranks (Gaidzanwa, 2007; Tsikata, 2007; Odejide, 2007). Furthermore, women are seriously under-represented in senior positions (Morley, 2005). There is a view that there is an overwhelming patriarchal culture in institutional norms within African Higher Education in general (as indeed global) (Lund, 1998; Morley, 2005). These institutional norms are said to include curricular approaches to the body, identity, sexuality and the relevance of such concepts to diverse disciplines (Lund, 1998; Singh, 2002). Issues of sexual harassment, violence, sexuality and the production and reproduction of gender identities are also cited (Singh, 2002; Morley, 2005; Bennett and Reddy, 2007).

The problem of under representation of women in academic positions in Higher Education institutions is replicated across Higher Education institutions in Africa. In this section, I shall provide a glimpse into the low levels of representation of women in institutions in African countries. Given the vastness of the African continent, I can but only take a snapshot view of some African countries especially in instances of the availability of data. These are South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda and Senegal.

A brief look at the situation in South Africa reveals a phenomenon of low representation of female academics in high level management posts (see Subotzky, 2001; 2003; Zulu, 2003; Mabokela, 2003). At the time of conducting this study, South Africa had two women vice chancellors out of twenty-three possibilities (Gunawardena et.al, 2008). That is, despite the provisions of an enabling legislation in the form of the constitution (1996), the Labour Relations Act (1995) and the Employment Equity Act No. 55 of 1998. Women's citizenship in Academia in South Africa is by far still persistently very low in

high level management ranks in Higher Education institutions (Subotzky, 2003; Mabokela, 2003; Zulu; 2003; Perumal; 2003). The pattern of representation is still generally low and very little change has taken place. The official status of women in South African Academia ranges from being head of department to senior lecturers, to serving on programme coordinating, and other committees (Subotzky, 2003; Mabokela, 2003; Zulu; 2003; Perumal; 2003). Other positions women still occupy are officers in student affairs, student fees, payroll and public relations sections (Subotzky, 2003; Mabokela, 2003; Zulu; 2003; Perumal; 2003; Shackleton, et. al., 2006; Shackleton, 2007). In South Africa universities have a national gender equity policy which they are supposed to be implementing emanating from the constitution (De La Rey, 1999; Riordan and Simonis, 2006; Shackleton, 2007). Other obstacles to employment equity are deep rooted arrogance, race and colour in which the view of standards is still associated with skin colour and these aspects impact on hiring decisions. There is a perceived glass ceiling towards the advancement of black women staff (Portnoi, 2005). In practice, there is a range of informal, covert institutional impediments to equity which exists and renders many, if not most institutional practices and climates somewhat hostile to the advancement of black and women staff (Subotzky, 2003).

At the University of Ghana, there is a familiar picture similar to that in most African universities with low representation for women in most faculties and no women at all in others (Tsikata, 2007). female academics are under-represented in senior ranks in university faculties, currently standing at approximately 3 % of the professoriate (Tsikata, 2007). The University of Ghana is a male dominated space. For example, the department of Physics only employed female academics since the 1990's (Tsikata, 2007).

Similarly in Nigerian universities, there is unequal access for women to Higher Education. There is generally an imbalance in the representation of females, both at academic staff and student levels (Morley, et. al, 2008). Women constitute only thirty-five percent of the total number of students and are underrepresented in engineering and technology courses and somewhat overrepresented in arts and education courses. Only 12.4 percent of the academic staff in Nigeria is women (Morley, et. al., 2008). There is

vertical segregation and persistent under-representation of women as academics and managers in Nigerian Higher Education and there are no women vice-chancellors (Morley, et. al, 2008). At the university women are portrayed and treated as subordinate owing to traditional culture, social and family factors which view women as being inherently fragile, dependent on male protection and requiring surveillance and control of their behaviour (Odejide, 2007).

In Cameroon at the University of Buea, men dominate all academic ranks, particularly, those at professorial levels. There is inequality in the number of men vis-à-vis women in senior management positions and higher academic ranks, with men being the majority (Mbongo and Nchang, 2007). Gender issues on campus include sexual harassment, violence against girls and female academics and unhealthy relationships between teachers and students (Mbongo and Nchang, 2007). In Ethiopia, at the University of Addis Ababa, a similar situation to that in Cameroon exists. Women are under-represented as heads of departments and deans of faculties. Male faculty holds the top decision –making positions of president, vice-presidents, and most of the dean and director posts (Mulugeta, 2007). The small female population and patriarchal culture on campus make for a very unfriendly environment, manifesting in harassment, physical violence-including homicide and a stigma against female students affirmative action. The lack of a gender policy and little awareness about commitment to gender issues cause many of these problems (Mulugeta, 2007).

In Tanzania, there was a reduction in the number of female academics at the University of Dar es Salaam from 1997/98 to 1999/2000 as a result of cumulative factors, the major being a mid 1980's freeze in Government institutions employment. Tanzania is viewed to have the lowest number of overall female staff at 14.2 percent in Africa. No females occupy positions of executive heads; hence there are no women vice-chancellors in Tanzania (Morley, et. al., 2008). There is also the persistence of vertical segregation and under-representation of women as academics and managers in Tanzanian Higher Education (Morley, et. al., 2008). Several factors have been sited for the tiny proportion of women in Tanzania's university system such as the socio-cultural environment, for

example, the influence of tradition (Morley, et. al., 2008). There is the persistence of negative perceptions attached to females attaining Higher Education, such as having loose morals, pride, or being labeled as unsuitable for marriage (Morley, et. al., 2008). Females, in turn are usually pressured to conform to socio-cultural expectations when they reach a certain age, hence some of them decide to forgo Higher Education (Morley, et. at., 2008). There is also the competition with boys for limited Higher Education places who because of economic and cultural factors are favoured by parents for schooling ahead of girls (Morley, et. al., 2008).

In Uganda, there is also persistent under-representation of female academics in Higher Education and no women are senior executives in government institutions except for a recently appointed vice-chancellor at a new private university (Morley, et. al., 2008). The majority of professors are also said to be males. female academics in Uganda generally experience similar challenges to those in the rest of the other African country universities discussed above (Morley, et. al., 2008). In Senegal, academic neutrality is belied by the under-representation of women in decision-making structures in universities. The university ultimately remains a place of male domination with superior numbers of male academics (Diaw, 2007). The university still maintains policies and practices that exclude women, despite claims of championing democracy and neutrality. At the Cheikh Anta Diop University of Dakar, there are still numerous hurdles for female academics to overcome in order to rise to higher academic and administrative echelons (Diaw, 2007). Such hurdles include social and cultural demands on women's time which make it extremely difficult for women to devote the kind of time required for excellence in research and scholarship (Diaw, 2007:5). Like in most other countries, women have to make a choice between family and career and this is viewed to be the main reason behind women's inability to satisfy the promotions criteria of universities which are based on strong research tenets (Diaw, 2007).

In Zimbabwe, at the University of Zimbabwe, the 1980's were years of swift transformation in which black lecturers were appointed to lectureships. Black junior staff males who were university appointees at the time benefited from staff development

fellowships (Gaidzanwa, 2007). These black males occupied chairs and senior positions in the university as white professionals' contracts were cancelled to enable blacks to occupy these positions in the university (Gaidzanwa, 2007). Because there was an absence of black women in the university in academic posts, black males benefited from these changes (Gaidzanwa, 2007). At the time, the University of Zimbabwe was the only university in the whole country. The post-independence changes ushered in black male domination in academic ranks which persist until today (Gaidzanwa, 2007). All the other new public universities are off-shoots of the older institution, and have carried on the tradition of male domination in high ranking management positions as well as in academic appointments and promotions (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

In 2007, there were fewer than six females in the professorial grades at the University of Zimbabwe. Women were bunched in the lecturer grades in the permanent staff category, and made up one third of the senior lecturer body. Most women were in lecturer and teaching assistant and graduate teaching assistant posts (Gaidzanwa, 2007). Despite the proliferation of universities in Zimbabwe and the creation of more and more university bureaucracies since independence in 1980 growing from the original single university to fifteen universities, there are only two women Vice Chancellors of universities to date. There are very few high ranking women managers at the university level in Zimbabwe despite the introduction of a policy of gender affirmative action by the post independence government which has been in place for over three decades (Chabaya et. al, 2009). A range of informal and covert institutional impediments to equity such as prejudice and discrimination have been identified (Gaidzanwa, 2007). The gender equity policies crafted by the post independence government have been left to individual universities to implement in appointments and promotions (Gaidzanwa, 2007). This scenario makes it even more difficult for aspiring female academics to achieve promotion to senior ranks within the university system.

After 30 years of independence in Zimbabwe, various forms of Affirmative action for girls and women have been implemented by institutions of Higher Education and by government; it is interesting to see the successes or failures of these programmes. This

study has shown that there are still many barriers for female academics in terms of promotion and appointment to executive management levels in Zimbabwe. If anything, the conditions under which female academics work have continued to deteriorate owing to the effects of the economic challenges in the country (Gaidzanwa, 2007). This unfavourable situation has resulted in the exodus of academics from Zimbabwean Higher Education. There are now very few women left in Zimbabwean Higher Education and male faculty continue to predominate in institutional positions. The exodus of senior academic staff as well as the economic crisis has left female academics without mentorship or the means to do research and publish. These are some of the factors or barriers experienced by female academics in Zimbabwean Higher Education today (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

1.1.1 Motivation for the Study

As a professional, my interest in the research area goes back to my days as a Deputy Head of a sixth form high school in Zimbabwe in the early 1980's when I was alarmed by the high dropout rate of girls compared to boys and started to look for reasons why it was happening. In Zimbabwe, high dropout numbers of female students are a result of adverse socio-economic factors, early marriages, religion and prejudice (Dorsey, 1996). Most girls who had dropped out never returned to the school systems giving rise to a low transition rate for girls from high school to Higher Education. Upon becoming a lecturer in Higher Education, I found out that as a result of the high dropout rate of girls at the school level, there was a poor representation of girls and women in Higher Education institutions. This was so at both the student level as well as the operational level with fewer female academics than males in both teaching and management ranks. This phenomenon of women's under-representation in Higher Education institutions motivated me to do further research into the factors which give rise to such a situation for women in Higher Education institutions.

As a result of my personal values, I have a strong belief in the empowerment of the poor and vulnerable groups in society. This belief was born and instilled in me during my days as a liberation activist in my college days overseas in England. Another factor that

buttressed this belief was my active participation in the Anti-Apartheid marches and the student movements and liberation movements in those early years of struggle for independence. I am touched by the plight of women, particularly those from poor backgrounds who do not get opportunities to study, get jobs, and live a better life. I strongly believe that through interaction and the researching of gender issues affecting women, I can make a difference to the empowerment of women in society. Therefore, upon my return to post colonial Rhodesia, Zimbabwe, I was keen to work for the development of the country and upliftment of the poor women and children through education. That still remains my mission despite the current challenges facing the country.

Finally, my political biography includes personal experience of the phenomenon of poor representation of female academics in both faculty and management ranks. I hope that this study will contribute to some of the solutions that are needed in order to address this issue.

The literature on gender and Higher Education tends to predominate in countries such as the United Kingdom, United States of America, Northern Europe, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Morley, 2005). By contrast until recently, there have been only a few in-depth examinations of the challenges of being female in highly gendered academic institutions, in developing countries such as Zimbabwe and other African countries (Gaidzanwa, 2001; Pereira, 2003; Morley et al., 2005; Odejide et al., 2005; Odejide, 2007). Research about gender in African Higher Education remains largely an unmapped area and a fruitful target of enquiry (Barnes, 2007). In Zimbabwe, there is a literature gap in this area as there is very limited literature available on local studies. Most studies done so far have tended to focus on access to Higher Education and sexual harassment rather than on conditions of employment and barriers to acceptance (Gaidzanwa, 2007).

Research into gender and Higher Education in Africa has focused on issues of the curriculum, access and the effects of neo-liberal policies on the quality and management of education (Odejide, 2007). A number of other scholars have made similar assertions

(Ukeje, 2002; Okeke, 2004; Zeleza and Olukoshi, 2005). The problems of sexual harassment have received special attention (Aina and Odebiyi, 2002; Denga and Denga, 2004).

The problem of women's representation has been analyzed mainly as one of enrolment - ignoring institutional and intellectual cultures which affect both students and academics. Areas that need further analysis include structures, hierarchies, processes, social relations and agency in governance, teaching and learning, research and everyday life issues. Differences among women such as age, seniority, marital status, qualifications, ethnicity, religion, networks and disciplinary background which interact with institutional cultures also need to be analysed/ unpacked (Tsikana, 2007). This study seeks to address some of these concerns, and fills an important literature gap in relation to post- independent Zimbabwe.

1.1.2 Significance of the study

In this study the researcher set out to investigate the social and institutional factors experienced by female academics in four universities in Zimbabwe with the view that if such factors were known, conditions that bring about such challenges can be gradually resolved, thus bringing women in Higher Educational institutions from the periphery to the centre of analysis in line with the lens of Standpoint epistemology (Harding, 1986).

Women are the numeric majority in Zimbabwe. Different studies conclude that they are disadvantaged by the stratified society in terms of gender, with males being in the upper and females in the lower class. This has resulted in females getting second class access to opportunities and resources (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). It is important for decisionmaking purposes to research issues that affect women through studies like this one in order to be able to address the imbalances. In this study, one needs to know where we are in terms of gender equity in Higher Education, particularly at University level in Zimbabwe. It envisages that new approaches to gender equity in Higher Education institutions could emerge as a result of this research project. By researching the factors within the four universities representing institutions of Higher Education that have a negative impact on women's progression and advancement in the

country, the study hopes to contribute to new knowledge in the area of gender equity in Higher Education management.

For the purpose of this study, this section has provided insights on the prevailing conditions and barriers affecting female academics in Higher Education. The four universities serving as exemplars of social and institutional factors related to the retention and progression of senior women academics in Zimbabwe are UZ, NUST, ZOU and MSU. Having mapped the background, I now proceed to outline the research question and scope of the study.

1.2 The Research Problem, Aims And Objectives Of The Study

I am interested in the conditions faced by female academics in senior positions at Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions. In particular, I want to investigate what are the barriers that women experience in terms of retention and progression regarding appointments and promotions to higher occupational levels and look into the conditions conducive to women's advancement. I am interested to investigate the kinds of factors that reproduce the patriarchal structure and the associated cultural forces that harness the phenomena of patriarchy in certain institutions. In other words, I want to unpack the meanings associated with the phenomena of a 'glass ceiling' with reference to practices inside in institutions.

The overall aim of this research is to understand the social and institutional factors related to the retention and progression of senior female academics in four institutions in Zimbabwe. Broadly stated, I am interested in the conditions that shape the working life of female academics.

Table 1: Research Aim and Questions

Research aim	Questions
<p>Social and Institutional factors: To investigate the social and institutional factors that impact on the conditions under which senior female academics work.</p> <p>To investigate in a general way the working life conditions of senior female academics in Higher Education.</p>	<p>How have the social, institutional and cultural factors influenced the retention and progression of senior female academics?</p> <p>What are the specific institutional conditions?</p>
<p>Institutional cultural factors: To investigate aspects of the institutions' culture that impact on the lives of senior female academics.</p>	<p>What is the nature of the institutional culture in the four institutions?</p>
<p>To investigate the nature and shape of the social relations between male and female academics in the institutions.</p>	<p>How are senior female academics treated in institutions of Higher Education?</p> <p>What are the kinds of stereotypes that emerge?</p>

1.3 Organization Of The Study

Chapter one of the thesis is the introduction of the research. In Chapter one I provide a background to the study, the motivation, significance, the aims and questions. Furthermore, I provide the organization of the study.

This is followed by Chapter two which provides an outline of gender relations in African universities and a historical backdrop of Zimbabwe. In this Chapter, a discussion follows on Higher Education institutions in Africa, the academic profession and the role and function of female academics in Higher Education institutions in Africa. I provide a brief historical background of Zimbabwe in terms of the socio-political and economic perspectives as well as the history of Higher Education in Zimbabwe, and the role of

women in patriarchal relations in the general society and Higher Education in particular is also developed.

In Chapter three, I also discuss various social theories on gender inequality as well those on women as economic beings. Furthermore, I discuss Higher Education institutions as a workplace for women. Here I discuss briefly the history of Higher Education with respect to tracing women. Moreover, I discuss gender socialization through fields of study, gendered division of labour, recruitment process, working conditions, the promotion process, barriers to promotion, balancing familial and workplace roles as well as the aspect of gender and institutional culture.

In Chapter four, I provide the theoretical, epistemological and methodological lenses that have been used to guide this study.

Chapter five presents what could be termed as empirical based views by the respondents on gender socialization and gender relations introduced at work.

Chapter six presents results covering areas such as governance, teaching, research, administration, the promotion process, support networks, institutional culture and the subject of institutional barriers to the retention and progression of female academics. Furthermore I discuss the aspect of Higher Education as a workplace with respect to stereotyping and patriarchy.

In Chapter seven, the closing Chapter of the study, I present a summary of the major findings of the study, the conclusions and the recommendations. In addition, I present my reflections on the results, the limitations of the study and recommendations for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

UNIVERSITY AND GENDER RELATIONS IN AFRICA: THE HISTORY OF ZIMBABWE IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

In this Chapter I shall provide a discussion pertaining to the situation of female academics in Higher Education institutions in Africa. The Chapter will provide a socio-political-economic overview of Zimbabwean society in order to understand the shape of gender relations in Higher Education institutions in Zimbabwe. In particular, I am interested in identifying the extent to which the conditions in Higher Education create the optimum environment and climate for advancement and retention of female academics in four institutions in Zimbabwe, namely The University of Zimbabwe (UZ), The National University of Science and Technology (NUST), The Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU), and The Midlands State University (MSU). In order to answer this and other questions I need to set the backdrop for the study.

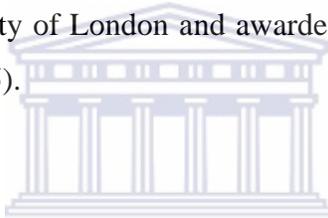
2.2 Tracing university and gender relations in selected African countries

In the views of Mama (2003), there were three main kinds of institutions in Africa prior to modern universities. She points out that these were deeply patriarchal and names the 1st Century Islamic Academics of Qarawiyin in Fez and AL Ahzar in Cairo, the 13th Century Timbuktu, and other pre-colonial centres of advanced learning, which were all male Islamic establishments. These famous Muslim colleges in the mosques of Sankore in Timbuktu, Qarawiyin in Fez and Al-Azhar in Cairo existed long before the European university came to Africa. There is, however, a belief that these were not instruments of modernization but conservers of tradition (Schmidtlein and Berdahl, 2005).

The European model of university that is the Humboldtian model named after the German ideology of a developmental university was extended to the Spanish colonies in the 16th Century. In the 17th Century it was extended to the English and French colonies (Schmidtlein and Berdahl, 2005). The university became an instrument of modernization in the colonies and the spread of Western influence (Schmidtlein and Berdahl, 2005). As

such, Colonial colleges were established in Nigeria, Ghana, Uganda, South Africa and Zimbabwe (Ashby, 1964; Mama, 2003; Maunde, 2003; Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Lulat, 2005).

In South Africa, the first university started as a College in 1829 and became the University of Cape Town in 1910. There-after other universities were established in South Africa (Schmidtlein and Berdahl, 2005). The British were reluctant to establish universities in their colonies with stiff resistance coming from the governors. It was only after the 1st World War that the English established universities at Makerere in Uganda, at Khartoum in Sudan, Fourah Bay in Sierra Leone, Achimota and Ibadan in Nigeria (Schmidtlein and Berdahl, 2005). Universities were also established in Ghana as well as in Rhodesia and Nyasaland. These universities were semi-autonomous as they were under the supervision of the University of London and awarded University of London degrees (Schmidtlein and Berdahl, 2005).



2.2.1 Social function

The social function of colonial universities was to train an African elite who would take over from the ruling whites at independence (Ashby, 1964; Maunde, 2003; Lulat, 2005). The British government and academic elites of that time's priority was to groom the nucleus of the first class African bureaucrats and leaders. They offered the same curriculum as offered in the mother metropolitan universities (Ashby, 1964). According to Mama (2003), the social function of colonial colleges was to preserve male privilege in terms of access and control and a dedication to the production of good colonial subjects intended to inherit the exclusively masculine mantle of colonial leadership. They also helped to further the existing imperial interests dominating the African political and economic landscapes (Mama, 2003).

Governance of the new colonial universities was headed at the top by the Queen or some other royal representative as Chancellor followed by a professor as Vice Chancellor. The intellectual culture was dominated by male expatriate whites who headed faculties and the administration, nurturing and maintenance of the intellectual cultures and traditions of

home country universities (Gaidzanwa, 2007). The colonial university adopted the intellectual traditions and cultures of the metropolitan universities of research, writing and publishing, seminal presentations, contact and sabbatical leave as the hallmark of an intellectual institution (Ashby, 1964).

The new colonial public universities were established and financed from mother country governments' coffers, a function later taken over by independent state governments (Schmidtlein and Berdahl, 2005). Other sources of funding were colonial revenues, bridge tolls, surcharges on licenses, tobacco poundage, lottery proceeds and gifts of land in addition to tuition payments, donations and philanthropists (Perkin, 2007).

Zambia and Malawi established their own universities modeled along the same Western University model at independence in 1964. The social function of these new African universities was similar to the Western model. The heads of state in the newly independent African countries acted as Chancellors to the universities, with the professoriate as Vice Chancellors in charge of the running of the institutions (Ashby, 1964; Lulat, 2005). Funding for the universities was provided by the government and private funders of loans, grants and scholarships (Schmidtlein and Berdahl, 2005).

Colonial universities in Africa were male dominated institutions with male expatriates from the metropolitan universities taking charge of both management and academic matters (Ashby, 1964; Lulat, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007). At independence, a departing male expatriate faculty gave way to a local male faculty as there were very few, if any, female academics in the colonial university (Maunde, 2003; Teferra, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Female academics are still greatly underrepresented in African universities as a legacy of the colonial past (Kwesiga, 2002; Gaidzanwa, 2007). The situation was exacerbated through colonialists' claims to universalism for their culture and values, and the demotion of other cultures to only particularistic and exotic significance (Mama, 2003; Mkandawire, 2005). In other words, as will be discussed later in Chapter 3 under third world feminism, colonialism brought with it to the colonized territories new cultures and values which were often imposed and promoted as part of the colonial agenda at the

expense of local cultures and values which were viewed as primitive and retrogressive (Amadiume, 1987; Kwesiga, 2002).

In the Western view, feminist concepts are rooted in the nuclear family which is centred on a subordinated wife, a patriarchal husband, and children (Kwesiga, 2002; Mama, 2003; Mkandawire, 2005). The male head of the family is considered as breadwinner, and the female is associated with home and nurture. Traditionally Western scholars assumed gender to be universal and ignored race, and class issues which affected black women (Kwesiga, 2002; Mama, 2003; Oyewumi, 2004; Kisiang'ani, 2004; Mkandawire, 2005). Most of the universities were modeled after similar institutions in Western countries as they were initially staffed by expatriates. African intellectuals were alienated through Western ideas informing all intellectual discourse about African people (Ashby, 1964; Maunde, 2003; Mama, 2003).

Race, class and gender played a very important part in academic appointments and promotions in newly established universities. Male gender privilege as an essential part of European ethos became enshrined in the culture of modernity as it spread to Africa (Ashby, 1964; Mama, 2003; Maunde, 2003; Oyewumi, 2004; Mkandawire, 2005). Consequently, black female academics did not get an opportunity to be appointed in universities. Their parents exacerbated their plight as they preferred to send their boys to school rather than their girls. Hence very few women got educated during the colonial era (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Kwesiga, 2002; Mkandawire, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

It is, however, argued that today, a new and more insidious form of domination in the name of globalization, and with corresponding neo-liberal paradigms, has replaced the colonial project (Steady, 2004; Mama, 2005). Gender is perceived to be an organizing principle for accumulating, operating and allocating transnational resources and privilege, and that approaching the study of African women in this way, continues to be central to the development of these paradigms (Steady, 2004). It is interesting to note how these paradigms continue to reproduce themselves and that anthropology, the most influential discipline in African Studies, has been significant in creating and reinforcing the colonial

enterprise and continues to be relevant by means of perpetuating tendencies of the new colonialism called globalization (Steady, 2004). Steady (2004) argues that globalization has a compounded effect on women because of structural disadvantages in the global and national division of labour as well as inequalities in the distribution of assets and power.

The few women that became educated during the colonial era had to compete for the scarce university places reserved for Africans with boys at the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Gaidzanwa, 2007). On promotions to higher management ranks within universities, the argument is that women are beset by many challenges, for example married women have a problem in balancing work and family. Often the two compete for the woman's time. Some women have a problem in pursuing a double career. If a woman is married to a professional man, tradition and cultural values demand that the husband's career comes first. Hence women spend time moving from place to place following the husband's career (Moorosi, 2007).

Furthermore in the views of Moorosi (2007) some African women principals experience difficulties in striking a balance between work and family. Married women are expected by culture to do household chores even if they are bread winners. However, this practice may depend on the husband's educational background and upbringing. Some educated and modernized African men nowadays help their wives with domestic chores. As will be discussed later, traditionally Zimbabwean African men do not take part in household chores as these are considered to be the responsibility of women. In that instance, Moorosi (2007) gives as an example a husband who expects the wife to do the cooking for him even if there is a domestic worker employed for that purpose. Moorosi (2007) says that reasons for this attitude include cultural expectation in which women, despite being in employment or having employed a domestic helper, are still expected to perform family chores in the home.

Certain academic areas seem to be regarded as more suitable for women than others. At the University of Zimbabwe for example female academics are fewer in the Faculties of Engineering, Law, Veterinary Science, Agricultural Science, Commerce, Science and

Medicine. female academics are better represented in Arts, Education and Social Studies (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). On the international level, for example, there are more female academics in Medicine, Humanities and Social Sciences in Sweden. However the situation is the same when it comes to the Natural and Technical Sciences where there are more males than females. A similar situation as in Zimbabwe is indicative of the Agricultural and Veterinary Sciences fields in Sweden (Mahlck, 2003).

This section helps to complement the existing study as it gives a picture of the African Higher Education landscape, the geographical area of this study. This section has helped to provide a useful comparison of the study of the whole of Africa vis-à-vis the global situation. In the next section I shall provide a historical overview of Zimbabwean political economy.

2.3 Historical overview of Zimbabwean political Economy from 1880-2005

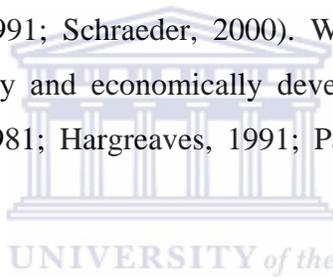
As outlined earlier, in this section I shall provide a socio-political-economic overview of Zimbabwean society in order to understand the shape of gender relations in Higher Education institutions. In that respect, I am interested in unpacking the extent to which the situation in Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions is conducive to the advancement and retention of female academics in the four selected institutions.

For purposes of analysis the history of Zimbabwe will be addressed for the periods 1887-1950; 1950-1980; and 1980-2005. In each of these periods I will provide a brief sketch of the political economy of Zimbabwean society, with some focus on the role and socialization of women. This sets the socio-political and economic backdrop for a more focused outline of the evolution of the Higher Education system as the context within which female academics (faculty) are working. This is done in order to understand the conditions under which female academics have worked in Higher Education institutions.

Situated in central Africa across the Limpopo river on the northern border of South Africa, stretching north as far as the Zambezi river to the border with Zambia, Zimbabwe with a land mass of 96 million acres (Martin & Johnson, 1981), has a rich history. In the next section I will sketch the political, economic and social history of Zimbabwe in broad brushstrokes over a period that spans just under a century.

2.3.1 Early colonialism and the scramble for Rhodesia: 1880-1950

Prior to the arrival of European settlers, Rhodesia (early Zimbabwe) was marked by a history of dynasties captured in the literature on Great Zimbabwe (see Martin and Johnson, 1981; Schraeder, 2000). Very briefly, Great Zimbabwe was the centre of a thriving Shona empire that lasted over two hundred years. The domestic economy was based on agriculture and cattle breeding. A vigorous coastal trade in gold was at the heart of the empire (Hargreaves, 1991; Schraeder, 2000). When the settlers arrived in the 1890's they found a politically and economically developed system in place (Wicht, 1952; Martin and Johnson, 1981; Hargreaves, 1991; Parsons, 1993; Schraeder, 2000; Maunde, 2003).



The early conquest of Rhodesia by the British occurred in the late 19th century (Martin and Johnson, 1981; Maunde, 2003). This phase of the British annexation of Rhodesia was marked by the granting of two land concessions, namely the Rudd and Lippert concessions (Martin and Johnson, 1981), both of which gave Rhodes the power to establish a permanent settlement in the area (Wicht, 1952; Murphree and Baker, 1975).

Following the granting of a charter by the British to govern the territory towards the end of the 19th century, Rhodes set about establishing the relevant mechanisms for occupation of the land. These included, among others, the appropriation of land (see Martin and Johnson, 1981) and the possession of cattle. This occurred in the context of heated wars with the local population. One such example was the Chimurenga wars that occurred at the end of the 19th century, the point at which Rhodesia was governed as a protectorate under the system of indirect rule. By 1922, in a referendum to determine whether Rhodesia should become a colony of SA or a self-governing one under British protection,

the latter was chosen. It is important to note that the election for this referendum had excluded the local indigenous population. Scholars have signaled that this event introduced a system of discrimination based on colour and race differences (Windrich, 1975; Murphree and Baker, 1975; Maunde, 2003).

As outlined earlier, an important mechanism for governing and controlling the territory was around the securing of key areas of land. In light of this, the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 was established (Murphree & Baker, 1975; Martin & Johnson, 1981; Hargreaves, 1991). The aims of this Land Act was to exclude blacks from owning land and create a reservoir of African labour for farms, mines and factories (Hargreaves, 1991). It is important to note that land was needed for the resettlement of settlers after the Second World War (1944), with certain parts of the country also being used for conservation measures (Hargreaves, 1991).

During this period, the economy was dominated by mining and farming (Wicht, 1952; Parsons, 1993). Apart from gold, there were other mineral resources available in the country (see Wicht, 1952; Hargreaves, 1991; Parsons, 1993; Schraeder, 2000; Maunde, 2003). Mining played an important part in the economy with gold production making up approximately 25% of the country's exports in the late 19th century (Parsons, 1993). Gold provided the Rhodesian economy a buffer against the worst effects of the world economic depression of the 1930's (Hargreaves, 1991). Along with mining, the settlers were also involved in farming (Wicht, 1952). There was a diverse range of farming activities, some of which included animal husbandry, growing of tobacco and maize in addition to the harvesting and export of hardwood timber such as teak (Wicht, 1952).

The economy was held together by the establishment of a transport system linking the various European colonies in Southern and Central Africa. Bulawayo was connected by railway to Kimberly towards the end of the 19th century leading to the extension of this system to Beira, Katanga and Benguela (Davey, 1981). Rhodesian major urban industrial centres were linked by both road and rail, while Kariba power station and several thermal power stations at Wankie provided electrical power (Parsons, 1993).

During this period, late 19th century, labour was extracted primarily from the local population. In particular, farm labour consisted of the local population, including women and children. For the purpose of this study, we observe that (black) women were forced into a farm labour function early in the colonial formation (Murphree and Baker, 1975; Parsons, 1993). Given these historical constraints I will identify reasons why this history of subservience and subordination continues to hold sway in the post independence period, in particular in Higher Education institutions.

Towards the end of the 19th century, we see the beginnings of a society being formally engineered along the lines of racial segregation for which several legal instruments had been established. Some of these included the Native Regulation Act of 1897, the Urban Areas Act of 1923, Land Apportionment Act of 1930, the 1931 Public Service Act, Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934, and the Native Regulation Act of 1936 (Herbst, 1973; Phimister, 1974; Murphree and Baker, 1975; Windrich, 1975; Martin and Johnson, 1981; Maunde, 2003). Both farmland and residential areas were racially segregated (Murphree and Baker, 1975; Windrich, 1975; Martin and Johnson, 1981; Parsons, 1993; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Social activity was a preserve of white people (Martin and Johnson, 1981; Murphree and Baker, 1975; Maunde, 2003). During this time, society was divided into racial classes with Whites in the upper class, followed by Coloureds and Asians. Blacks were placed in the bottom class (Murphree and Baker, 1975; Martin and Johnson, 1981).

2. 3.1.1 Married women: “Men’s private property”

In the Zimbabwean cultural context, married women are viewed as the private property of men (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.1.1). The perception that women are treated as the private property of men has its origin in the social institution of lobola. The concept of ‘private property’ has been defined as something owned by an individual or groups of individuals to which they have the sole right to enjoy possession and disposal of independently of others and society (Hinds, 1997; Machan, 2002). As outlined earlier, historically private property was linked to economic activities outside the home in the

marketplace. Such a view can be explained from the perspective of purchased private property in which capital exchanges hands for the purchased property (Hinds, 1997; Machan, 2002).

The latter refers to the practice of the price paid for a bride that then results in the wife becoming the property of her husbands' family including the extended family. A majority of Zimbabweans still exercise patrilocal/patrimony. Lobola is paid by the son-in-law to the wife's parents in the form of cash and cattle (Holleman, 1968). It is a cultural requirement that, for a marriage to be recognized by the in-laws and society at large, lobola must be paid. As a result, when African Zimbabwean men from the main ethnic groups of Shona and Ndebele marry they pay lobola as a token of appreciation to the parents of the bride (Holleman, 1968; Holland, 2005; Lindgren, 2001).

It is important to note that there are critiques to this view of 'appreciation', coming mainly from the vantage point of feminists as outlined below who argue that the payment of bride price is a negative practice insofar as it perpetuates gender inequality between men and women. There is a view that with lobola the wife acquires the duty of obedience to the husband (Enslin, 2003). Such a view is echoed by Mupotsa (2008) who argues that there is need for the wife to fashion her own values in marriage. Another argument against lobola is that it has become too expensive for some men as it has been commercialized (Enslin, 2003). In the views of Mupotsa (2008), only men's interests are served when money is transferred between men and the power of men is legitimated. In the process women's agency is compromised. According to Mupotsa (2008), it comes down to a question of power and there is need for women to speak on their own behalf.

This study probes the role played by patriarchy in the way women are treated in Zimbabwean society, in particular the factors experienced by female academics with respect to retention and progression in Higher Education institutions. The next section discusses the roles of women in the extended family.

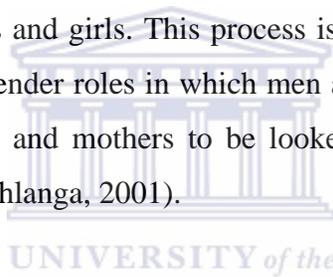
2.3.1.2 Women's roles in the extended family

As a result of the patriarchal nature of Zimbabwean society and customary law, women traditionally played subordinate roles to men within the family as they wielded very little power, if any, in both civic and social circles. Under customary law property was owned by husbands and women had to submit to the will and wishes of their husbands or male relations in order to survive (Ncube, 1987; Schmidt, 1990). Up to the present day Zimbabwean society has been stratified by gender. A hierarchical social structure exists in which males occupy the highest levels of the structure and females are located at the lower end (see Lindgren, 2001; Holland, 2005). In the extended family which plays a big role in social formation women are subordinate to male relatives. This is particularly found among the dominant ethnic groups of the Shona and Ndebele people (Lindgren, 2001; Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Holland, 2005). 'Shona' is an inclusive but foreign (Ndebele?) term for the group of people with a common language but with varying dialects. No indigenous term exists which could be conveniently used as a common denominator (Holleman, 1968). Unlike in the West where married women are concerned with issues of the nuclear family, in Zimbabwe, married women are immersed in issues of the extended family (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.1.3).

Zimbabwean female academics are part of extended family structures in the larger society which are based on the patrilineage. The patrilineage is a wide body of related people through the sharing of the same totem (Holleman, 1968). Consequently, the position of Zimbabwean African female academics in the institutions of Higher Education is exacerbated by kinship relations associated with the extended family structure. In the Zimbabwean African culture such as that of the majority Shona and Ndebele tribes, the extended household is pivotal to holding together family relationships. Women who are responsible for every member of the extended family as well as their husbands and their biological children also provide child care and domestic services (see Holleman, 1968; Holland, 2005).

The colonial government used customary law which was engraved with Victorian values to give more power to the domestic authority of male guardians. Women were paid less than men who had the same job and qualifications as theirs. Inadequate provision, traditional sexist attitudes, customary law and poverty combined to place constraints on women in society (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001)

Proponents of the social-learning theory argue that children acquire their knowledge and mentality of gender typed behaviour from observing other children, teachers and parents (West and Fenstermaker, 1993 Kwesiga, 2002). According to the social learning theory children imitate behaviour that they see being rewarded from other people of their own sex. Furthermore, it has been argued that differences between men and women are expressed through symbols/images, assumptions and language. An example is Western ideas of different toys for boys and girls. This process is seen as the one that drives the socialization of children into gender roles in which men are seen as heads of households and women are seen as wives and mothers to be looked after and dependent on men (Sarup, 1982 Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001).



There is a view that the earliest and most basic internalizations take place within primary groups, most notably families of one sort or another (Sarup, 1982; West and Fenstermaker, 1993). In these primary groups, the child is seen as internalizing basic cultural values along with structure of the family itself and the child's own place within it from an early age (Sarup, 1982; West and Fenstermaker, 1993). In the African culture, it is a sign of good upbringing when a girl kneels before the elders (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Kwesiga, 2002). The elders in this perspective are usually men and kneeling when serving the elders is a sign of respect towards them by the younger person, usually a woman.

2.3.1.3 Higher Education in Colonial Zimbabwe

Colonial education in Rhodesia was such that it was mainly geared towards enhancing the status and positions of the settler community. Although it is important to note that there had been small scale educational opportunities for a group of local sections of the

population who functioned as messengers, clerks and court interpreters (Martin and Johnson, 1981). The School system was divided into primary and secondary levels. The primary (and what came to be termed the public) school sector was established for the settler children; while the provision of education to the local population was served by missionaries (Martin and Johnson, 1981; Maunde, 2003; Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

The secondary sector comprised mostly schools for settler children. Missionary schools provided the only 'A' level education for locals in the country. Due to high competition for places, very few girls managed to enter these schools. Since African parents traditionally chose to send boys to school very few black women proceeded to study at university (Gaidzanwa, 2007). In short, inadequate provision, traditional sexist attitudes, customary law and poverty combined to place enormous constraints on black girls' access to education (Gordon, 1994).

Well into the 20th century the Higher Education system comprised two elements, namely, technical and teacher training college sectors. The technical college sector refers to Polytechnic types of colleges of which there were two established in the late 1920s. These were mainly geared towards skills development for industry and agriculture. The second, the teacher training took place in one college, Gweru Teachers' College established in 1947. We note that during this period there was no university presence. For those students seeking university education, South Africa and the United Kingdom of Great Britain were destination points (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

It is important to note that the ideological function of the Higher Education system was to advance high level skills training as a preserve for the white settler population and maintain the local population at a low level skills training. According to Hargreaves (1991) the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 prohibited locals from training in the high skills trades and professions at Polytechnics. Missionaries who played a role in evangelizing and civilizing the indigenous people and who also taught the locals elementary literacy and rudimentary modern technical skills were stopped by the

government through prescribing the teaching of technical skills to local people. This decree stopped competition for jobs between skilled locals and settlers (Maunde, 2003).

2.3.1.4 Women's positions in the college sector

During this period, we observe that the profile of the teaching (i.e. those doing instruction) body in both the technical and teacher training colleges was patriarchal. It was mainly white males who occupied teaching positions while females played the role of secretaries and cleaners or were deployed in institutional support services. Towards the mid 20th century, women were a rare minority in Higher Education institutions (Gaidzanwa, 2007). This gendered nature of Higher Education work place culture where women serve mostly in a subservient position to men is still common today.

2.3.2 Summary

The groundwork for the establishment of the first university college was laid by developing a proposal for the university college in Rhodesia in 1945. This period ends with the foundation being established for the first university (Maunde, 2003). Furthermore, this period is marked by political conquest of the British who assumed control of the major part of the economy through mining and farming. In Higher Education the system was limited to technical and teacher training colleges. At this time, we also observe that the gender shape of the 'profession' was patriarchal with mostly male faculty serving in colleges.

2.3.3 Federation, UDI, national resistance and struggles for independence: 1950-1980

This period is defined by what could be termed, four political moments, each of which shaped the course of Rhodesian history at the time. This period begins with the formation of the Federation in 1953 and ends with gaining of independence in 1980. The aim of the Federation had been to strengthen the economy of Rhodesia insofar as there was a need for copper and human resources. At the same time as the Rhodesian government sought to strengthen their hold both politically and economically, there was much internal resistance to colonialism in 1961 and 1962 through the formation of different liberation

movements by locals. In the mid 1960s, as the liberation movements consolidated their position by going to war, the Federation collapsed as Zambia and Malawi gained their independence from Britain. As Rhodesia reverted to British indirect rule, the liberation movements were banned and their leadership imprisoned.

In 1963 Smith declared Rhodesia independent from British Colonialism, in an effort to dislodge the colony from British sovereignty, attracting British and UN sanctions in the process (Martin and Johnson, 1981; Hargreaves, 1991; Schraeder, 2000).

In this period the economy continued to be based on mining and agriculture as well as being structured on racial lines with the settlers controlling all the means of production while the locals served as labourers (Murphree and Baker, 1975; Windrich, 1975). At the collapse of the Federation, the settlers inherited a rich and growing Federation economy gained from the copper in Zambia and labour from Malawi (Martin and Johnson, 1981). However, soon after UDI, the settlers experienced marketing and supply problems due to the imposition of British and United Nations led sanctions, although, as was evident, some of these sanctions were not observed by Zimbabwe's neighbours (Muller, 1981; Hargreaves, 1991). By the late 1970s, the Rhodesian economy had a growth rate of 10 percent and an inflation rate of 3 percent (Hargreaves, 1991; Parsons, 1993).

During the UDI period, social stratification along racial classes of Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Blacks became more prominent in the provision of separate residential facilities, skills and jobs (Murphree and Barker, 1975; Windrich, 1975). The system was based on the principle that ensured black sections of the population were channeled into low level occupations (Murphree and Baker, 1975). Locals were excluded from property ownership and segregation was legislated and enforced by law (Windrich, 1975).

During this time, men continued to occupy leadership roles in society. For black women, colonialism came with foreign religions like Christianity and Islam. With the introduction of new patriarchal religious values women sometimes lost opportunities to occupy important and leadership positions in society. In Christianity, women have few chances

of occupying leadership roles while in Islam leadership is a preserve for men (Ogundipe-Lesly, 1994). Women were relegated to second class citizens in cultural, political, social, economic and intellectual life. Thus traditional and religious patriarchal attitudes combined with colonial policies had further widened gender inequalities in pre-independent Zimbabwe (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Derar, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

2.3.3.1 Higher Education: newly established university sector and women in service positions

Between 1950 and 1980 we witness a slight expansion of the public Higher Education system that now includes universities. During this period, we witness the establishment of the first university college in Zimbabwe called The University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. As I outlined earlier, the foundation for the first university was laid in 1945. This period ends with one university having been established (Maunde, 2003).

The University of Rhodesia was established in 1952 under Royal Charter of the British government, first as a college and then assuming university status three years later. The overall purpose of the university at this point was to train African elite as well as contribute to the development of the country. As a colonial entity, authority was vested in the Queen, who acted as the Chancellor of the university. Sandwiched between the university executive and the Chancellor, was the Council that was made up of various members of society. Generally, the university's governance structure followed that of the British colonial tradition, with a Vice Chancellor, Deputy Vice Chancellor, Registrar, Bursar and a layer of executive level leaders who, overall, had been in control of the university. Included in the executive level leadership were the Deans of faculties.

It is worthwhile to note that in the initial establishment of the university, two fields of study (in two faculties) predominated, namely, Arts and Science. The Medical School was also started in the middle of this period. The main source of income of the university was through the public purse (national fiscus), with other sources being fees and donations from external donor agencies. The staff complement was initially made up of ten academics, an undisclosed number of administrators, and support services staff. For

the purpose of this study, it is interesting to note the representation of women in academic positions in this early period. Women were concentrated in secretarial and other support services. In this early period, the number of students was very small, under 200. Almost all of them lived in residence on campus. The new University College like its African predecessors followed the traditions and curriculum of British Metropolitan universities. The curriculum included classics, history, bible studies, geography, chemistry, physics, biology, mathematics and medicine. The qualification was awarded by the universities of London and Birmingham (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

The same culture with regard to research, writing and publishing, seminal presentations, contact and sabbatical leave was recognised as the hallmark of an intellectual institution. The institutional cultures of the colonial university were mixed with a predomination of liberal tendencies in the first ten years of the founding of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. After 1965, the intellectual culture changed as the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland became The University of Rhodesia with the settlers introducing their own traditions and form of patriarchy in the institution. Gaidzanwa (2007) mentions that a masculine and militaristic culture was introduced as the Rhodesians took over from expatriates.

Socially, women played a subservient role to men as most social activity continued to be male dominated. Men controlled and ran academic activities while women played the role of secretaries, treasurers of clubs and cleaners (Gaidzanwa, 2007). During this period, particularly after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1963, men dominated the university high ranks in administration, faculty, department and committee representation. Lectureships were occupied mostly by expatriate and local settler men (Gaidzanwa, 2007).

2.3.4 Summary

This period witnessed the formation of the Federation in 1953, the Unilateral Declaration of Independence in 1963 and ends with independence and international recognition in 1980. During this period, there was much internal resistance to colonialism through the

formation of different liberation movements. In this period the economy continued to be based on mining and agriculture. Society was based on the principle that ensured black sections of the population were channeled into low level occupations and excluded from ownership of property. At the end of this period, the Higher Education system was made up of three colleges and one university. The size of the Higher Education sector was very small in so far as it comprised only four institutions.

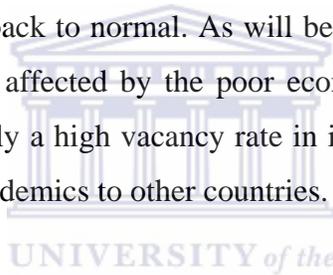
2.3.5 Post Independence: 1980-2005

In this period, we observe the formation of a government of national unity by the former liberation parties with Mugabe as Prime Minister in 1980. After a brief period of civil strife in the early 1980's, the liberation parties reconstituted a new government of national unity. Mugabe was elected President and Nkomo served as one of the two Vice Presidents (Martin and Johnson, 1981; Muller, 1981; Hargreaves, 1991). One of the provisions of the 1979 Lancaster House agreement had been the guaranteeing of white representation in parliament by reserving twenty parliamentary seats for them for the first ten years of independence. In 1988, the 20 seats reserved for white people in parliament were not renewed. In the early 1990's, the new government declared half of white owned land available for blacks, marking the beginning of Zimbabwe's land reform programme and the emergence of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (Maunde, 2003).

In this period, the economy continued to be based on both mining and farming and for the first part of this period, real economic growth exceeded 20 percent (Maunde, 2003). However, in the mid 1980's, there was a decline in growth rate due to depressed foreign demand of the country's mineral exports and drought. In 1985, the economy rebounded strongly due to a 30 percent jump in Agricultural production (Maunde, 2003). Due to the Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP), the economy was run on corporatist lines with strict government controls of all aspects of the economy, for example wages and prices. That is the economy was highly centralized by government (Maunde, 2003). There was massive government expenditure giving rise to budget deficits and many industrial firms, notably in textiles and footwear were forced to close down due to adverse operational conditions, increasing poverty in the country (Maunde,

2003). As will be discussed later in Chapter five, the role played by the economy is an important factor which impacts on academics with regard to funding and standard of living.

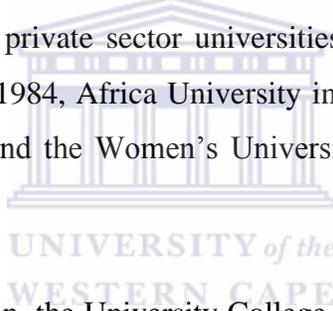
Between 2000 and 2007, agricultural production decreased by 51 percent. Drought and floods together with poor government management, led to meager harvests and food shortfalls since 2001 (Maunde, 2003). Zimbabwe is the second most industrialized Southern African Development Community (SADC) country after South Africa. The major industrial activities in Zimbabwe include production of steel as well as textiles which are marketed both locally and internationally mostly to South Africa, the UK and Germany (Maunde, 2003). However, from my experience with the Zimbabwean economy, of late industry has struggled and the Government of National Unity (GNU) is slowly bringing the economy back to normal. As will be discussed later in Chapter five, the university sector has been affected by the poor economic performance in terms of funding; hence there is currently a high vacancy rate in institutions of Higher Education in addition to brain drain of academics to other countries.



Since independence and up to 2005, the society has witnessed an improvement in race relations with the practice of racialism declining (Muller, 1981). Stratification of society in terms of race and racial class was ended in 1980. All races were allowed to buy and own property as well as live in any area they wish. A multiracial society in which all citizens of the country enjoy equal status under the law has evolved (Schraeder, 2000). However, within the new social order, gender discrimination persists in most spheres of life due to patriarchy, culture, traditions, old habits, attitudes and values. Religion continues to play a role in perpetuating gender disparities through the emphasis on Christian values of male dominance and female subordination. The nursing and teaching professions are still dominated by women, and men still dominate professions like medicine, engineering and architecture among others (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001).

2.3.5.1 Higher Education: expansion of university system, entry of black male and female academics

As outlined earlier, the Higher Education system in the previous period was marked by a slow expansion, in so far as one university was added to the three colleges (two polytechnics and a teacher training college). By contrast in the post-independence period, more rapid growth of the system included the establishment of six new public and five private universities, bringing the total number of institutions after independence to fifteen. Among the new public universities that were established during this period were the National University of Science and Technology in 1991, Great Zimbabwe University in 1994, Chinhoyi University College of Science and Technology in 1994, Zimbabwe Open University in 1996, Bindura University of Science Education in 1996 and Midlands State University in 2000. The private sector universities established during this period included, Solusi University in 1984, Africa University in 1992, Arrupe College in 1997, Catholic University in 1999, and the Women's University in Africa in 2002 (Maunde, 2003).



As part of this overall expansion, the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland had further grown both physically as well as in terms of overall enrolments. For example, at the end of the previous period the enrolment figure of 188 escalated to approximately ten thousand in just under a quarter century (Zvobgo, 1985).

Despite the proliferation of universities with new bureaucracies and new academic posts, during this post-independence period, there were still only two women Vice Chancellors of universities in Zimbabwe (Chipunza, 2003). female academics were under-represented in university top management posts and were a minority even among full time academic staff (Chipunza, 2003). At the University of Zimbabwe, for example, out of an academic staff complement of around 1200 in 2003, only 120 were women (Chipunza, 2003). The general picture shows that there were very few female academics in Zimbabwean universities during this period (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

Occupational categories of the academic profession in Zimbabwe are Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer, lecturer, Teaching Assistant and Graduate Teaching Assistant (Gaidzanwa, 2007). As already alluded to in Chapter one, during the time of the study, 2007- 2008, most female academics were bunched in the lecturer grades in the permanent staff category, and made up one third of the senior lecturer grade at the largest institution. Briefly, most women were in the lecturer and teaching assistant and graduate teaching assistant categories (Gaidzanwa, 2007). The picture was generally similar across most of the country's institutions of Higher Education (see Chipunza, 2003). The aspect of under-representation of female academics in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education will be discussed further in Chapters six.

A poor economic situation that affected the country in the late nineteen nineties going into the twenty-first century led to poor conditions of service for academics such as low salaries (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Faced with this situation, most senior academics such as professors were the first to leave for greener pastures outside the country in other countries in the region or abroad (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). As they left or continue to leave currently, they are replaced by junior lecturers who are fresh Masters' degree graduates. Some previous incumbents are difficult to replace depending on the subject area. Hence there is both a high staff turnover and a high vacancy rate at any one time (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). The culture of research, publication and presentation is quickly changing for the negative as a second string of academics take over. The departure of senior academics is leaving behind a big void as there are not enough mentors left in the universities for the many junior lecturers who are coming in (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). The situation is even worse for junior female academics that are in the minority as they have to grapple with heavy work loads due to a shortage of academics in the institutions. There are also very few senior female academics left to do the mentoring (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Heavy workloads and poor salaries among other factors affecting the academic stature of Zimbabwean academics that have been touched on in this section will be discussed in-depth in Chapter five.

2.3.5.2 Description of four Universities in this study

Since my study focuses on the retention and progression of senior women academics in four university sites, I shall now provide a brief descriptive profile of each of these four public universities. These are the University of Zimbabwe, The National university of Science and Technology, Zimbabwe Open University and Midlands State University.

The University of Zimbabwe

In 1982, in terms of the University of Zimbabwe Act of 1982 the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was renamed the University of Zimbabwe in the same year that the President of Zimbabwe was appointed Chancellor. It is important to note that following on the previous period, the governance structures of the university did not substantively change, remaining generally intact except for the appointments of a new Vice Chancellor and Deputy Vice Chancellors. Changes occurred in the size of the student body. The increase in the number of students necessitated expansion of the facilities (Zvobgo, 1985). Furthermore, there was also an increase in the number of faculties from the initial three to ten, comprising Arts, Education, Agriculture, Commerce, Engineering, Law, College of Health Sciences Medicine, Science, Social Studies, and Veterinary Medicine. This was part of the immediate expansion as the university sought to increase the available base of course offerings from the early 1980's to 2001 (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

Despite the proliferation of disciplines, the University of Zimbabwe was dominated by male faculty with female academics being fewer and mostly occupying the lower ranks of the academy (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Female academics were mostly found in the Arts, Education and Social Studies disciplines. The university was funded from three sources, namely government, student fees, and donations from donors. In the post-independence period the increasing numbers of settlers departing for Britain impacted on the academic staff profile. This drain also impacted on the stability in the university in terms of academics with several either departing for the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand and the Republic of South Africa or taking early retirement

(Gaidzanwa, 2007). The many vacancies provided an opportunity for recruitment of new faculty, several of whom had acquired their degrees in international institutions. As the settlers left and were replaced by locals who were trained abroad, the numbers of local, black academic staff increased. A mixed new group of expatriates of different nationalities, both black and white individuals from different parts of the world were also recruited to fill the gaps left by those departing.

Due to the increase in the number of Faculties and courses on offer, the number of lecturing staff increased to six hundred and twenty by early 2000's. By this time, the staff profile was made up of four hundred and eighty- three men as compared to one hundred and eighty-seven female academics. During this period the number of enrolments increased. The enrolments rose from 2240 in 1980 to 9300 students in 1990 and in 2001 a total of 10139 students were enrolled (Zvobgo, 1985). As a result of the increase in the number of students, there was much pressure on the university to provide residential facilities. At this time, the UZ started teaching and developing its own curriculum which included the imparting of science and technology skills to the students, for example, in the Engineering, Veterinary Medicine, Health Sciences and Agricultural Sciences fields. Curricula were revised to include African perspectives in arts and the humanities. For example, local languages and African drama were brought to the fore in some of the curriculum programmes. At this time (2001), the university terminated its affiliation with the British metropolitan universities of London and Birmingham and awarded its own degrees.

At the beginning of the 21st Century, an African patriarchy took over from a departing expatriate patriarchy and was evidenced by the African male dominated management structures and important committees within the university (Gaidzanwa, 2007). During this period white professional staff was leaving which enabled blacks to occupy chairs and senior positions in the university. Because of the absence of black women in the senior ranks of the university, these changes inadvertently benefited black males (Gaidzanwa, 2007).

The National University of Science and Technology

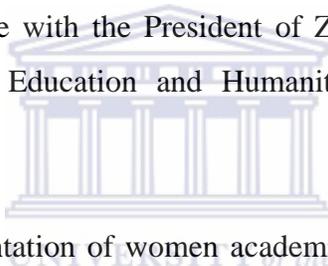
Another public sector university, called the National University of Science and Technology, situated in Bulawayo, was established in terms of the National University of Science and Technology Act of 1990 in the early 1990's (Maunde, 2003). In 'service to the people of Zimbabwe', it sought to advance the Scientific and Technological knowledge that included a fostering of close ties with industry. The public sector university, the National University of Science and Technology had a similar governance structure to that of the University of Zimbabwe, with the President of Zimbabwe as Chancellor. The university had three faculties, namely, Commerce, Industrial Technology and Applied Science. The National University of Science and Technology curriculum addressed the need for training in Science and technology in order to meet the needs of ESAP, hence the university offered Applied Science subjects and allied industrial and technological subjects. The National University of Science and Technology awarded its own degrees to students who completed its degree programmes.

During this period there were very few female academics at the National University of Science and Technology. Senior women academics were mostly involved with the teaching of Commerce disciplines while men formed the majority of academics in all disciplines. The university was similarly funded as the University of Zimbabwe, with the government providing the bulk of the needed funds, while student fees, fund raising projects and donations were other sources of funding. The initial staff complement was made up of 41 administrators, 11 support staff and 28 academics. During this early period, student numbers were quite low with the initial enrolment of students being 270. All of the students lived as non-residents off campus.

During this time, the majority of lecturers and students were African males, promoting African patriarchal values on campus. The situation was exacerbated by the university's science bias in curriculum offerings, a field traditionally dominated by men in Zimbabwe so that a majority of students and lecturers that were attracted tended to be male, leaving room for fewer women.

The Zimbabwe Open University

Another public sector university, called The Zimbabwe Open University, a Distance and Open Learning University in Zimbabwe spread across the country's ten provinces was established in the same time frame. The Zimbabwe Open University had its roots in the University of Zimbabwe, having started in 1993, as the Centre for Distance Education. In 1996 The Centre for Distance Education became a University College of Distance Education which became the Zimbabwe Open University through the Act of 1999. Zimbabwe Open University's overall aims were to empower people through affordable life long learning while they were involved in developmental endeavours. As a public sector university, Zimbabwe Open University had a similar governance structure to that of the University of Zimbabwe with the President of Zimbabwe as Chancellor. It had three faculties namely, Arts, Education and Humanities; Commerce and Law and Science.



There was a very low representation of women academic staff with an almost all male inaugural staff at the Zimbabwe Open University. In other words, the initial or founding staff at the opening of the university was composed of a male majority. The few female academics were mostly lecturing in the Nursing Science, as well as the Arts, Education and Humanities disciplines. Like the University of Zimbabwe, the main source of university income had been the government, with other sources being student fees and donations and fundraisers. The initial staff complement was composed of one hundred male lecturers and thirty eight female lecturers, totaling one hundred and thirty eight academics. During this period, the number of students grew very rapidly in enrolment terms from 14 313 in 1999 to 23 161 in 2001 and by 2005, the Zimbabwe Open University was the largest university in Zimbabwe in terms of enrolment with a student population of over 20 000 putting pressure on the government for the need for more universities to be provided. The Zimbabwe Open University enrolled adult part-time learners who were all non residents.

The Zimbabwe Open University followed the American Semester-based education System with courses that were designed to be covered in modules per Semester. The curriculum consisted of Educational Management courses such as B.Ed and M.Ed degrees, Commercial degrees such as B.Com, MBA, and Scientific degrees such as B.Sc. Mathematics (Maunde, 2003). At its inception, the award of degrees was done by the University of Zimbabwe; however, the Zimbabwe Open University became a fully fledged university awarding its own degrees in 1999.

As outlined earlier, the focus of this study is the representation of women in academic and leadership positions. At Zimbabwe Open University, drawing from personal experience as a lecturer at this university, there were initially no female professors at the institution. The only professor as of 2007 was a male. Apart from the absence of women professors at the Zimbabwe Open University during this period, there were also very few women lecturers and one female Senior Lecturer in 2007. The Zimbabwe Open University had a culture of male domination in all aspects of university life. Both the inaugural teaching staff and university committees were male dominated. The inaugural Vice Chancellor, Pro Vice Chancellor, Deans and Regional Directors and lecturing staff were a majority of males.

Midlands State University

The Midlands State University was established through the Act of 2000 and became the 4th State University in Zimbabwe. Located at the former Gweru Teachers' College, the university enrolled its first intake of students in March, 2000. The main aims of the Midlands State University were commitment to development and innovation. As a public sector institution, Midlands State University had the same governance structure as the University of Zimbabwe with the head of state as Chancellor. Midlands State University had six faculties namely, Arts, Education, Agriculture, Commerce, Social Science, and Science & Technical. Women representation at Midlands State University was very poor with men comprising a majority of the academic staff. Women were mostly represented in the faculties of Arts and Education. As was the case with the University of Zimbabwe,

Midlands State University was mainly funded by the government and likewise other sources of funding were student fees, donations and projects.

The university had nine thousand nine hundred and four students almost all of whom were non-resident, exerting pressure on the university to speed up the construction of student accommodation. For the first three years, the Midlands State University curriculum was dictated to by the University of Zimbabwe as they started as a college of the University of Zimbabwe. However, after the first few years Midlands State University operated their own curriculum and offered various commercial degrees with specialization in different fields such as Accounting (Chartered Accountant route), Finance, Quantitative Analysis, Marketing, Business Management, and others. There was also the teaching of a gender module across the curriculum. The award of degrees was previously done by the University of Zimbabwe; however, Midlands State University now awards its own degrees to finishers.

Midlands State University had a majority of male lecturers on its academic staff and female academics were poorly represented in the institution. There was one female professor in the whole institution. The number of female senior lecturers was also low. This was the case, despite the development of a Gender policy, a gender centre and a gender committee to monitor the implementation of the University's Gender Policy through affirmative action in the recruitment of staff. The university was aiming at achieving a male to female ratio of 48-52 in the staff population in order to match the National population ratio. However, the situation on the ground has been that Midlands State University like the University of Zimbabwe, right from its inception, had a predominantly male academic staff. Midlands State University had two hundred and thirty one academic staff composed of one hundred and eighty male academics and fifty one female academics in its early stages. Midlands State University management and faculty committees embedded in the statutory instruments that govern the operations of the university were male dominated giving rise to a patriarchal way of running the affairs of the university. Despite there being a gender policy and a gender committee, the male

way of doing business dominated at this institution and both the Vice Chancellor and Pro Vice Chancellor of the university were male.

2.4 Conclusion

This Chapter provided a brief historical and schematic backdrop of the social, political and economic contexts, primarily in Zimbabwe. In this respect, it sought to identify the social and structural conditions that either support and or reinforce unequal gender relations in African society. The aim was to understand how these conditions contribute and shape certain gender practices in Higher Education institutions. The broad social and political backdrop that was sketched, provides a cushion for institution practices. I will now outline the debates on gender relations as these pertain to Higher Education institutions, keeping in mind the relationship to society, education and employment



CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO GENDER AND HIGHER EDUCATION

3 Introduction

Scholars have approached the study of gender from different angles, one of which is a biological approach. Briefly, this refers to the classification by sex at birth, using hormonal and chromosomal factors, where the debate is fairly complex (Burrell and Hearn, 1989; West and Fenstermaker, 1993; Denzin, 1993; Gherardi, 1995; Arnot, 2002). For the purpose of this study, I am interested in a second broad-based approach to gender, which is about it (gender) being a social construction. Within the social construction frame of gender, the concept of patriarchy occupies a central place. Within the basket of studies that approaches gender as a social construction there is a rich and diverse literature that addresses the phenomenon of gender relations in society. This Chapter with its two separate yet inter-related parts will provide a window on these debates. It will begin by clearing the ground around the ideas and practices pertaining to the debates on patriarchy; it then outlines some of the key debates on gender relations in society from different disciplinary vantage points. Following this generic gender-literature backdrop the Chapter then proceeds to the second part, which is an outline of the literature on gender in the Higher Education workplace.

3.1 ‘Social construction’ approaches to gender

In contrast to the biological approaches in the broad basket of approaches of what could be termed social construction, the view is that gender roles in society are socially and culturally constructed insofar as humans learn the behavior that is expected of males and females relative to particular societies (Amadiume 1987; Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002; Bakare-Yusuf, 2004). Here, the idea of patriarchy plays an important role insofar as it frames the relations between men and women.

3.1.1 Patriarchy

Patriarchy is pervasive in all facets of human relations. In this section brief reference is made to examples of patriarchy affecting different levels of human interaction which have a bearing on women's position at home, in education and in society in general. Each of these aspects will be developed in the rest of the Chapter.

3.1.1.1 Socialization

It has been advanced that socialization in modern industrial societies shape the behaviour of boys and girls from an early age and that self concept in a child is affected by adult manipulation (Mama, 2005; Giroux, 1992). Mothers dress girls in feminine clothes and pay more attention to girls' hair. Boys and girls are directed differently through the toys given to them (Giroux, 1992; Mama, 2005). Gender identification is achieved through the use of verbal appellations such as 'good boy' or 'bad girl' and so forth (Mama, 2005; Odejide, 2007). It has been argued that the assignment of different tasks to boys and girls further reinforces stereotypes of masculinity and femininity encouraging girls to do domestic tasks and boys to do manual tasks outside the house (Amadiume 1987; Kwesiga, 2002; Oyewumi, 2004; Mama, 2005). There are several theories and approaches that have been used to explain the different ways in which men and women are treated differently by society. This study will surface some of the nuances in the cultural interactions between men and women in the Higher Education workplace.

3.1.1.2 Foreign gender theories

Of relevance for this study is that most of the theories on gender socialization originate from outside Africa and as a result of colonialism and currently the effects of globalization, have been extended and used in African socio-economic contexts due to the colonial historical past of Africa (Amadiume 1987; Kwesiga, 2002; Kisiang'ani, 2004; Steady, 2004; Oyewumi, 2004; Mama, 2005; Odejide, 2007). As a result most African governments have modeled their systems of governance, including the education system, industry and commerce and so forth along Western lines (Kwesiga, 2002; Oyewumi, 2004). This point has been strengthened by the fact that some of the

multinational companies doing business in Africa originate from the West. As a result of that interaction, new cultural values, norms and beliefs have come to Africa along with a new lifestyle which has had a direct impact on the relationship between men and women (Kwesiga, 2002; Oyewumi, 2004). The media through the television, radio and other modern mass media communications technology have helped to spread this influence (Kwesiga, 2002; Oyewumi, 2004). Furthermore, there is a view that these foreign social theories are having a bearing on education in Africa (Shelton and Agger 1993; Oyewumi, 2004; Steady, 2004).

While it has been argued that the western theories are not necessarily universal or consistent with the needs of Africans (Amadiume 1987; Oyewumi, 2004; Mama, 2005), they do highlight some important aspects that help us to understand gender relations.

3.1.1.3 Economic, political effects on social status

There are several studies that emphasize consistent economic and political disparities between men and women across societies, some arguing for “limited explanations around the disparities between men and women along the lines of social, economic and political status” (Ward, 1993; Kwesiga, 2002: 14). With reference to the latter, men enjoy the benefits of being leaders in society as well as owning the means of production (Kwesiga, 2002). Also at play are ideological factors that arise through their socialization whereby men enjoy a higher social status by filling social roles and exercising mastery over women (Dunn, et. al., 1993; Mahlck, 2003). For scholars who embrace the Engels perspective, male domination or patriarchy is attributed to the beginning of the ownership of property. They argue that property has been inherited from fathers by means of hereditary lease, or by force of an ancient custom (Engels, 1892:45). According to this view, patriarchy has to do with inheritance and paternity of the children. This custom brought about the practice that women had to be subordinate to their husbands (Engels, 1892) Subordination of women starts at the family level (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.1.3) and spreads right through to the ideological, political and social systems through family rituals, etiquette and division of labour (Johnson, 1993; Shelton and Agger 1993; Gherardi, 1995).

3.1.1.4 Family and marital arrangements

Another view that is advanced for inequality between men and women is that patriarchal principles underpin marital arrangements (Walby, 1990; Gherardi, 1995). According to this perspective, women had lost their right own property and became subordinate to an individual man at the private level in the home. It is further argued that some men were also able to create wealth and came to dominate other less privileged men and women through their wealth as they were able to employ those men and women (Dunn, et. al., 1993; Gherardi, 1995).

3.1.1.5 New forms of patriarchy

A modern version of this perspective to patriarchy is that while women now have access to the public modern spheres of life, they are still subordinate to men through new forms of patriarchy (Walby, 1990; Dunn, et. al., 1993; Arnot, 2002). As discussed earlier, globalization has been described as the “new form of colonialism” (Steady, 2004:42) and with it “comes new forms of gender relations through the structural disadvantages in the global and national division of labour and inequalities in the distribution of assets and power” (Mama, 2005:94). There is, however, an argument against what could be termed the universal nature of the Western form of patriarchy. In certain parts of the world, for example in African countries which include Kenya, Tanzania, Nigeria and other places, there exist different forms of patriarchy as well as matrilineal communities in which power is vested in women (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 2004; Bakare-Yusuf, 2004; Arnfred, 2004). This position has since been acknowledged by many Western scholars as they have responded to the critiques of African and other third world feminists through re-consideration of their earlier paradigms.

3.1.1.6 African feminism

According to African feminist scholars, the argument for a home grown African theory, grounded in African experience and local conditions, remains important since it has benefits not only for Africa but for feminists generally (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 2004; Lewis, 2004; Arnfred, 2004). That is, there is a call for an African based feminist theory developed in Africa by African feminists.

3.1.1.7 Sociological factors

We learn from international literature that there are also sociological factors arising from the fact that the family is the main instrument of patriarchy which allows men to influence the wider society and the state. Some of the factors are that children are legitimized as well as given social recognition through the father. This, it has been argued, further enhances male domination over females (Dunn, et. al., 1993). It has also been argued that wives and children derive their social status from the position of the father in society. This perspective goes further to say that patriarchy is maintained by family across generations and that even women from higher class backgrounds are subordinate to men (Thomas, 1991; Mahlck, 2003; Dunn, et. al., 1993).

Another view on patriarchy is that the class system for women is affected by women's economic dependence on men (Kwesiga, 2003; Derar, 2003). Although romantic love appears to put men and women on equal terms, men gain psychological advantage through bullying by means of obscene or hostile remarks, or through physical bullying (Walby, 1990; Gherardi, 1995; Jacobs, 1996).

3.1.1.8 Educational factors

Educational factors also handicap women. This disadvantage of women goes back to when they could not own any property in traditional patriarchies as they lacked legal standing. Women's problems are blamed on unpaid work of women's labour as housewives, mothers and reserve labour force (Walby, 1990: 14-28; Shelton and Agger 1993).

A further perspective that has been expressed on patriarchy is that for women, economic inequalities are reinforced by Higher Educational ones, for example, the majority of women study humanities (Thomas, 1990; Derar, 2003). In the United States, during the early 1960's women were concentrated in an extremely limited range of fields such as Education which drew almost half of the women undergraduates (Thomas, 1990; Jacobs, 1996). Moreover the majority of women graduates were concentrated in just six fields, namely education, fine arts, English, history, nursing, and home economics, which are

viewed as having a lower status than the sciences (Harding, 1986). Recently, business is the leading field of study for women with only a small proportion studying in the field of engineering. Women are still overrepresented in the arts and humanities fields of study and less represented in the sciences and engineering fields (Jacobs, 1996; Thomas, 1990). In addition to the above, in some societies in Zimbabwe and elsewhere boys are sent to school at the expense of girls. Lack of technical knowledge has also been viewed as one of the factors that reduce women's power (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Derar, 2003; Friedman and Diem, 1993; Jacobs, 1996).

3.1.1.9 Critique on patriarchy

Patriarchy has been critiqued for its failure to explain the origins of female domination by men and that 'patriarchy' is too "weeping a category" (Friedman and Diem, 1993; Derar, 2003:61). Another criticism is that this view describes all societies as patriarchal as if male domination stems from women's biology and has a universal cause apart from the fact that societies have defined gender in many ways (Thomas, 1990; Jacobs, 1996). The other critique is that not all men exploit women in some areas, for example in friendships, love and so forth (Gherardi, 1995; Derar, 2003). Furthermore, Marxists and Socialists feminists see Capitalism and not patriarchy as the cause of women's oppression in modern societies (Thomas, 1990; Shelton and Agger 1993; Friedman and Diem, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Derar, 2003).

As outlined earlier, Zimbabwean society is structured along gender lines with males exercising power in both society and the workplace. This study researched for social and institutional factors that impact on the retention and progression of female academics in four Zimbabwean universities. In the next section I shall discuss the role played by socialization in gender relations under the various social theories as espoused by scholars.

3.2 Sociological Theories: the social function of women in society

The next section will discuss the conflict perspective to gender and education whose proponents are critical of the functionalist perspective to education.

3.2.1 Functionalism: “women as knowing their subordinate place in society”

A functionalist approach to gender is one that draws its broad sustenance from Parsons (cited in Johnson, 1993: 115) who sought to understand how it is that the ‘structure of society’ has some form of patterning, in other words, that the different components of a system cohere and function for each other. This has been applied by functionalist scholars to the study of gender, in which the social arrangements between women and men, for example, in a family, have a ‘functional fit’ (Johnson, 1993:115; Shelton, and Agger, 1993). What this means is that women are viewed as being suited to their domestic roles as wives and mothers while men are viewed as family bread winners (Sarup, 1982; Johnson, 1993). The functional paradigm was fourfold, that is firstly individuals had to learn to adapt to living within the larger society. Secondly, they had to work for a common good in terms of striving to attain or organize their activities towards the achievement of a common goal for the good of the larger society. Thirdly individuals should be able to share solidarity with other members of the group and fourthly, members of the group should safeguard the society’s value system by preserving and passing on the cultural values and knowledge store for the future survival of the whole social group (Johnson, 1993). In other words, the individual’s needs are of less importance to the needs of the whole, that is society.

The problem with the functionalist perspective to education is that it does not consider the possibility that the education system may be transmitting the values of a ruling minority rather than of society as a whole. Furthermore, the meritocracy system used by schools to evaluate students is debatable (Johnson, 1993; Arnot, 2002). Feminists see functionalism as devaluing household labour done by women for free, since functionalists view the unpaid domestic labour performed by women as women’s normal role in line with the functional fit of the family.

In this study some of the factors that were researched are those to do with the school’s socializing role with respect to the shaping of people’s beliefs and morals as well as the grooming of women into accepting their roles as wives and mothers as a societal expectation. Issues raised in this section help to give a better understanding of how the

production of gender relations in the home leads to the reproduction of unequal gender relations in the workplace, for example, the allocation of jobs in the public sphere, that is, the workplace in which women's proper normal role has been viewed as being subordinate to men (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988). There is a view that such expectations of women by the dominant group are persistent in Higher Education institutions today (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Tsikata, 2007).

3.2.2 Conflict perspective: men benefit from education more than women

The proponents of the conflict perspective as opposed to the functionalist perspective are of the view that groups within existing societies have fundamentally different interests and that since education is organized in contemporary societies, some people will benefit from it more than others (Urgo, 2003).

The major role of education in capitalist societies is seen as the reproduction of labour power and that education is subservient to the needs of those who control the workforce, the owners of the means of production. It is also argued that work in capitalist societies is exploitative and alienating and that capitalism succeeds where there is a hardworking, docile, obedient, and highly motivated workforce, which is too divided and fragmented to challenge the authority of management (Engels, 1892). There is a view that education, through the hidden curriculum produces workers that are subservient, accept hierarchy of authority and control and are motivated by external rewards. Such workers are also fragmented for easy control through the use of over-education or the creation of a surplus of workers and the legitimization of inequality through the use of meritocracy. There is a view that although all can openly apply for jobs and educational opportunities, some have greater opportunities than others and that the wealthy and powerful tend to get higher qualifications than other less powerful persons and also get high rewarding jobs irrespective of their abilities (Engels, 1892; Jacobs, 1996; Urgo, 2003).

It is argued that education creates the myth that those at the top deserve their power and privilege and that they have achieved their status on merit and those at the bottom have only themselves to blame. Hence education reproduces inequality by justifying privilege and attributing poverty to personal failure (Engels, 1892; Thomas, 1990). Traditional

Marxist explanations saw education as reproducing the relations of dominance and subordination necessary to the maintenance of the capitalist state. Later, we see Marxist explanations (Apple, 1982) move away from a deterministic model towards a loose one, which emphasizes hegemony and cultural resistance (Thomas, 1990). Girls are channeled into home economics which instill in them their role as future wives and mothers (Sarup, 1982; Thomas, 1990; Jacobs, 1996). This study will show how fields of study play a role in the production and reproduction of gender relations in Higher Education workplace.

There is an argument that education is an object of state policy, and serves to reproduce both class and gender relations (Sarup, 1982; Thomas, 1990; Williams, 1993). It has also been argued that gender relations are reproduced at four levels in schools, that is at the ideology level when boys and girls are socialized into appropriate feminine and masculine behaviour, at the structure and organization level since in developing countries like Zimbabwe unlike the international situation, the majority of school heads and heads of departments are men, while women are at the bottom of the teaching profession (Chabaya et. al., 2009). It is also advanced that there are mechanisms which channel pupils into a sexual division of labour, in which boys are persuaded to go into Science and Technology subjects and girls to take the arts, and at the level of definition of legitimate knowledge.

This section helps to inform this study by raising awareness for what constitutes meritocratic achievements, issues of the hidden curriculum (in terms of the fields of study), male domination and the sexual division of labour among academic staff. The next section I will introduce the liberal perspective to gender and education.

3.2.3 Liberal: “women can strive to be equal to men in the educational sphere”

The liberal perspective focuses on education as it relates to the individual and not society. For example, Dewey (cited in Haralambos and Holborn, 1991) saw the job of education as a way to encourage individuals to develop to their full potential as human beings.

The contribution of the liberal perspective to the emancipation of women helps by enhancing the status of female academics through the use of legal instruments and the lobbying by women themselves. The liberal perspective focuses on the need for Higher Education institutions to promote gender equality as a central feature. It also lobbies for the equal treatment of individuals irrespective of gender and argues that everybody should be able to take advantage of societal opportunities.

Within the liberal framework, the argument is that women's main problem is their own attitude, albeit an attitude fostered by the education system and the media. Most liberals, like certain feminists, believe that schools are partly responsible for instilling sexist attitudes into children (Thomas, 1990; Williams, 1993; Johnson, 1993). Schools are perceived to develop and reinforce sex segregation, stereotypes and even discrimination which exaggerate the negative aspects of sex roles in the outside world. In the view of Thomas (1990), if girls are taught from an early age that science can be studied by anyone, that is both girls and boys are capable to study the science subjects, then some of the problems relating to girls' under-achievement in science in the secondary school will be resolved.



The above statements demonstrate the two central emphases of the liberal feminist analysis that, if schools are changed, attitudes will change, so society will eventually change and secondly, that the concentration on girls, rather than boys which ignores areas where boys do badly like the languages has to be revised.

Feminists have also argued against sexual harassment and sexist comments as well as abuse of girls often regarded as normal by teachers in all integrated schools. For example teachers would argue that "boys will be boys" (see Maher and Tetreault, 2007). As a result, some feminists advocate for single sex schools. They also argue against sexist bias of school texts and the social construction of knowledge, boundaries between subjects, compartmentalization of knowledge, and why some subjects are considered more important than others, which is communicated very effectively in schools (Johnson, 2002; Thomas, 1990; Arnot, 2002; Mahlck, 2003).

3.2.3.1 Legal frameworks and strategies for the appointment of senior women academics

In line with the liberal perspective's lobbying for policies that work to bring about equality between men and women, some countries introduced gender equity and affirmative action programmes. These programmes were meant to bring about reform in Higher Education workplace for the betterment of senior women academics (see Chapter 6, Section 6.1.2.1) for greater detail.

In some countries, for example in South Africa, a gender equity approach to the appointment of women has been adopted (Subotzky, 2001; Mabileka, 2003). It has been argued that in trying to implement the gender equity policy in Higher Education, there has been a “dual challenge of driving economic and social development on the one hand and helping to reduce the inequalities (historical) on the other” (Subotzky, 2001: 56-69). Hence, following Subotzky (2001) there is a tension between equity and development as well as an equity/excellence tension. With respect to the latter, the argument being advanced is that, if appointments to management ranks are based on ‘tokenism’ without the use of merit, then development and excellence in academia will be compromised (Subotzky, 2003; Mabileka, 2003). As a result, certain institutions have resorted to adopting best person approach instead of a gender equity approach to the appointment and promotion of senior women academics (Portnoi, 2005). In other words, appointments and promotions are done independently of any gender policy. As a result, if the “best person happens to be a man, then the man gets appointed despite there being a gender equity policy which should be implemented.

Affirmative action policy has been used to redress imbalances among societies in various countries across the globe. According to Drinan (1984) in the United States of America affirmative action was born out of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. According to Maher and Tetreault (2007:68),

Universities developed affirmative action policies and provided incentives for hiring a few newcomers, but resistance to more than a token presence remained deep in academic departments.

According to Arnot (1985) in Great Britain for example, in the 1960's prejudice and discrimination were increasingly recognized as barriers to women's education, employment and equality. As a result, affirmative action became necessary in order to bring about equity among the various groups of people. In some non-Commonwealth countries such as Finland, gender equity policies are in place for the promotion of women (Morley, 2005). These initiatives include a combination of gender equity laws as well as the use of quarters for senior women academics.

Since the liberal perspective has the need for reforms that could improve the lives of individuals (in this instance senior women academics) as a key focus, this study will probe for the effects of gender policies implemented by the Zimbabwean government. In the next section I discuss how gender relations are produced in society as informed by the social learning theory.

3.3 Primary socialization sites and processes: Social learning theories

Since this study, in addition to scrutinizing institutional factors, probes some of the social factors which impact on the retention and progression of female academics, it is important to outline some aspects of social learning theory. The reason here is that in line with the social learning theory, it is argued that the socialization process eventually influences girls' performance and their interest in educational activities and might explain the stereotyping of school subjects as "female" or "male". It is further argued that male and female children are exposed to different activities (Sarup, 1982; Kwesiga, 2002; Arnot, 2002). Girls are encouraged to be involved with domestic tasks which lead to the reinforcement of stereotypes of masculinity throughout childhood. This is further exacerbated by the media in adult life which often portray men and women in their traditional social roles (Sarup, 1982; Smith-Lovin and McPherson, 1993; Arnot, 2002).

Given that people are socialized in society into male and female roles including subject choices in school and adult life, this study will probe for the women's enrolment and

subject choice as well as issues of female stereotyping in selected Zimbabwean universities. In the next section I discuss social interaction theory.

3. 3. 1 Social Interaction

Proponents of the social interaction approaches focus on the practices and processes that maintain women's subordination and on how women acquire attributes that make them unsuitable or inappropriate for certain social positions and economic activities. It has been argued that maleness and femaleness are not biological givens, but are a result of a long historical process in which girls have been traditionally socialized into displaying such traditional personality traits of their societies (Johnson, 1993; Larry and Oaxaca, 1998). Furthermore, it has been argued that these traditional personality traits of societies restrict girls' choices and options (Johnson, 1993; Kwesiga, 2002). Gender inequality is explained in the way boys and girls are brought up in the home, how they are taught at school and their encounters in wider society throughout life (Johnson, 1993; Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Kwesiga, 2002).

Social interaction theorists argue that women are prevented from full realization of their talents by the intended or unintended consequences of social conventions and practices (Sarup, 1982; Johnson, 1993). The emphasis here is based on what should be done about the continued subordination of women by men (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Kwesiga, 2002). They lobby for increased opportunities for women, counteracting discrimination against women, and the abandonment of stereotyping (Sarup, 1982; Johnson, 1993). They claim to be able to explain how the survival of capitalism or patriarchy, or society itself is made possible by everyday events (Sarup, 1982; Johnson, 1993).

Social interaction theorists further argue that gender is a culturally determined social relation between men and women. Furthermore, it is argued that it has to do with both femininity and masculinity and the types of power exercised by both men and women. Such types of power are culturally seen to be appropriate and acceptable within society (Johnson, 1993; Gherardi, 1995). A number of reasons have been advanced for the continued inequality of the sexes which range from genetic differences, the desire of men

to control and dominate women, outdated attitudes and prejudices to historical struggle. It is however undoubtedly the case that there is a continuous process of producing and reproducing inequality within society (Thomas, 1990; Johnson, 1993; Arnot, 2002).

In this study I am not only interested in why women do not occupy positions of power, status and responsibility in the same numbers as men, but also in the process or barriers by which this occurs. The next section discusses some perspectives that tend to base their arguments about gender inequality between men and women on economic principles.

3.4 Women as economic beings

Some theories seek to explain gender inequalities using economic terms. There are four broad theories that draw on economic terms in their approach to the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations in society.

3.4.1 World System Theory

This view holds that patriarchy is an outflow of capitalism, i.e., it is part of the logic of capitalism and hence cannot be considered in isolation from class and capitalist exploitation. As outlined earlier, women in the peripheral countries like Zimbabwe still experience unpaid household labour and unpaid reproduction of labour power. In effect they follow the path of women in developed countries as they enter into the formal labour force through service and clerical positions, traditionally women's occupations (Harding, 1986; Mills, 1989; Ward, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Arnot, 2002; Derar, 2003). Most women in the peripheral states, such as Zimbabwe enter the informal sector for survival while many men enter for mobility.

The above section discussed factors such as poverty, low wages, male domination, individualism, women as mothers and workers in peripheral states. These factors help to inform this study as it was carried out in universities in Zimbabwe, a poor developing country (see 6.2.2.4) for further details. In the next section I shall briefly introduce the Marxist-Socialist perspective regarding women and gender.

3.4.2 Marxist-Socialist perspective on women and paid employment

The proponents of this school of thought, desire revolutionary change and see prospects for change within a democratic system and argue that socialism will bring about equality (Engels, 1982; Scott, 1989; Harris, 1991). However, it has been argued that despite the practice of communism in some countries across the globe, it has failed to solve the challenges of women's inequality in both society and at the workplace (Scott, 1989; Harris, 1991). The proponents of this perspective like Engels believed that communism would result in communal ownership of the means of production and with it true equality between men and women. This practice, it is argued, would also bring about the end of gender roles and the socialization of housework and child care (Engels, 1982; Engels, 1984; Scott, 1989; Harris, 1991; Kwesiga, 2002).

It is important to note that despite many women joining the labour force in the twentieth century, not many changes have taken place as anticipated by Marx and Engels (Thomas, 1990; Shelton and Agger, 1993). There is a belief that women generally face a number of disadvantages in paid work apart from being paid less than men, such as working on a part-time basis, being concentrated in the lower scales of the occupations in which they work, the tendency to be deployed, to do particular types of jobs, usually with low status (Harding, 1986; Johnson, 1993; Mama, 2005).

The social and economic factors that were raised in this section help to give a better understanding of the factors that work to the disadvantage of female academics in the Zimbabwean institutions that were covered by the study.

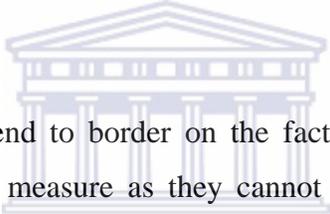
In the next section some reference is made to the Human Capital theory insofar as it is used by institutions as a tool for decisionmaking with regard to the training of employees and its impact on the advancement of senior female academics.

3.4.3 Human Capital Theory

Human Capital Theory is premised upon the idea that education and training is an investment in people. The returns of the investment are reflected in the earnings of educated people (Kwesiga, 2002; Jacobs, 1996). According to this theory, education creates assets in the form of skills and knowledge, which makes educated people more

productive than those who are uneducated. According to the Human Capital Theory, money spent on training workers is treated as an investment in the acquisition of the new skills which are seen as assets to the institution (Jacobs, 1996; Kwesiga, 2002). In that regard, knowledge and skills are newly acquired assets which enhance the organization's capital structure (Engels, 1892; Jacobs, 1996; Kwesiga, 2002).

In the African context, Zimbabwe included, because of a strong culture of patriarchy, a semblance of this theory is practiced through families investing educationally in sons as opposed to daughters (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Kwesiga, 2002). Sons are seen as more profitable than daughters; hence this practice has a negative impact on the education of women (Kwesiga, 2002). It has been argued that the human capital concept of investment in education is a consistent link among the factors that affect women's education (Kwesiga, 2002).



In Education, the arguments tend to border on the fact that there are some important benefits which are difficult to measure as they cannot be quantified. In the views of Kwesiga (2002:11), "there is however, a further problem: most rates of return calculations underestimate the benefits of women's education." As such, the benefits of women's education from organizational calculations are always lower than those of men (Diem, 1993; Kwesiga; 2002). There are many reasons why the benefits of women's education are always lower than those of men (Friedman and Diem, 1993; Kwesiga; 2002). One reason that has been advanced is that the time women spend on maternity leave or on child rearing is not taken into account and women spend more time looking after children, while men spend more time at work (Walby, 1988; Jacobs, 1996; Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001). This contribution by women is not credited to the work they do. Also women often take breaks from work to look after their families. These and other factors impact negatively on the sum total of the benefits of women's education to an organization. The benefits of men's education are higher as men tend to work long into their lives and are not as interrupted in their working cycle as women are (Walby, 1988; Friedman and Diem, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Kwesiga; 2002).

In 2002, the level of education in sub-Saharan Africa for men was higher than that of women as there were more males enrolled in primary school than females (Kwesiga, 2002). More girls dropped out of the school system between primary and secondary school than boys. This trend continued at the different secondary levels, making the disparities more glaring in Higher Education (Jacobs, 1996; Kwesiga, 2002). Women formed only a third of total enrolment in Higher Education institutions where there were country differences, but the majority recorded low levels. Africa's 2000 gross enrolment for both males and females at Higher Education institutions were well below the world average for men and women (Kwesiga, 2002:3). There were only two countries where women outnumbered men at this level: Lesotho, at 55% and Namibia, at 61% (Kwesiga, 2002:3). In 1995 only six countries in the region had more than 1000 students per 100 000 inhabitants enrolled in Higher Education. The average for sub-Saharan Africa was 328 compared to a world average of 1434. In 2000, women formed around 30 % of the total number of teachers in schools in the region (Jacobs, 1996; Morley, et. al., 2008).

These and other factors including those of women leaving work after getting married to concentrate on family issues and women's need to leave work as they follow their husbands' career choices among others (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Spurling, 1997), are the cause of these low rates. The rates of return for women's education benefit are usually lower than those for men. Oaxaca, (1987) identifies four factors attributable to women being paid lower salaries than men: Prejudice by employers, as they prefer to employ men unless there is dire need to employ someone to get the job going is one of the identified factors; Labour market structure in which women are paid less than men is another of the factors figured out; Also identified is the 'dual labour market' divided into higher, usually reserved for men, and lower paying jobs for women; Another factor identified is that of imperfect information or the view that women are less productive in certain jobs than men.

One other factor identified by Oaxaca (1987) is that of sex differences in labour market skills: women's working cycle tends to be intermittent as they often take time off work for family issues such as reproduction and other issues to do with married life. The view

is that they have no time for skills development or they lose some of their skills due to lack of practice (Oaxaca, 1987). In short, women's earnings differentials used to measure the effect of education on women's productivity neglect the benefits of unpaid work; hence do not capture the full contribution women make to economic activity (Jacobs, 1996; Kwesiga, 2002). In that regard, women's work is undervalued in workplaces including Higher Education to women's disadvantage (Oaxaca, 1987; Kwesiga, 2002:13; Friedman and Diem, 1993; Mkandawire, 2005; Arnot, 2002; Jacobs, 1996).

The above seeks to inform this study by discussing how women's labour is undervalued compared to men's labour with respect to training and development courses at the workplace (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2.1.2). In this study, I was keen to discover the principles underpinning issues of training and development of Human Resources capacity within the institutions of Higher Education with respect to how academics are selected and sent for advanced training. In a similar way the principles of the Dual Labour Market Theory tend to influence the practices that surround the appointment and progression of women in institutional workplaces.

3.4.4 Dual Labour Market Theory

Among the dualist theories is the dual labour market theory which is based on the view that the occupational sector is divided into two distinct sub markets, the primary and the secondary labour markets (Shelton and Agger 1993; Derar, 2003) The primary labour market is dominated by men who earn high salaries and enjoy good conditions of service which minimize the rate of employment turnover in this market. Very few women are employed in this job market as qualifications and relevant experience are emphasized in this market and few women have the required experience and qualifications (Thomas, 1990; Shelton and Agger 1993; West and Fenstermaker, 1993; Derar, 2003). The secondary labour market is made up of jobs which provide a few fringe benefits, low wages, little job security and poor working conditions. Fringe benefits are extras given to an employee by the employer over and above their salary such as bonuses, cars, free housing and electricity among others. Most women are usually employed in this sector of the economy in which their status in the household makes them more exploitable in the

paid labour market (Shelton and Agger 1993; West and Fenstermaker, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Derar, 2003), (see 5.1.1.1 and 6.5.4).

On the other hand, women's exploitation in the labour market reinforces their subordinated position in the household. In this situation, housework affects paid work, and this leads to part-time work and low wages, and no promotional prospects (Mills, 1989; Tancred-Sheriff, 1989; Arnot, 2002; Derar, 2003). The social position of women is exacerbated by their responsibility for housework and child care which impact on educational attainment and lack of qualifications has an impact on labour force participation (Thomas, 1990; Jacobs, 1996; Derar, 2003).

The role of women as caregivers in the household carries over into the labour market where they are employed in the service professions as nurses and teachers, occupations which are rewarded less than male dominated occupations in the primary labour market (Shelton and Agger 1993; West and Fenstermaker, 1993; Derar, 2003). The labour market views women as less committed to paid labour than men because they are affected by lack of continuity at work due to housework and child care. As such women are rewarded less than men even in fulltime employment and on same jobs as men. In most cases women are seen as sacrificing the ladder of seniority due to movement in and out of work (Shelton and Agger 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Derar, 2003).

There is a view that women's lower earning rates and their concentration in the lower income jobs, that is the secondary labour market, makes them poor (Mills, 1989; Arnot, 2002; Derar, 2003). Furthermore, it is argued that as a result, women are not able to resist household chores and child care (Mills, 1989; Tancred-Sheriff, 1989; Arnot, 2002; Derar, 2003). A further argument that has been raised is that men's power gained from the labour market allows them to own more resources than women which give them power to resist the sharing of household chores (Mills, 1989; Tancred-Sheriff, 1989; Arnot, 2002). It has also been argued that it is more economic for a woman to forfeit paid labour for household labour than it is for a man. The existence of the two labour markets is a

disadvantage to women both in the private as well as the public sector of the economy in all countries (Shelton and Agger 1993; West and Fenstermaker, 1993; Derar, 2003).

Another view is that women are treated as secondary bread winners after men as heads of their families, giving rise to the attitude of paying them less than men. It is also argued that women are less mobile as they are tied to the husband's career and only transfer from one job to another when the husband moves to another location (Thomas, 1990; Shelton and Agger 1993; West and Fenstermaker, 1993; Jacobs, 1996) There is also a view that, the presence of a large pool of employable women is the reason for women being given less pay and poor conditions of service (Mills, 1989; Tancred-Sheriff, 1989; Arnot, 2002).

Moreover, it has been argued that there are too many regulations dealing with the employment of women some of which work to their disadvantage (Thomas, 1990; West and Fenstermaker, 1993; Jacobs, 1996). It has been advanced that the market situation of women is influenced by culture in which men generally occupy positions of authority. Additionally, single sex work groups lead to sexual division of labour as well as the idea of men's work and women's work in the job market (Shelton and Agger 1993; West and Fenstermaker, 1993 Derar, 2003). Another view is that women bring with them disadvantages to the labour market, therefore the range of jobs open to them is limited (Shelton and Agger 1993; Arnot, 2002; Derar, 2003). It has often been argued that there are disadvantages such as the interrupted nature of women's working life and the type of occupation which is typically short term with less skill as such women are often placed in temporary jobs (Thomas, 1990; Shelton and Agger 1993; West and Fenstermaker, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Derar, 2003). Employers do not normally invest in the training of female workers as female workers are employed to be easily replaceable (Shelton and Agger 1993; West and Fenstermaker, 1993; Derar, 2003).

Selected female academics are not an exception as the dualism of labour markets persists even in Higher Education institutions in which there are jobs for men and jobs for women (Thomas, 1990; Jacobs, 1996; Arnot, 2002; Derar, 2003).

This study probes for factors that impact on female academics with respect to dual labour markets in terms of the low representation of female academics in high level management ranks which represents the primary market in Higher Education. The study also probes for the factors why female academics are mostly found in the secondary market of Higher Education where they are doing services such as student affairs, lecturing and so forth, while senior executive leadership positions are dominated by men. In the next section, I shall discuss a number of feminist approaches to women's empowerment in society and employment.

3.5 Feminisms

Feminist theory first came into prominence, in the 1960's and has since developed extensively into a number of varying perspectives beginning in the West to become a global movement. On a broad level feminism holds the view that women are disadvantaged by their subordination to men (Harding, 1986; Scott, 1989; Harris, 1991).

3.5.1 Radical feminism

The Radical feminist perspective is based on the belief that gender inequality is caused by the sexual division of society, which results in the general subordination of women by men (Gherardi, 1995; Derar, 2003). This viewpoint is premised on the idea that men and women have different sexual roles which lead to the domination of women by men (Gherardi, 1995; Derar, 2003). This system of cultural domination of women by men, they call patriarchy. The radical feminists see this system to be responsible for the oppression and violation of women's rights by men and they blame patriarchy for women's subordination by men (Gherardi, 1995; Derar, 2003). The radical feminists do not view capitalism as responsible for the social class system but blame patriarchy for the emergence of the two classes that came out of the two sexes. The emergence of the sex based classification of groups; it is argued, confirms male supremacy and the subordination of women at work and in the home and it is the reason for women's second class status in society (Thomas, 1990; Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Gherardi, 1995; Derar, 2003).

The field of radical feminism holds within it different variations (Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Derar, 2003). One such variation views women's unpaid household labour as of bigger importance than paid labour, hence reproduction is seen as a more important role for women in society than production (Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Derar, 2003). The argument advanced is that because of women's reproductive responsibilities, they depend on men for their needs. It is further argued that because of this dependence on men, women find themselves subordinate to men as a consequence of the patriarchal nature of society and not as a result of capitalism (Thomas, 1990; Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Derar, 2003). Radical feminists view the state as a manifestation of male power in which men dominate society through being the ruling class while women are the subject class. They blame the state for adopting male views in regulating society and in executing laws that favour male domination (Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Derar, 2003). Radical feminists argue that the state is patriarchal as it represents men's interests and that men control both the private and public spheres of life. The family is seen as key to women's oppression in modern societies (Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Derar, 2003). Radical feminism essentially disregards issues of class or capitalism and focuses instead on male power and male dominated culture as a source of women's oppression. Radical feminists attack patriarchy, especially the patriarchal family as the sole system of domination. Patriarchy is seen as the most important concept for explaining gender inequalities (Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Gherardi, 1995; Jacobs, 1996).

Radical feminists blame the exploitation of women on men and say that men have benefited from the subordination of women as women work for free for men to do house chores, child care and they are denied positions of power (Gherardi, 1995; Kwesiga, 2002). Some members of this school of thought/ standpoint see male rule largely as a product of culture (Gherardi, 1995; Kwesiga, 2002). Some see rape and male violence towards women as the methods through which men have secured and maintained their power. Radical feminists argue that politics is not confined to political parties and parliament but exists in any power structured relationship in which one group of people is controlled by another such as in the family, at work and in all other aspects of life

(Gherardi, 1995; Kwesiga, 2002). They argue that men inflict physical and sexual violence on women and commandeer the majority of material rewards and ignore women's rights in business as well as in salaries when women are paid lower wages than men and are denied employment on the same conditions as men (Engels, 1892; Thomas, 1990; Gherardi, 1995; Jacobs, 1996).

Radical feminists believe that men are able to justify their actions by persuading people that it is natural that men should be the dominant sex. For Radical Feminists sexual inequality is institutionalized and they believe that school and college experience make women accept inferiority and that men shape and control, and define knowledge through curriculum and teaching methodology (Jacobs, 1996; Kwesiga, 2002; Derar, 2003). They want change in the schools' system which shape female identity on subordinate lines and argue that women should be included in the formulation of teaching methodology. This approach is credited with the birth of Women's Studies Programmes across the globe (Shelton and Agger, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Derar, 2003). Through women centered approaches which look at qualities of caring, connectedness and concern for each other, the Radical feminists seek to insert the feminine aspects into Higher Education institutions. Generally the Radicals share the same aim as the Marxist and Liberal feminists and seek equality of the sexes (Gherardi, 1995; Jacobs, 1996; Kwesiga, 2002; Derar, 2003).

The views of Radical feminists concerning the role of patriarchy in the oppression of women discussed in this section help to inform this study with respect to the aspect of male domination in the researched universities. This study seeks to identify the factors which affect the advancement of senior women academics with the view to bring about equality of treatment between men and women in Higher Education workplace. The next section discusses liberal feminism.

3.5.2 Liberal feminism

Liberalism, as a school of thought arose in the late 18th Century and brought about different understandings of the role of the state in society. Betty Friedan (1963) is one of

the scholars associated with this school of feminist thought. One group, referred to as classical liberalism was of the view that the state should protect civil rights such as freedom of speech, property and association. A second group held the view that the state should be involved in the economy by ensuring the free market economy (Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Derar, 2003). For the two groups, the state was supposed to play a pivotal role in ensuring freedom, equality and justice in society through the use of legislation. Liberal Feminists seek equal rights with men and believe that individuals should be treated in accordance with their talents and effort as opposed to characteristics of their sex. They assert the equality of men and women through political and legal reform. It is an individualistic form of feminism, which focuses on women's ability to show and maintain their equality through their own actions and choices (Friedan, 1963; Shelton and Agger, 1993; Derar, 2003). Liberal feminism uses the personal interactions between men and women as the place from which to transform society. Proponents of Liberal feminism, attempt to reduce male domination through rational discussion among women and men, to remove legal barriers to women's work force entry, and to ensure their equal treatment in the paid labour domains (Friedan, 1963; Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Derar, 2003). Liberal feminists hold the view that all women are capable of asserting their ability to achieve equality; therefore it is possible for change to happen without altering the structure of society. Liberal feminists have the belief that the removal of injustices through the law would result in fair competition for opportunities between men and women (Friedan, 1963; Derar, 2003). The principles underpinning the liberal feminist view are those of "equal pay for equal work", affordable childcare, affordable health care, and bringing to light the frequency of sexual and domestic violence against women. The Liberal feminist view is that the state should play a central role in putting things right by setting up laws and enforce such laws prohibiting sexual discrimination in employment and conditions of service such as maternity leave. The Liberal feminists argue that gender inequality and the subordination of women is a result of discrimination based on policies and practices which stereotype gender roles in the education sector and in the workplace (Friedan, 1963; Derar, 2003). They argue that the state should come up with legislation to promote and sustain equality and appoint women at all levels in the governing hierarchical structures and provide equal job training opportunities. They also argue that

bourgeoisie women enjoy the same rights as men at the expense of working class women and minorities (Friedan, 1963; Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Derar, 2003).

Liberal feminists also campaign for the removal of any obstacles, be it political, social, legal or economical, which get in the way of women having the same opportunities as their male counterparts. Because of this approach certain discriminatory practices have been uncovered and legislation has been put in place successfully in the UK (Jacobs, 1996; Derar, 2003). They also advocate for compensation for past injustices in education, labour, economic activities and civil rights. They call for affirmative action programmes for women to be implemented until women are equal to men. Issues important to liberal feminists include reproductive and abortion rights, acting against sexual harassment, voting and education for all, equal pay for equal work, affordable childcare, affordable health care, and bringing to light the frequency of sexual and domestic violence against women (Friedan, 1963; Shelton and Agger, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Derar, 2003).

This section has raised important aspects of the removal of barriers to women's advancement and the enforcement of women's rights as well as issues of gender equality through the legal system. This study seeks to address such issues as raised here by identifying the factors which act as barriers to the retention and progression of senior women academics.

In the next section, I shall discuss black feminism.

3.5.3 Black feminism

Black feminists brought a new and previously ignored dimension of the concept of race and argued that sexism, class discrimination, and racism are inextricably linked together and further argued that in order to overcome sexism and class discrimination race cannot be ignored. Gloria Jean Watkins (1981) and Angela Davis (1981) are cited as the scholars associated with this school of thought. These theories that evolved out of this movement came after the early feminist movements that were led specifically by white middle-class women who advocated social changes such as woman's suffrage. These movements had generally ignored oppression based on racism and classism (Shelton and Agger, 1993;

Johnson, 1993; Sprague and Zimmerman, 1993). Black feminists pointed out that black women experienced a different and more intense kind of oppression than white women. At work, black women suffered both gender and class discrimination in addition to racial discrimination and were placed last after black men in getting opportunities (Johnson, 1993; Sprague and Zimmerman, 1993; Oyewumi, 2004). Black feminists advocated for an inclusive approach to women's problems which takes gender, class, and race into consideration when dealing with discrimination and oppression of women issues. They also emphasized that the concepts and explanations of ordinary people can also be a valid basis on which to develop our social analyses (Shelton and Agger, 1993; Johnson, 1993; Sprague and Zimmerman, 1993).

The black feminist movement helped in identifying important factors of race and class and argued that if ignored, this would prejudice black women and other minorities when it came to employment and promotions. All these positions influence relations in an institution. Female academics carry and embody these different positions. Such issues, unaddressed can also affect these groups of women in Higher Education, the area of this study, seeing that the study was carried out in Zimbabwe, a country in which a majority of women are previously disadvantaged black women.

This study researched for identity factors of ethnicity, class and gender insofar as they impact on the retention and advancement of female academics. In the next section I shall discuss post-colonial feminism.

3.5.4 Post-colonial feminism

Post-colonial feminism is identified with scholars such as Taslima Nasrin (1989). The proponents of post-colonial feminism are critical of Western forms of feminism such as radical feminism and liberal feminism and their universalization of female experience (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 2004; Steady, 2004). Post-colonial feminists, like black feminists argue that oppression relating to the colonial past, particularly oppression that is based on race, class, and ethnicity has marginalized women in post-colonial societies (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 2004). They disagree with the assumption that gender

oppression is the primary force of patriarchy and argue that middle class women are closer to middle class men than they are to working- class women. They also point out that while women's oppression is almost universal; it has taken different forms in different societies (Amadiume, 1987; Shelton and Agger, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Oyewumi, 2004; Steady, 2004). Post-colonial feminists object to their being portrayed as passive and voiceless victims and the portrayal of Western women as educated, modern, and empowered. They argue that women's oppression under capitalism is not on an individual to individual basis but there is oppression in the labour market, to maintain capitalist-low wages, poor working conditions, little job security as well as exploitation in the home and family (Thomas, 1990; Shelton and Agger, 1993; Jacobs, 1996; Steady, 2004).

The arguments raised by post-colonial feminists provide another angle to the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations from the point of different societies. For example, it is of importance to note that post-colonial feminists raise issues about ethnicity and exploitation of women in the home and family which affect women in post-colonial states differently from Western women. These are among some of the factors being researched in this study with the view to redress them for the betterment of female academics in Zimbabwe.

The next section discusses Third world feminism.

3.5.5 Third world feminism

Third World Feminism emerged from the gendered history of colonialism in which colonial powers often imposed Western norms on the colonized territories. Scholars such as Chandra Talpade Moharty and Sarojini Sahoo who criticize Western Feminism on the grounds that it is ethnocentric are associated with this school of feminist thought. In the 1940s and 1950s, former colonies were monitored by the West for what was judged to be social progress (Amadiume, 1987; Kwesiga, 2002). Because of a lack of understanding of the different cultures of people in developing countries, Western countries sought to monitor the status of women in the developing countries based on Western models of development. Westerners did not understand some traditional practices and roles taken up

by women and sometimes saw these as distasteful by Western standards (Amadiume, 1987; Kwesiga, 2002). Sometimes these practices were misconstrued as a form of rebellion against colonial oppression. The monitoring process was done through a number of women specific approaches (Amadiume, 1987; Thomas, 1990; Shelton and Agger, 1993; Kwesiga, 2002).

Third world feminists today struggle to fight gender oppression within their own cultural models of society rather than through those imposed by the former Western colonial powers (Amadiume, 1987; Mama, 2005; Odejide, 2007; Bakare-Yusuf, 2004). They also argue about the universality of feminist theories originating from the West as well as their applicability to the developing countries. The challenges on the universality of theories on gender partly border on the concept of patriarchy which is not necessarily the same across different nationalities (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 1997; Mama, 2005; Bakare-Yusuf, 2004; Odejide, 2007). The model of patriarchy in literature is largely Eurocentric in nature; as such there are questions as to its applicability to third world countries such as those in South America and Africa (Amadiume, 1987; Giroux, 1992; Kwesiga, 2002; Oyewumi, 2004; Kisiang'ani, 2004; Steady, 2004; Bakare-Yusuf, 2004). There is the question of whether there are different types of patriarchy depending on the culture of the people and the region of the world as well as the question of whether Western patriarchy is the same as patriarchy in Third World Countries (Amadiume, 1987; Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Bakare-Yusuf, 2004; Mama, 2005; Odejide, 2007). Studies done in Nigeria by Oyewumi show that even the term 'woman' is a Western invention when applied to Yoruba and Igbo social structures which are based on seniority rather than gender (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002; Odejide, 2007).

Since this study is being carried out in an African Third World country, it is important to point out that there is a view that the Western model of sex and gender is irrelevant to African societies (Amadiume, 1987). Amadiume (1987) gives an example of the Igbo society where at times women can assume to be 'males' and vice versa. In her West African study she says that daughters are conceptualized as males in ritual matters and politically in relation to wives. This serves as a good example of gender flexibility and

does not imply that daughters should be seen as ‘man-like’. The same views are echoed by Kwesiga (2002). From the above mentioned Nigerian study, the Igbo power structure is not biologically based. It is based on economic power and females with economic muscle could buy and own other women as ‘wives’ and they became their ‘husbands’ so that they could work as slaves for the buyer/husband (Amadiume, 1987). The Kikuyu in Kenya are matrilineal, with children having strong allegiance to women rather than men and that traditionally, women combine feminine and masculine characteristics without any problems (Kisiang’ani, 2004). In addition, there is a view that among the Yao and Mukuya of Tanzania, husbands move to live with their wives’ parents, giving women enormous powers (Kisiang’ani, 2004). Mkandawire, (2005) tells us of ‘tete’ or auntie in Zimbabwe among the Shona a woman who has patriarchal power due to her social position (see Dangarembga, 1989; Nzenza-Shand, 1997), (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2.3.3) for further details. Africa is littered with many such examples of powerful women in African society as a result of cultural and traditional practices or even through their role as mother. Hence African patriarchy is not necessarily uniform with Western traditional patriarchy (Steady, 2004; Kisiang’ani, 2004; Bakare-Yusuf, 2004; Mkandawire, 2005).

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Third World Feminists, particularly those in Africa, the region of this study, argue that African Feminism has largely been shaped by African women’s resistance to Western hegemony, and that it is a legacy within the African culture (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002). African feminists’ view is that the debates in many Western countries about essentialism, the female body and radical feminism are not characteristic of the new African Feminism (Kisiang’ani, 2004; Lewis, 2004; Steady, 2004; Odejide, 2007). They argue that African feminism is distinctly heterosexual, pro-natal, and concerned with many bread and butter, culture and power issues (Kwesiga, 2002; Odejide, 2007). One other argument by African feminists is that Western feminists who claim to speak for African women have ignored the realities and locations of African women (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002; Odejide, 2007). They argue that what is crucial is the need to understand how social location of women is determined by race, ethnicity, class, status and access to privilege and that those at the lower end of the scale are faced with exclusion, powerlessness, despair and vulnerabilities

(Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002; Odejide, 2007). However, Western concepts and values continue to form part of the African development process, a weakness in that Western constructions of social inequality are viewed to confer power on some at the expense of others (Kwesiga, 2002; Kisiang'ani, 2004; Lewis, 2004; Steady, 2004; Odejide, 2007). Another weakness is cited as that African theory tends to be historical as people have become Westernized (Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002; Odejide, 2007).

There are also examples of different forms of patriarchy elsewhere in the Third World such as among North American Indians (Kisiang'ani, 2004). There are groups of people such as pre- 20th century Native American tribes who are cited as having different traditional practices to those in Western countries involving women whose social roles combined traditionally feminine and masculine characteristics (Kisiang'ani, 2004).

It is important to note that this section has raised important aspects such as culture, race, ethnicity, and the concept of patriarchy which affect female academics in Higher Education workplace differently with respect to their social differences and location. This study probes for socio-cultural factors that affect female academics in a third world country with particular emphasis on patriarchy. In that regard the issues raised in this section help to inform gender relations in the researched institutions of Higher Education. The next section will discuss post-structuralism.

3.5.6 Post- structuralism

The scholars associated with post-structuralism are Kristeva (1980), Ettinger (1980), and Cixous (1970). Post-structuralism has its origins in the mid- 1980's. Feminists of this school of thought sought to negotiate a space within the feminist movement for consideration of race related subjectivities and in the process undertake the task of questioning the universalistic prescriptions in European forms of knowledge (Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002; Kisiang'ani, 2004; Mama, 2005). A post-structuralist interpretation of gender and sexuality is central in much of the third wave's ideology (from the 1980's onwards). There is a view that third wave feminists focus on 'micro-politics' and

challenge the second wave's paradigm (1960's through the 1970's) in terms of what is good or not good for females (Brooks, 2001; Mama, 2005; Priola, 2007). Many post-structural feminists maintain that difference is one of the most powerful tools females possesses in their struggle with patriarchal domination, and that to equate the feminist movement only with equality is to deny women a wide range of options. It is argued that equality is still defined from the masculine perspective (Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002; Mama, 2005).

Post-structuralists include among them those who believe that there are important differences between the sexes and others who are of the view that there are no inherent differences between the sexes and contend that gender roles are a result of social conditioning (Gherardi, 1994; Spurling, 1997; Priola, 2007). As such, it has been argued that post-structuralism focuses on the ways in which gender identities and subjectivities are socially constructed, rejecting the categorization of women as a homogenous group and the view that femininity and femaleness are unitary conceptions. From this perspective, identities and subjectivities are unstable, contingent and precarious. As such, identity is perceived to acquire the status of a 'project' which should be constantly worked at to be accomplished and achieved (Gherardi, 1994; Kisiang'ani, 2004; Priola, 2007). There is a view that the meaning of gender is negotiated in everyday interactions, however, it is permeated by cultural norms. Post-structural feminists have argued that contemporary market driven institutions reinforce forms of masculine management in which managers disengage, denying their emotions in order to obtain control over themselves, the others and the environment (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Spurling, 1997; Priola, 2007).

Moreover, it is important to note that there is a view that working practices and the construction of workers' identities are influenced by the dominant culture and that the academic profession has shown resistance to cultural change; hence the position of female academics is evidence of this resistance (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Spurling, 1997; Priola, 2007). Furthermore, the most obvious feature of the management of universities is not just male domination, but also the dominance of masculine styles

(Spurling, 1997; Oackley, 2001; Priola, 2007). Female academics fail to gain inclusion because they are judged in systems set up by men embedded in male standards and criteria (Priola, 2007; Oackley, 2001; Spurling, 1997; Gherardi, 1994).

This study researched for barriers that are related to culture that impact on the retention and progression of female academics in Zimbabwe. In this regard, the above section helps to inform the study.

In the next section I shall discuss post-modernist feminism.

3.5.7 Post- Modernist feminism

The proponents of this approach as with post-structuralism are Irigaray, (1985) and Kristeva, (1980). The post-modernists argue against the classification of feminist theories along the lines of first, second and third waves (Kwesiga, 2002). Post-modernists argue that the fight against male supremacy, i.e., patriarchy has been going on for centuries. Hence it's not easy to pinpoint the beginning or the end of one era and the beginning of another and there is no post-feminist era when patriarchy still exists (Nicholson, 1997). However, this approach still faces a problem of how to solve the issue of women's subordination as they don't have any practical solutions to solve women's subordination which go with the explanations they give. Consequently, issues of why and how women have been seen or treated and or acted as subordinate to men is still a debate and what is seen as important is to take a standpoint (Harding, 1986). The proponents of this approach acknowledge the differences amongst women and argue that the study of theories is historically helpful, for example women's rights versus women's liberation, production and reproduction paradigms, differences and commonalities between men and women, amongst women within nationalities and across nationalities and regions (universalism) (Harding, 1986; Giroux, 1992; Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002). This school of thought works to undo institutionalized discrimination against women as well as current concerns in development theories including inclusion and exclusion. These theories seek to address current issues on the current position of women in society. They want to remove women from the periphery to the centre of analysis, be it in business or in

the larger society. They want to do away with everything that disadvantages and marginalizes women (Harding, 1986; Shelton, and Agger, 1993; Oyewumi, 1997; Kwesiga, 2002). As echoed above in post-structuralism, the major departure of post-modernist feminism from the other feminist theories is the view that gender is constructed through everyday language (Spurling, 1997; Priola, 2007). The insights brought about by post-modernism help in shaping this study as this approach is concerned with addressing current factors that marginalize women at the workplace.

Standpoint Theory: As will be discussed extensively in Chapter 4, Section 4.2.1, the epistemological assumptions for this study are rooted in standpoint theory which originates from the work of feminist theorists influenced by the contributions of post-modernism. Standpoint theory focuses on the views, or voices, of people who are typically on the margins of society. In this study the standpoint is that women are marginalized. As such there is need for research to start from the lived realities of women's lives (Harding, 1986). As outlined earlier, I will give a more extensive discussion of Standpoint theory in Chapter 4.

3.5.8 General commentary: Interpreting the debates on gender and society.

In an overall reading of the above literatures, it appears that there are some similar and different ways in which the scholars tend to approach the generic study of women. In my reading I have identified certain themes that capture the ways in which the concept of women is used to understand gender relations. This will now be addressed.

Scholars have debated on how gender roles in society are culturally rather than biologically constructed. As has been shown gender relations are produced at home and in society through the idea and practice of patriarchy. A further area that I have extracted from the range of literature is about the understandings of the concept of 'femininity'. This concept refers to how women are viewed with respect to men in terms of the roles they play in society. In other words the concept of 'femininity' is viewed with respect to 'masculinity'. That is there are dualisms of masculinity/ femininity, for example women are associated with roles in the domestic sphere while men are associated with roles in

the public sphere, single sex schools, masculine/feminine jobs, sexual division of labour and the dual labour market.

I observe that in several of the literatures there is an attempt to show how women are understood as a social category for labour power. Examples are the World System Theory perspective that demonstrates how women are utilized in the capacity of cheap labour within the content of a global economic system. This view is extended by the Marxist-Socialist perspectives to gender insofar as they view society as being formed on the basis of two social classes in which men are the dominant class, owning the means of production while women are the subordinate class.

The literature on the Human Capital Theory has shown how men's work is valued higher than women's work in the selection of people for staff development. In this regard unequal gender relations are reproduced at work through a staff development process that favours men ahead of women. Additionally, the perspective that gender relations are reproduced in the polity and the economy emerges from the discussion on the Dual labour Market Theory.



In a similar way, I observe that the literature on the different forms of feminism, in particular, the Radical Feminists also tend to view women as a class. The Radical feminists understand the process of inequality through two sex based 'classes', that is, men and women, arising out of the practices of patriarchy.

A further theme that I have identified is that gender inequality could also be understood in terms of the organization of social relationships, and how this pattern of unequal relations is built around power factors. The emphasis here is that these relationships, based on power, need to change. Similarly, the literature on Liberal feminism also advocates for the removal of injustices through the law and the implementation of other equal opportunities programmes. Reforms such as Gender Equity and Affirmative Action policies are some examples.

Then, some scholars tend to view gender as one variable among others, and hence in thinking of change, for example the Black feminists make a case for other types of unequal relations which also have to be considered. In the same way the post-structuralists and post-colonial feminists understand gender inequalities to being one among other factors, in other words, gender intersects with other forms of inequalities.

I have also observed that gender-based interpretations are about the ways in which the subordinate position of women gets constructed through kinship relations. This seems to be evident in the literature on patriarchy and Third World feminism.

A further theme I have identified from the literature is that gender relations are reproduced through everyday language. For example the post-modernist feminists emphasize language as an important aspect for the creation of gender relations and advocate for change through taking a standpoint. That is by focusing their attention on the views, or voices, of the women themselves as agents of change. In other words, such inquiry should be motivated by goals of feminist emancipation.

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In the above I have identified in brushstroke terms certain themes from the literature. In closing this section, it is important to note that some of these have been isolated for analytical purposes; however, there are several overlaps between / among the perspectives. The question now is about how the debates nest themselves in a Higher Education environment, since universities form a key site for this research.

3.6 Higher Education institutions as a Workplace for Women

Gender relations are a central dynamic of all societal relations. Flowing from this, Higher Education institutions are intricately linked into society insofar as they reflect and contribute to the social construction of gender and other cultural norms. Therefore, it is important to clarify the debates around gender as these pertain specifically to Higher Education (in terms of wider political and ideological orientations). To do this, I would like to divert briefly, by providing a schematic overview of the history of universities in

terms of their social function, as knowledge production sites, and how this has shifted over time. I do this with specific reference to tracing women in the history of universities.

3.6.1 A brief history of universities: tracing the women

There is a rich literature on the origin of universities, starting as centres of theological study in Mesopotamia and Egypt, how in turn between 700-1300 the Islamic centres of learning expanded to become universities, with occupational levels being that of assistants, associates and full teachers (Schmidlein and Berdahl, 2005). Shifting to Europe, we are told that in the medieval period, the social function of universities was to provide training for key professions such as the ruling elite, the military and the priestly as well as preserving, transmitting and discovering knowledge (Schmidlein and Berdahl, 2005; Altbach, 2005; Perkin, 2007). Authority and control of these institutions were in the hands of the church and the state (Perkin, 2007). From 1300 onwards, we notice that the universities tended to assume a more distinct identity, with the Chancellor at the helm of the governance structure. Academic freedom was guaranteed by key religious authorities, including that of secular ruler's protection (Perkin, 2007). In the period up until about 1500, with a student body that was mainly international, we also witness the establishment of formal faculties of arts, theology, law and medicine, with the language of instruction being Latin (Perkin, 2007). Moving to the Americas, by the 17th and 18th Century, university colleges with similar social mandates, continued to be established by the colonial nations (Goodchild, 1997).

I observe that by the 19th Century with the establishment of the Humboldtian model of university, the social purpose tended to shift. By this is meant that universities took on a new role in society where the focus was on national development and industrialization (Altbach, 2005; Perkin, 2007). The function of universities started to include that of research (Altbach, 2005). At this time, universities also took on a wide political and cultural function in society serving as centres for civil society. The university was reorganized as a hierarchy based on the newly emerging scientific disciplines such as Mathematics, Chemistry and Surgery (Altbach, 2005; Perkin, 2007). Hence, by the mid-20th Century, this model was the only academic model worldwide which became a

significant organizational form for universities. The universal language of Higher Education Latin was replaced with national languages (Altbach, 2005; Palmieri, 2007). Universities became more local in outlook and were affected by their local circumstances. In the latter part of the 20th Century, this university model was exported to the colonial territories by European nations first to America, then India, Africa, South East Asia, and Vietnam (Altbach, 2005).

As outlined earlier, Higher Education's social function was meant for the grooming of the elite, the clergy, the military and knowledge production. These groups of people were men; hence the social function of Higher Education was for the grooming of men so that they could take leadership roles in society.

Having schematically outlined the history of universities, the question at this point is about tracing senior women academics in this history which of course begs the question of training in universities. By the eighteenth century, while the social function of universities was such that it was an important site for production of knowledge, I observe that women were excluded both at the level of being learners and academics. In other words, the actual learning process was such that women were not able to participate in formal learning opportunities and teaching (Palmieri, 2007)

Of interest for this study is the presence of women in these early stages of university development. Literature indicates that women were not present in terms of academic appointments in this early period. The question then is about where were the women? In the early period, it seems that the universities' main function was to train men, with women being confined to the private sphere, with limited, if any access to formal education (Palmieri, 2007). Literature shows that the universities' main purpose was to provide male role models for the boys in the male institutions away from the influence of the mothers in the homes (Vine, 2007). In this regard, university education was for men at the exclusion of women.

Drawing on the American context, small shifts in terms of the exclusion of women from education occurred insofar as when they were brought into formal education. The subject choices were limited to those subjects likely to improve their performance as housewives, mothers and elementary school teachers (Church and Sedlak, 2007). Other subjects included simple arithmetic, geography and sewing. Even in co-educational colleges, women learnt separate from men (Church and Sedlak, 2007). It seems therefore that Higher Education institutions were to promote those views that were in strict accordance with the traditional role of women in society. Women were to be supported in their careers and also in terms of what they chose, for example if they wished to stay at home and fulfill the service role (Lane, 2007). Remaining in the American setting, a major shift took place in women's roles in society (Palmieri, 2007). Women could now play a role as teachers, social reformers and translators. At the same time, economic factors called for the involvement of women in jobs within the economy for which they had to be educated/trained (Palmieri, 2007:206). With industrialization happening at a fast rate and family work being replaced by factory production, we observe that women were needed to join the expanding workforce. As a solution to the employment needs of the economy, the education of daughters was encouraged, particularly for elementary school teaching. As a result, colleges were opened up for the education of women (Palmieri, 2007). Generally, globally, the number of women studying in Higher Education institutions started to increase from this time onwards, more especially in countries such as America, Europe and Japan (Perkin, 2007).

The above section provided a snapshot of the presence of women in the history of universities. As outlined above, subject choices for women gave them exposure to those ideas that ensured that they remained in subordinate positions in society, for example, by fulfilling service-related and nurturing functions generally. Given the limits these subject choices offered to women students by Higher Education institutions in the early period, I am interested to understand how, in the latter period, the subjects/ programmes/ fields of study continued to demarcate the boundaries for women.

3.6.2 Higher Education and gender socialization: Fields of study/ curriculum

Since this study is interested in the ways that the subordinate position of women is reproduced inside institutions, it is important for me to outline one of the important areas which is responsible for this reproduction within the institutions of Higher Education. In the light of this, I shall now discuss how the aspect of fields of study chosen by women students at university is responsible for the socialization of women students into subordinate positions in society. The fields of study taken by women students act as pathways to particular professions for women. In light of this, certain professions are considered as women's work (Keller, 1983; Thomas, 1990; Morley, et. al., 2008). Thus, in some ways, the gendered nature of fields of study and courses open to women, almost in a sense reinforces the socialization of women in society (see Chapter 5, section 5.3) for further details.

In literature we are told that the socialization or induction of women and men into particular professions has its origins in the experience of schooling insofar as by the time students leave school they have relatively clear ideas on the status levels of certain subjects (Thomas, 1990). For the purpose of this study, I am interested in how the fields of study in Higher Education establish themselves as sites for inducting women and men into particular professions (Mahlck, 2003). From the literature, there are indications to suggest a causal linkage between subject choice and socio-economic status (Thomas, 1990; Keller, 1983; Morley, et. al., 2008). For example, the reading of the classics is considered to be mainly for upper- or upper-middle class; while subjects such as engineering tends to be taken by working-class men (Thomas, 1990). In addition to relating subject choice with that of class, some subjects are also perceived to be more male rather than female –defined, for example in England, English and sociology are disciplines mostly dominated by women students (Thomas, 1990; Morley, et.al., 2008). As mentioned above, some subjects are considered to be more suitable for women than for men and vice versa. For example, physics, mathematics and engineering are said to embody qualities which are closely linked to ideas about masculinity and femininity (Keller, 1983; Thomas, 1990; Morley, et. al., 2008). While it is observable globally that in Higher Education, women are found mainly in the disciplines or professions of

education, humanities and social sciences rather than science, mathematics and technology this trend is more marked in the sub-Saharan region (Kwesiga, 2002; Teferra and Altbach, 2004). In general, the majority of students doing the sciences are men (Thomas, 1990; Jacobs, 1996; Shumway, 2003; Touchton, et. al., 2008).

However, in time and with the changing pattern of employment of men and women in the labour force, some subjects change from being viewed as feminine or masculine as a result of pressures exerted on the schools or university by students and employers (Thomas, 1990). For example, subjects related to medicine such as optics and pharmacy have become feminine subjects as more female students than males opt to study them and go into the related medical professions (Thomas, 1990; Mahlck, 2003).

On the other hand, more female students than male students take languages at Higher Education level and the majority of students studying the arts are women (Thomas, 1990; Jacobs, 1996; Arnot, 2002). Generally, significant gender disparities remain in the science faculties. The female student population in the natural sciences across African public Higher Education is lower than that of male students. It has been argued that this is a global phenomenon although with significant differences across countries (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

In a section above, it has been mentioned that in terms of subjects, science is rated higher than arts, which is leading to the argument that subject specialization can reinforce the idea of gender distinctions (Thomas, 1990; Jacobs, 1996; Arnot, 2002; Shumway, 2003). In this regard, it has been argued that subject choices from the natural science and the humanities made respectively, by men and women lead to the social construction in which the former is equated to masculinity and the latter to femininity (Thomas, 1990; Arnot, 2002). As a consequence, Higher Education is often viewed as a process which is for the creation and reproduction of gender differences (Thomas, 1990; Arnot, 2002) including that of identity (Jacobs, 1996).

It has been argued that academic subjects/disciplines are part of one's identity and identity building (Friedman and Diem, 1993; Jacobs, 1996). This is because academic subjects are not seen as neutral, but as 'cultures', each with its own way of perceiving and interpreting the world (Thomas, 1990; Morley, et. al., 2008). According to Thomas (1990), notions of 'masculinity' and 'femininity' play an important role in shaping students' experiences of schooling and fewer women than men reach Higher Education and are concentrated in different subject areas. Maher and Tetreault (2007:135) in their research established that the status hierarchies among departments and disciplines are reflected in a pecking order around the research methodologies that are used for each discipline.

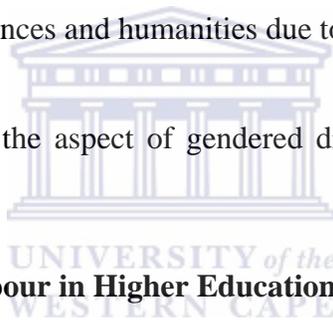
An understanding of the choices made in the fields of study by both men and women at undergraduate level, could partly explain the under-representation of female academics in the university science faculties such as physics, mathematics and engineering. The fields of study chosen by women students may also help to explain the gender division of labour in the institutions of Higher Education and how women and men have come to be identified with certain disciplines as opposed to others along lines of male versus female. Moreover, understanding the gender-specific connotations of certain fields of study is crucial if we are also to comprehend the process by which gender inequality is produced and reproduced in Higher Education.

Literature clearly shows that in places such as America, United Kingdom, Australia and Europe women post-graduates outnumber men in the social sciences, languages, librarianship and in medical studies in subjects such as pharmacy and nursing and education (Thomas, 1990; Jacob, 1996; Arnot, 2002). As a result, the division of students along the lines of male and female subject choices persists to post-graduate level which explains the reasons behind the gendered division of labour in Higher Education institutions. Moreover, it has been argued that female students make decisions not to continue with physics at post-graduate level and that they are often torn between the choices of starting a family and taking the most convenient work to combine with family raising such as teaching or part-time work (Thomas, 1990).

From a radical feminist perspective Higher Education curricula offered to students tend to be biased towards the male experience arising from the fact that career paths of male and female graduates differ widely (Williams, 1993; Arnot, 2002). However, there is a view that greater access to Higher Education has resulted in a growing number of women obtaining degrees. As such, women have joined the professions, particularly in the United States of America and other developed countries (Thomas, 1990; Jacobs, 1996).

In this section, I showed some of the reasons why men and women tend to choose different subjects of study at university levels. In addition, I have also tried to show why female graduates choose not to pursue certain disciplines beyond the undergraduate level in such fields of study as physics and other natural sciences. Instead they choose to pursue careers in the social sciences and humanities due to social and other pressures.

The next section will address the aspect of gendered division of labour in the Higher Education workplace.



3.6.3 Gendered division of labour in Higher Education

It is clear that occupational levels in Higher Education institutions are stratified along gender lines, with men occupying most senior/ executive management jobs within institutions (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Middlehurst, 1997; Subotzky, 2003; Teferra and Altbach, 2004) while women play a subordinate role in the operational levels. Women are mostly found doing certain jobs that are thought to be feminine, for example, jobs in fields such as student development are often assigned to women (Perumal, 2003; Zulu, 2003; Mabokela, 2003). In that regard women find themselves in jobs that have limited promotional prospects (Gherardi, 1995). Women are also found in the services jobs of bursar, student recruitment, social services, librarianships and nursing (Thomas, 1990; Arnot, 2002; Mama, 2003; Rhoades, 2007), (see Chapter 5, section 5.2).

Moreover, literature from a number of countries in Europe, America, England and Africa, including certain Commonwealth countries indicates that women are concentrated in the

positions such as teachers (Thomas, 1990; Morley, et.al., 2008). Women are also found in bigger numbers in Social Sciences and Humanities (Mahlck, 2003) as opposed to those in Natural Science departments with a majority of male lecturers (Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Tsikata, 2007). Although women make up over half the members of society at large, they are a minority in Higher Education (Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Morley, et.al. 2008). For example, in England a majority of lecturers in English and sociology are male and yet these are disciplines mostly dominated by women students (Thomas, 1990; Morley, et.al., 2008).

In Africa while fewer women than men are employed as academics and administrators, a large number of women are employed in support services as non-academics (Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Gunawardena, et. al, 2009). In most universities nonacademic staff outnumbers academic staff (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

There are also certain duties that some organizations assign to women on the basis of being female. One such example is the service role that women are expected to assume with regard to catering at social events inside the institutions (Gherardi, 1995: 42-46). It has been argued that the Executive management in these institutions may not perceive this to be a problem (Gherardi, 1995:42-46). In that regard, there are different expectations by organizations from males and females. Hence, such institutional expectations and practices make it difficult for women's appointments and advancement within organizations (Gherardi, 1995:42).

Gherardi (1995:15) advances a further argument for the gendered division of labour in the workplace when she says:

The attributes of femininity are ingrained in the subordination relationship: caring, compassion, willingness to please others, generosity, sensitivity, solidarity, nurturing and emotionality

In this respect, organizations are perceived to be not distinct from society since they “internally reflect the patriarchal system of their environment,” which “assigns women to

a subordinate system and forces them to adapt to the inequality of the genders”, forcing them into roles socially assigned as female (Gherardi, 1995: 15). In addition, it has been argued that the university is a system that prepares men to take up roles of power in a male-centred society (Rich, 1979; Acker, 1984). Following this, women often accept their supposed inferior status as a means of gaining acceptability (Morley, et. al., 2008).

This study researched for the social and institutional factors that impact on the retention and progression of female academics in Higher Education. In this regard, the study seeks to understand the factors that give rise to the gendered participation of female academics in university occupational categories. The next section discusses the recruitment and retention of female academics .

3.6.4 Recruitment and Retention of female academics

3.6.4.1 Recruitment

The appointment of academics, for example at professorial level in Higher Education institutions, depends mainly on publications (Ashby, 1964; Cole and Zuckerman, 1984). Studies done in America, Europe and Scandinavia, covering various periods and research fields reported gender differences in publication productivity taking into consideration age and other social attributes (Mahlck, 2003). In Africa, academic work is influenced by unavailability of research funds and infrastructure (Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Barnes, 2007). In this regard, in most African countries it is difficult for both men and senior women academics to publish and yet universities still demand publications for appointments of academics at higher levels of the profession (Teferra and Altbach, 2004), (see Chapter 6, Section 6.1.1). Additionally, for lower level appointments for example at lecturer level, academics are required to be highly knowledgeable in their areas of expertise. As a result, higher level qualifications such as masters and doctoral degrees (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2), as well as teaching experience at university level are required (Millet, 1962; Jacobs, 1996; Lihamba, et. al., 2006).

3.6.4.2 Selection committees

The committee structure is an important component of governance insofar as key aspects and decisions affecting university life are debated and discussed at this level (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Morley, 2000). Universities are hierarchical in nature, with positions of authority and responsibility resting at various levels of the bureaucratic structures of power. In light of this, the committee structure is one place where important decisions around hiring of staff are made. Consequently aspects of composition of these committees are important. With most of the senior level positions in institutions being occupied by males, the composition of selection committees thus also reflect this trend (Morley, 2000). It has been stated that certain resources and benefits tend to be used by an entrenched group that serves its own interests within the institution (Morley; 2000). This group often includes some powerful people within the organization who have control over resources and events. These people form part of the committees that influence both appointments and promotions and in male dominated institutions groups of males are in control. These groups tend to have the best interest of the institution at heart and use processes, procedures, standards, rules and regulations to appointments and promotions in their favour through their domination of the decision-making committees (Morley, 2000:229-233).

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3.6.4.3 Gender frameworks guiding the discussion in committees

I observe in literature that discussions about the selection of senior women academics occur in terms of specified rules and criteria most of which are based on general principles. However, it is important to note that given the marginalized status of women in Higher Education, it is also important to understand the function of equity frameworks. As outlined earlier (Section 3.2.3.1), several countries have introduced these frameworks. According to Morley (2005), strategies of this nature have been put in place to enhance the participation of under-represented (academic) groups in Higher Education. For example in Zimbabwe, there is the National Gender Policy of 2004 which in Section 1, Subsection 7, states:

There is need to eliminate all negative economic, social and political policies, cultural and religious practices that impede equality and equity of sexes and professed to promote equal opportunities for women and men in decision making in all areas and all levels (Republic of Zimbabwe, 2004).

Another example is that of South Africa where there are provisions of an enabling legislation in the form of the Constitution of South Africa (1996), which in Chapter 2, Section 9, Subsection 3, states:

The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth (Republic of South Africa, 1996).

Inside these committees, the debates and discussions are varied. For the purpose of this study I am interested in how the language of ‘excellence’ is used in the framing of the discussion about the appointment of senior women academics. The language of ‘excellence’ especially when it is used in conjunction with appointment of senior women academics is complex. In the American context, Maher and Tetreault (2007:3) say that:

Excellence is a code word for commonly agreed-on high standards of academic performance-in other words, rigorous scholarship with universal applicability and a deservedly high stature for those who meet these standards.

With respect to the “excellence versus standards” debates in Higher Education institutions, Maher and Tetreault (2007:3) argue that diversity has come to mean a “dilution or a reduction and a threat to those standards”. In this respect, diversifying Higher Education through affirmative action for women, black persons and other non-white minorities has been viewed as a threat to Higher Education standards or a lowering of standards. In this quotation, however, Maher and Tetreault (2007:4) argue that excellence in this case is not a mark of quality but rather a privileged position of those who have already made it to the high ranks of the academic hierarchy. It is a way of controlling the norms of the scholarly enterprise which helps to keep new entrants, new topics and new research methodologies at bay. According to Maher and Tetreault (2007), in the American academy, males who dominate decision-making structures within the

universities are the ones who do the hiring of academics. They further argue that newcomers to the academy must negotiate their way through the barrier of excellence embedded in the academy and its work ethos. The central question that has confronted this study has been about the conditions and factors that could increase the participation of women in Higher Education, given the difficulties around the discussion of the 'excellence' criterion.

What is of interest to me is that in the early stages of appointments, where much discussion is taking place about occupational criteria, it appears from the literature that judgments of worth are made by men. For example:

In the academy, gendered processes of power are complicated by the autonomy that accrues as a result of expert power. It can mean that those beyond the boundary of knowledge cannot question a professional judgment. This characteristic is particularly pertinent in cases of academic appointments, promotions, and assessments in which judgments of worth remain both nebulous and frequently in the hands of the dominant group (Morley, 2000:233).

As evident from the above quotation men in positions of authority within institutions of Higher Education control the recruitment of female academics into these institutions.

Moreover, the appointment of senior women academics in university has its own set of complexities and challenges. There is a view that when employing new academic staff, most organizations have certain expectations from the employee (Gherardi, 1995) that are usually uniform for both men and women. Research shows that sometimes women have difficulty in meeting some of these conditions due to their family roles as mothers and wives (Walby, 1988).

3.6.5 Working conditions and working life

Internationally, the conditions of service for all academics include freedom of association, opportunity for research and scholarship, academic freedom, tenure and career development, self governance and collegiality and access to grievance procedures

(see Teferra and Altbach, 2004). These are elements of the academic profession as stated by Rhoades (2007:121):

Higher Education scholarship and teaching are considered a profession because they are characterized by advanced education and a specialized body of knowledge over which they have a monopoly; a normative structure of codes of ethics and the rule of meritocracy; a level of autonomy embedded in peer review and considerable professional self regulation; and, in the case of professors, concepts like academic freedom and shared governance.

Such qualities as described above are deemed to be the hallmarks of professions, hence the term Academic Profession (see Rhoades, 2007). However, in practice the conditions are somewhat different.

In most countries, particularly the developing countries, for example in Africa, academics are confronted with poor conditions of service in the form of low salaries and other normal occupational benefits (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). In this respect, it has been noted that in African institutions, academics are faced by an unfavourable working environment in the form of civil strife, political persecutions and social upheavals which threaten their security (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). This has a negative impact on the working lives of academics, generally, but in particular in the lives of senior women academics, whose conditions are further aggravated.

3.6.5.1 Conditions of service for academics: benefits

As part of their conditions of service, once appointed in the institution of Higher Education, female academics are retained through the payment of salaries and other benefits such as transport and housing allowances (Millet (1996; Teferra and Altbach, 2004). Additional benefits include contact and sabbatical leave (Ashby, 1964; Gaidzanwa, 2007). It has also been noted that globally, even in wealthy industrialized nations, institutions face fiscal problems; however, the magnitude of these challenges is bigger in Africa than anywhere else (Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Virtually all African universities are affected by the scarcity of financial resources (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). In that regard, in the African context, the retention of

academics once appointed both male and female is a difficult task. In addition, there are serious shortages of teaching and research resources such as books, journals, laboratory equipment and chemicals (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). Teferra and Altbach (2004), mention that some of the common problems faced by institutions across the continent include lengthy delays in salary payments for academics as well as low salaries. Lesotho and Botswana are cited as rare exceptions. Furthermore, provision of nonacademic activities and facilities such as allowances, free accommodation and catering are under scrutiny in most countries (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). In the views of Teferra and Altbach, (2004), limited funding has affected the quality of teaching as well as research efforts including the morale and physical well-being of academics. As a result, retention of academics in most African countries is a difficult task; hence there is a high rate of brain drain to other more affluent countries (Maunde, 2003; Teferra and Altbach, 2004). When it comes to the developed countries of the West, retention of academics does not appear to be such a problem. The reasons for this are that the West controls knowledge production through both books and journal publications, and hence they have a stronger teaching and financial resource-base to retain academics (Teferra and Altbach, 2004:46). In fact some of the academics that leave African universities end up in some of the Western institutions in UK, Australia, New Zealand, USA and Europe (Maunde, 2003, Teferra and Altbach, 2004; Morley, 2005). However, there are indications from the literature that the retention of academics is still a problem even in the developed countries. The academic profession is also driven by market factors, given that there is a trickling of academics to countries that pay more for academic work (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). For example there is movement of academics from the UK to America, from South Africa to America and Europe (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

3.6.5.2 Inflexibility around ‘standard’ employment rules and regulations

The literature suggests that the standardized rules do not make allowance for the circumstances of senior women academics (Subotzky, 2003). In light of this, it is noted that some female academics are affected by the way in which institutional level formal policies are applied (Subotzky, 2003; Bennett and Reddy, 2007). Universities being large bureaucracies operate according to uniform rules and regulations which cannot be

changed to suit the diverse academic staffing profiles. Such rules and regulations cover a wide area ranging from appointments to promotions and conditions for leave. There is a tendency for uniform application of the rules and regulations for all academics despite the fact that special flexibility may be required for women in certain cases. Some examples where some form of flexibility may be required include cases of emergency leave involving women's roles in the family (Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006; Gaidzanwa, 2007)

3.6.5.3 Support networks

Conducive conditions need to be in place for academic work to flourish (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988) One such example is that of support networks. These 'networks' could exist either in the form of academics connecting at the intra- and/ or inter-institutional, as well as the department/faculty levels. These networks provide support to academics in different ways. These support networks play an important role in the socialization of academics into Higher Education workplace by providing staff with information on project funding, partnerships, conferences as well as research and publishing. The networks are very important in information dissemination in the institutions of Higher Education. Through networks, people are able to access important information about work related issues (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Morley, 2005)

With reference to senior women academics, literature shows that there is a lack of networks for women as a social group (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Morley, 2005). This places limits on the extent to which women benefit from the roles that support networks provide in terms of mentorship (Zulu, 2003; Kwesiga, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007; Barnes, 2007). From a developing country perspective, the brain drain has left many institutions for example in Zimbabwe, with very few, if any mentors for junior academics. This situation affects female academics more than males as the latter are mostly in the junior lecturer category (Gaidzanwa, 2007). This situation appears to be aggravated for senior women academics in Africa insofar as married female academics are not able to benefit from the exposure to diverse intellectual resources and traditions due to the lack of support networks (Gaidzanwa, 2007; Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Ward and Wolf-Wendel, 2004). Due to family roles which take over after work, there is a

need for women to be well connected in order to be part of the decision-making group in Higher Education institutions (Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006; Gaidzanwa, 2007). It has been argued that most married senior selected academic women have limited time for social networks such as ‘clubbing’ (Gaidzanwa, 2007). Clubs form important networking sites for people to meet after work hours or during weekends to mix and share information and life experiences in a relaxed friendly atmosphere at the club house.

Furthermore, it has been argued that because of the lack of participation in support networks, female academics are not able to market themselves as consultants (Gaidzanwa, 2007). Hence without networks and a sizeable cadre of senior academics as mentors, teaching and learning as well as academic development are compromised (Ward and Wolf-Wendel, 2004; Gaidzanwa, 2007). It has been argued that women feel most excluded in informal networks (Cole, 1981 cited in Mahlck, 2003).

Higher Education institutions are embedded with the old boys’ network which works to the advantage of men (Morley, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007). The dominance of the old boys’ network over the old girls’ network is cited as a challenge for the progression and retention of female academics. In light of this, with more networks for men than for women (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Morley, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007), men have greater access to information, unlike the case for women (Morley, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

3.6.6 General conditions on campuses under which women have to labour

There are a number of general factors which affect the working life conditions of female academics within the institutions of Higher Education. Some of these factors will be discussed below.

Informal practices by holders of positions of authority in institutions are some of the factors that affect senior women academics (Morley, 2005). These could be in the form of how persons in authority encourage others to apply for promotion while others are not given the same encouragement (Morley, 2005). Additionally, it may be in the way in

which information on vacant promotional posts is given or not given to others (Subotzky, 2003; Morley, 2005) In other words, such conditions as unavailability of information on careers and career development leads to the marginalization of senior women academics (Kwesiga, 2002; Ward and Wolf-Wendel, 2004; Shackleton, et.al, 2006).

3.6.6.1 Constraints on Academic Freedom

With the advent of managerialism, universities have grown into large bureaucratic structures with professional managers (Perkin, 2007; Kogan and Teichler, 2007). The bureaucratization of universities, as the need for professional management and bureaucratic systems of control come into effect globally, has put academic freedom at risk as academic faculty autonomy was lost (Perkin, 2007; Kogan and Teichler, 2007). Academic freedom is important for academics to be able to debate, research and publish important social and other issues without any hindrance or interference from the government. In this manner the conditions for knowledge production are created.

3.6.6.2 Violence and instability on campuses

According to Odejide (2007), large enrolments and lack of funding in Africa, have led to student riots and violence at institutions of Higher Education making such places unsuitable for female management. As outlined earlier, men are associated with war and women with the home. In this regard, men are assumed to be able to manage violence in the form of riotous behaviour by students more effectively than women. As a result, female academics find it difficult to be elevated to higher levels of university leadership where they may be required to handle situations of violent student demonstrations. Instead they have been pigeonholed into restricted roles without any promotional opportunities (Currie, et. al., 2002; Subotzky, 2003).

The socialization of women in subordinate positions, as was outlined earlier, has impacted on the extent to which senior women academics assume leadership positions. In this regard, some women tend to view women's subordinate position to men in the workplace as normal. As a result, such women may not compete for leadership roles at

the Higher Education workplace with men but would rather accept the leadership of men to their own disadvantage (Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006).

The literature also points to some of the adverse conditions under which women fulfill their occupational roles (Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006) Examples cited are that of workload (Currie, et. al., 2002; Subotzky, 2003) for which there tends to be perceived imbalances. It is also important to state that the distribution of workload is a factor that affects both men and women. However, literature suggests perceptions around unequal distribution of time and effort in relation to teaching (Subotzky, 2003; Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006). It is important to note that given women are being concentrated on lower levels of the occupational hierarchies, there is a greater number of them being drawn into teaching (Currie, et. al., 2002; Subotzky, 2003; Gherardi 1995). In this regard, as juniors, they are assigned more work by their seniors as workload is determined by seniority (Currie, et. al., 2002; Subotzky, 2003; Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006). As a result, there is not much time for them to concentrate on research and publications.

3.6.7 Promotion processes for senior women academics

Promotion of academic staff from lecturer to levels such as senior lecturer or professor in Higher Education institutions globally is based on a history of research and publication (Ashby, 1964; Cole and Zuckerman, 1984; Mahlck, 2003; Teferra and Altbach, 2004). Research, and flowing from this, publications are key elements in the promotion criteria of academics. However, women tend to have a lower publication record than men (Thomas, 1990; Mahlck, 2003). In this regard, they are less likely than men to be found among the tenured faculty, especially in the full professorial rank (Cole and Zuckerman, 1984; Mahlck, 2003). Another criterion used for the promotion of academics is seniority (Morley, 2005). According to Morley, (2005), most women lack seniority as they form the majority of junior lecturers in the academy. Given this backdrop, affirmative action policies have been applied to promotion processes in some countries (Morley, 2005; Lihamba, et. al., 2006).

3.6.8 Barriers to the promotion of female academics

In addition to the specified (i.e. objective) criteria, there are several other barriers to the promotional prospects of women in Higher Education institutions. Organizational power relations in the academy appear to be strongly gendered on a global basis (Morley, 2005). Major barriers to women's inclusion remain unresolved and the pace of change is slow with several informal barriers also cited in European and Scandinavian countries (Morley, 2005). In some Commonwealth countries women have been marginalized through the use of informal practices, for example certain people are encouraged to apply for promotion while others are not (Morley, 2005). It has been argued that more men than women are often encouraged to apply for promotion by their bosses (Morley, 2005). In some countries such as Finland, we are told that "In spite of evolved policies and codes of practice for gender equity, a highly gendered invitational system for promotion exists" (Husu, 2000 in Morley, 2005: 214).

As is evident from the above quotation, applications for promotion are by invitation. One has to be invited to apply. In Africa, in particular, gender disparities also tend to be common across the continent's universities. The disparity is more acute at higher levels of the organizations, with variations among disciplines (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). A number of initiatives at redressing the situation have been implemented. In this respect, it is noted that while the initiatives have yielded some form of change, in others these are yet to achieve any real change (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

In South Africa for example, Subotzky (2003) argues that some of these strategies often involve an assimilationist rather than a transformatory approach to access and change position in the organization. It has been argued that the methods being used to advance women are not conducive to bringing about gender equity in Higher Education institutions (Subotzky, 2001). Furthermore, such methods lead to the creation of pressure with respect to performance, female stereotyping and the entrenching of women in certain fixed roles (Subotzky, 2001; Mabileka, 2003; Subotzky, 2003).

One of the factors that have an effect on senior women academics is that of race and class. For example, black and other minority women including some men still face race and class based **discrimination** in institutions in some of the developed countries in particular. The same situation also still prevails in some former colonies in which certain race groups still operate to exclude other racial or class groups from positions of authority and influence (Perumal, 2003; Zulu 2003; Mabokela, 2003; Subotzky, 2003; Maher and Tetreault, 2007). From the above, senior women academics tend to be in a somewhat subordinate position to men and are at a disadvantage in terms of promotions from junior ranks to higher level ranks within the academy.

Moreover, in developing countries, for example in Africa, unavailability of **research funds** is one of the adverse factors experienced by women in Higher Education institutions (Currie, et. al., 2002; Subotzky, 2003; Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006). In that regard academics are unable to fulfill the research and publication criteria that universities still demand for promotion (Teferra and Altbach, 2004), (see 6.2.2.4) for further clarification.

3.6.8.1 Balance between familial and workplace roles

Women in Higher Education are beset by many challenges in their daily work practices. However, married women in particular tend to experience greater challenges especially in terms of balancing work and family (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Walby, 1998; Jacobs, 1996; Moorosi, 2007). Married female academics with children (see Chapter 5, section 5.2.1) are faced with a number of factors such as age, biology, work and tenure as well as the physical demands of pregnancy and childbirth (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Ward and Wolf-Wendel, 2004). While it is difficult to balance work and family, some female academics have found it possible and rewarding to pursue both career and family situations, although it is difficult for the majority of women (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006).

While the challenge of balancing work and family has been found to also affect some men, it is argued that it affects female academics more than men because of the added

family responsibilities that female academics have as they continue to bear the brunt of childrearing in our society (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Walby; 1998; Moorosi, 2007). Often the two - work roles and family roles - performed by senior women academics compete for the woman's time. In other words some women find it difficult to juggle their time between work and family roles. Others have a problem in pursuing a double career, that is being married to a career man, has proved to be difficult for some senior selected academic women. If a woman is married to a professional man, patriarchy demands that the husband's career comes first ahead of that of the wife (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Walby; 1998). As a result women spend time moving from place to place following the husband's career (Currie, et. al., 2002; Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006). In other words, women's mobility is restricted by the prevailing location of the family in terms of the husband as head of the family and some senior selected academic women have found it necessary to postpone or not having children for the sake of an academic career (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Ward and Wolf-Wendel, 2004; Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006). Furthermore, there is a view that women forsake their own careers for the husband's career (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1998).

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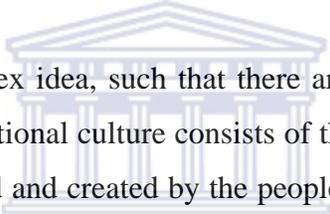
In certain African countries, married senior women academics face difficulties in striking the balance between work and family as they are expected by culture to do household chores even if they are bread winners (Moorosi; 2007). This expectation may vary from one culture to another. Some cultures may be very rigid while others may be a bit flexible (Moorosi; 2007). It also may depend on the husband's educational background and upbringing. The husband expects his working wife to do the cooking for him, even if a domestic worker has been employed (also see Chapter 6, section 6.4.2). There is a view that in African society cultural expectation suggests that married women, regardless of whether they are in employment or unemployed, or whether they employ a domestic helper or not, should still perform family chores in the home (Moorosi, 2007; Diaw, 2007; Morley, et. al., 2008).

In the above section I addressed ways in which scholars have approached the nature of gender relations in Higher Education, more especially at the level of the conditions that

face women academic staff in their daily work experiences. In addition to the structural aspects, there is also an evolving literature on the extent to which the ‘culture’ of an institution impacts/shapes the nature of the working life of women faculty.

3.6.9 Institutional culture: gendered cultures

While several studies on access by women to postgraduate training opportunities and the shape and size of academic staff with specific reference to senior women academics predominate in the literature, an area that is beginning to command attention is the realm of cultural factors. In this respect, the concept of (institutional/ organizational) ‘culture’ is being deployed in order to understand some of the ways/mechanisms inside institutions or organizations that produce gender inequality. A brief outline of the terminology will be sketched.



Institutional culture is a complex idea, such that there are several views of institutional culture. One view is that institutional culture consists of the symbols, beliefs and patterns of behaviour, learned, produced and created by the people who devote their energies and labour to the life of an institution (Thomas, 1990; Gherardi, 1995:13). It embodies the personal and cultural values of an organization such as the psychology, attitudes, experiences, beliefs and values. In that instance, organizational culture is imbued with the collection of values and norms that are shared by people and groups in the organization which control the way they interact with each other and with the outside world (Parsons, 1952; Strati, 1992a: 578).

Inside institutions, culture can also be expressed in the design of the institution, which is the plan and physical layout, in the artifacts and services that the organization produces (Gherardi, 1995). The culture of an institution is also expressed in the architecture of its premises and in the technologies that it employs, that is the level of technological sophistication used by the institution in its operations. Additionally, the culture of an institution is expressed in organizational ceremonials of encounter such as graduation and annual convocation ceremonies and meetings that symbolize the public image of an institution (Gherardi, 1995). Further ways in which culture is expressed are in the quality

and conditions of its working life and in the ideologies of work. In other words, institutional culture is expressed in the brand image of the institution and how that brand image is maintained and upheld by the institution.

“Moreover institutional culture is also expressed in corporate philosophy and in the life style and physical appearance of the organizational members,” (Thomas, 1990; Gherardi, 1995: 13).

The struggles are also expressed in terms of curricula and pedagogical issues as well as “bodily expressions of inequitable power relations” (Barnes, 2007:18). It has been argued that institutions are gendered at four levels (Gherardi, 1995).

The first level is the symbolic level: in this regard, organizational symbols are said to be gender sensitive insofar as they represent men’s ideas of power, for example, representations of institutional brands on stationery or ‘company flags’ are those of a dragon or a lion, embodying a strong maleness (Gherardi, 1995:21). Since men have traditionally been at the helm of institutions, the symbols of power tend to favour men effectively silencing or displacing feminine power (Gherardi, 1995; Morley, 2005). If people in the institution are used to seeing the representation of (male) power, this could potentially place constraints or undervalue the symbolic power of women (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988).

The second level, discussed earlier, at which institutions are gendered, is in terms of institutional rules and practices. In this regard, institutional rules and practices work to the advantage of men rather than women; for example, there tends to be minimal flexibility to the time management needs of women as mothers and housewives.

The third level at which institutions are gendered is that of everyday interaction. As outlined earlier, gendered identities are produced and reproduced through people’s everyday interactions as they go about their business in Higher Education institutions. According to Morley (2000: 233)

There are gendered sites of opportunity and constraint such as pedagogy, politics for equality, organizational culture, employment and career development, research, the production and validation of knowledge, social relations and the curriculum.

The fourth level at which institutions are gendered is that of intellectual work by individuals. Institutions are key sites for producing knowledge and it has been found that men are able to be more productive in terms of knowledge than women (Ashby, 1964; Thomas, 1990; Maunde, 2003). In that respect, men are the major knowledge producers in the institutions of Higher Education. As a result most decisions of worth in terms of knowledge are made by men. Additionally, organizational thought is perceived to be male thought since there is a general tendency for more men to occupy decision-making positions within institutions (Acker, 1992; Gherardi, 1995; Mahlck, 2003; Priola, 2007).

Under such a culture, male authority holders tend to buttress their positions by co-opting the power other men. This tendency reinforces the continued exclusion of groups already excluded- groups made up of people unlike the authority holders that is men. Hence in male dominated Higher Education institutions, women stand a limited chance of being included in positions of power (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; 137). Senior-level authority figures justify such exclusion to themselves and others by finding members of the excluded groups in some sense inadequate. In that instance, Aisenberg and Harrington, (1988:137) give the following assertions as examples often given as: “Women are not serious, women focus on irrelevancies; women don’t want to put in the hours.”

That is to say they have been inducted into the existing institutional sexual and cultural values and traditions which are imbued with patriarchal values of male domination. There is also the existence of practices of traditional rites of passage which are still observed in many places as part of cultural practices, particularly in Africa. These rites of passage are highly gender segregated and have more to do with the different gender roles played by males and females in society along the lines of traditional norms (Mama, 2003;

Oyewumi, 2004). In some societies traditional rites of passage are part and parcel of gender identity formation and have to do with both womanhood and manhood. In other words, traditional rites of passage are rituals that are performed in order for girls or boys to graduate into womanhood or manhood (Mama, 2003; Oyewumi, 2004).

Post-colonial universities in Africa established after independence did not mark a radical departure from the Western modes of organizational and intellectual life (Ashby, 1964; Maunde, 2003; Olukoshi and Zeleza, 2004). Colonial education, from primary and secondary school has been heavily gendered and women's capacities were almost exclusively directed to imported bourgeois notions of femininity around domesticity and wifehood (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Mama, 2003; Oyewumi, 2004). In other words, as outlined earlier, colonial education was for the education of a few male elites and excluded women. The tendency was to channel women to those subjects that enhanced their capacities in the home. In that regard, leadership culture in these institutions was male.

The term institutional climate is used to explain environmental factors such as 'atmosphere' that ushers forth the current perceptions and values. It has more to do with the conduciveness of the environment within the institution to accommodate female academics. Within the university, the climate in which the majority in the hierarchy is male may even make the few females in the upper ranks of the organization feel lonely working with an all male team of colleagues (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Middlehurst, 1997). In the views of Middlehurst (1997:13), "Others may find it good to be the only female, but for others, it may even be intimidating to put in an application for promotion."

Furthermore, some organizations, universities, have unwritten codes that are only known to those 'in the know'. Applications for promotion are done by invitation from the top men or women (Middlehurst, 1997: 13). If you put in an application without being invited to do so, you risk being labeled, "overzealous or power hungry" (Middlehurst, 1997: 13). Women working in such institutions have a challenge in that they have a dilemma about

when it is appropriate to apply for a promotion post in the absence of an invitation from higher up. The top person invites those in his/her favour to apply for promotion. Applications from people without an invitation do not get a favourable outcome (Middlehurst, 1997).

In addition, a central cultural message in institutions is that the concept of leadership is embedded in gender stereotypes. The language of leadership has masculine connotations; with images of leaders are often being portrayed through male heroes (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Middlehurst, 1997; Priola, 2007). That is, most people still view a leader as male as shown in the following quotation:

Common perceptions of appropriate leadership behaviours also carry stereotypically masculine overtones: of command and control, of autocracy and dominance, of personal power of charisma, decisiveness, initiative and courage (Middlehurst, 1997:13).

From the above we observe that traits of leadership are presumed to be synonymous with males. The result of this embedding is that perceptions of “leader appropriateness and leader effectiveness are difficult to disentangle from the stereotypes” (Middlehurst, 1997:13). Hence in a male dominated institution, where the hierarchy is male dominated, such stereotypes are very strong. This in turn places constraints or limits to the retention and progression of female academics within the institutions of Higher Education (Middlehurst, 1997; Priola, 2007).

Morley (2000) asserts that micro-politics in Higher Education play an important role in women’s repression as males are the majority in decision-making positions; hence they exercise power and knowledge through gender micro-politics. In this respect, Morley (2000) uses the concept of power as intricately linked to micro political activity within the institutions of Higher Education.

There is a strong connection between knowledge and power in the Higher Education workplace (Gherardi, 1995; Morley, 2000). This is because of the fact that in the

academy, as outlined earlier, the majority of people with expert power are males who form the bigger part of the professoriate (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Barnes, 2007). According to Morley (2000:232), at the micro level of the institution, “The exercising of power in organizations can be overt and identifiable but also subtle, complex and confusing.”

In other words, power can be exercised in an overt and subtle manner which leaves those without power confused on their reading of a situation or issues of concern as people compete with each other to get what they want through micro political activity (Blasé, 1991:1 in Morley, 2000). According to Morley (2000), people with power, use their influence, networks, conditions and political personal strategies to effect or to resist change. Moreover, Morley (2000:232) says that “Power involves rumour, gossip, sarcasm, humour, denial, throwaway remarks, alliance building”

Power in the academy can also be used through practices at the micro level of the institution and through talk. Furthermore, it has been argued that at times those who are supposed to make important decisions on issues and demands that may have been raised stop such issues and demands from reaching the decision-making stage by not deciding on the issues (Morley, 2000).

In the views of Morley (2000), the problem is about how power is exercised rather than the mere possession of it. Furthermore, some of the power activities have led to a situation in which equity and social justice issues are frequently reduced to concerns about access. She continues by stating that:

Micro political awareness renders competition and domination more visible, revealing processes of stalling, sabotage, manipulation, power bargaining, bullying, harassment and spite (Morley, 2000:232).

In that regard, micro-politics plays a very important role in how power is exercised by those in positions of authority at the various levels of the organization to the detriment of others.

3.6.9.1 Role models for the next generation of senior women academics

As outlined earlier, there are very few female academics in leadership positions within the institutions. Women's under-representation in university higher management ranks is a global phenomenon (Brooks, 1991; Kwesiga, 2003). There is no fair distribution of high level management positions within university workplace between males and females in Higher Education institutions. It has been argued that women's citizenship in academia is still very low in high level management ranks (Brooks, 1991; Subotzky, 2003; Kwesiga, 2003; Mabokela, 2003). Under-representation of female academics in high level management posts persists despite many pieces of legislation in the various countries and the supporting institutions in the form of courts and law enforcement agents (Zulu, 2003; Subotzky, 2001; Perumal 2003; Kwesiga, 2003). In that regard, there are not many female role models for senior women academics to emulate, particularly in developing countries such as Africa (Mabokela, 2003; Bennett and Reddy, 2007). Such a situation works to the disadvantage of the retention and progression of female academics within universities.

Also mentioned is the aspect of female stereotyping which goes on in the institutions of Higher Education (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3). It has been argued that stereotyping in these institutions is in the form of statements that often cast females in a negative light within the work situation. Such statements or utterances by men or women have the effect of discouraging and lowering the morale of women from aspiring for promotions (Gherardi, 1995; Subotzky, 2003; Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

3.6.9.2 Woman academic archetypes

According to Gherardi (1995), organizations are composed of people with a variety of backgrounds in terms of their upbringing, needs, cultural values, sophistication as well as the ways of seeing and doing things. In this instance examples are cited, some of which include women in organizations who may even work together with men to stop other women from rising to higher ranks within the organization (Gherardi 1995: 71-83). Others resist women leadership, while some women use men for their own selfish ends to the detriment of other women (Gherardi 1995: 71-83). According to (Gherardi 1995: 47-

50), it has been known that in organizations, some women enter into sex agreements with top men for their own benefit. Gherardi (1995: 47-50) cites examples where houses were bought or rented for women or jobs were given to women. Gherardi (1995: 47-50) tells us that such women are not victims of sexual harassment but the men are sometimes the victims of this bottom-up power.

Furthermore, Gherardi (1995: 71-83) cites as another example the case of women in institutions who will only surround themselves with fellow females if they are in a position of power (Gherardi 1995: 71-83). Another type of organizational woman cited by (Gherardi 1995: 71-83) is the woman without ambition to be boss but who works for the boss and takes sides with patriarchy. The final group of organizational women cited by Gherardi (1995: 71-83) is those women that are housewives at heart and follow the husband's career. These factors work against the interest of women in general, and some undeserving women are sometimes promoted at the expense of meritorious women candidates (Gherardi, 1995: 71-83).

This thesis will seek to show how institutional culture informs the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations in Higher Education workplace.

3.6.9.3 Shifts in Higher Education

As indicated, the purpose of the aforementioned section has been to provide a schematic overview of some of the key debates in Higher Education with specific reference to gender at the level of faculty employment. An outline of these debates would not be complete without signaling the shifts occurring in Higher Education, as these could have an impact on the role and function of women faculty.

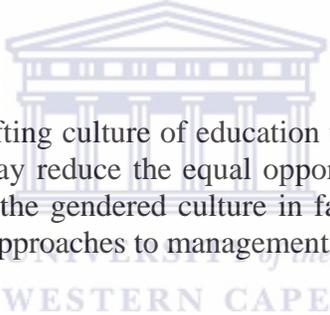
Recently, the academic profession has come under great pressure to transform in the way it does in business moving from the predominantly collegial to a managerialist model (Kogan and Teichler, 2007). These changes tend to affect women in certain ways, for

example through growing internationalization, change in management style and the aspect of relevance (Kogan and Teichler, 2007; Brennan, 2007). With relevance came a rise of industry oriented research (Altbach, 2005). In the views of Altbach (2005), government, business, industry and labour came to play an important part in academic governance.

These changes have had an impact on academics, both male and female. In most countries there have been challenges with regard to accountability. Bureaucracy has been heightened in institutions of Higher Education and there have been fiscal constraints in many countries (Altbach, 2005; Kogan and Teichler, 2007). As a result, academic salaries and conditions of service have not kept pace with inflation, making it difficult to recruit the best brains to the profession (Altbach, 2005). In some countries, tenure has been abolished leading to a deterioration of the conditions of service and a limitation of academic autonomy for both male and female academics. As a result the profession is marked with many part-time appointments (Altbach, 2005; Kogan and Teichler, 2007). Academics are split between tenure and non tenure staffs, as institutions seek to replace tenure with contract appointments (Bresciani, Griffiths and Rust, 2009). The professoriate is currently under pressure to attract external research funds as well as focusing on teaching in addition to consultation (Altbach, 2005; Kogan and Teichler, 2007). The academic profession in developing countries faces the most difficult of challenges in order to maintain a viable academic culture under worsening conditions of service and fewer established norms (Altbach, 2005).

The issue of relevance in terms of knowledge production is not much of a problem in the sciences in which a majority of lecturers are male. However, it is more difficult to prove relevance with the social sciences and the arts or other female dominated subjects (see Brennan, 2007). In that regard, the aspect of relevance in terms of knowledge production has a bigger impact on female academics than on males. Moreover, university researchers are to join forces with researchers or practitioners in industry and business who are the providers of research funds (Brennan, 2007). There is an increased control of research and research funding by the providers of capital (Altbach, 2005). Again this acts as a

barrier to research funds access by those academics whose subjects are not industry oriented like the female dominated social sciences, arts and education. According to Mahlck (2003:17), “these fields offer more individually oriented research styles and less formally organized research collaboration.” Additionally Mahlck (2003) points out that women appear to have fewer research contacts than men. This therefore means that mostly females are disadvantaged by the shift in the academic profession to entrepreneurialism or academic capitalism (Brennan, 2007). Increasing internationalization may come in as an advantage in terms of information exchange at a global level as well as the rich diversity of students and ideas. However in developing countries like Zimbabwe where, as outlined earlier, access to information communication technology is still a privilege of the few, a majority of lecturers both female and male struggle to get access to information exchange and global networking. (Whitehead, 2001 in Priola, 2007: 24),



Emphasizes that the shifting culture of education towards a more entrepreneurial, managerialist culture may reduce the equal opportunities discourse to marketing rhetoric and strengthen the gendered culture in favour of those men prepared to adopt more aggressive approaches to management

Priola (2007: 24) furthermore suggests that this situation has been perceived to leave women:

With pastoral care duties, heavier workloads, responsibility for childcare and having to make difficult choices between family and work or children and career (see Brooks, 2001; Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988).

In that regard the shift from colloquialism to managerialism has impacted negatively on the retention and progression of senior women academics globally.

Part-time appointments and poor salaries have also impacted negatively on female academics. Moreover, married women with children tend to be employed on a temporary basis. This is due to the discontinuous nature of their careers as they break their

employment once in a while to care for children (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Gherardi, 1995; Ward and Wolf-Wendel, 2004).

As discussed earlier, the shift from tenure to contract appointments by some institutions of Higher Education has also affected academics, both female and male, in terms of job security (Altbach, 2005; Kogan and Teichler, 2007). Lack of funding has also impacted negatively on research and publication efforts of academics, making it difficult to give promotions (Altbach, 2005; Kogan and Teichler, 2007). The academic profession is going through trying times, to the disadvantage of women and other university faculty.

3.7 Concluding comments

This Chapter has discussed how gender has been theorized at different levels. These are the structural, ideological, individual and the symbolic levels and the different ways in which scholars have defined gender. Feminist theorists have come up with different and varying theories or standpoints on gender. All of them have commonalities at which they come together in spite of the fact that most view patriarchy as the ‘enemy’ of women’s emancipation, while others view capitalism as the ‘enemy’. What is clear, however, is despite the proliferation of feminist theory and the proliferation of proposed solutions to bring an end to the oppression of women by men, gender inequality remains as elusive as ever in many organizations and in the general social establishment. Moreover, the Chapter has also discussed how Education has played a key socializing role insofar as it is gender biased, with knowledge being produced and shaped by male thought. This results in the gendering of subjects and disciplines, the division of labour in terms of appointments and occupational levels as well as the research productivity among men and women. The literature shows that without the production and publication of research papers and conference presentations, promotion to professional higher ranks (professional mobility) in education remains a limit for most female academics in Higher Education.

The literature shows that female academic staff face several challenges, institutionally; socially, as well as in terms of balancing work and family roles. In addition, we are told that economic factors also play an important role in limiting the progression and mobility

of female staff. It is however, important to point out that while the change to women's empowerment in society and equality at the work place has been slow, the literature shows some (albeit) slow progress, with increasingly more women moving into positions of authority at the workplace. Given the under-representation of women in the higher education workplace, with Zimbabwean institutions as the focus, I am interested to explore the (institutional) conditions that shape the unequal gender practices in four institutions. In the next Chapter, I discuss the research methodology used in this study.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4 Introduction

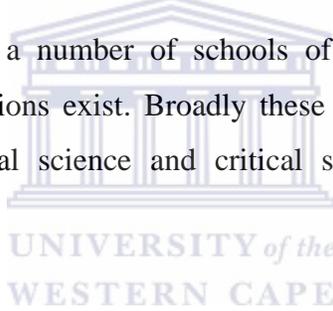
In this Chapter I discuss the theoretical and methodological frameworks that underpin this study as well as the techniques I used. I also describe methodological implications for social science research. An overview of three broad schools of thought in methodology is provided. Briefly, this Chapter sets out the epistemological and methodological issues of positivism, critical theory and constructionism in addition to

discussing standpoint theory and qualitative research methodology as it has been used in this study. Following this, I will discuss the research process as follows: the aims of the research, the research design and research techniques. Furthermore, I will discuss the techniques used for classifying the data, techniques for analyzing the data, techniques for interpretation of the data, the researcher's role and the ethics of the research.

In addition, I will provide a section on the making of the male gendered identity in the Zimbabwean African context, before discussing the limitations of the research and a conclusion. Thereafter, I shall provide a conceptual framework to the study in which I will define some key concepts used in this study.

4.1 Schools of Thought in Methodology

In the field of methodology, a number of schools of thought each underpinned by different epistemological positions exist. Broadly these fall into the three traditions of positivism, interpretative social science and critical social science (Neuman, 1997; Babbie, Mouton, et .al, 2007).



4.1.2 Constructionism

Constructivists believe that if people are continuously constructing, developing, and changing their everyday interpretations of the world as they do in real life, this should be taken into account in any conception of social science research (Neuman, 1997; Kelly, 2006; Babbie, Mouton, et .al, 2007).

Constructionists support an anti-naturalist conception of 'objectivity' which stresses the idea of inter-subjectivity, engagement, and empathy in contrast to the natural science approach which stresses the distance between scientist and the object of research as well as the important role of controlling the research situation. Instead, they emphasize getting close to the subject of inquiry and viewing the world from the perspective of the insider (Neuman, 1997; Kelly, 2006; Babbie, Mouton, et .al, 2007).

Constructionists are traditionally associated with a qualitative research approach. In this study the qualitative research approach was used. This is in line with a methodology which employs unstructured observation and open interviewing; idiographic descriptions; qualitative data analysis, objectivity understood as the inter-subjective attitude of the insider and so forth (Neuman, 1997; Kelly, 2006).

4.2 Approaches used in this study

As for the theoretical and methodological issues, in this study the researcher relied on feminist standpoint theory as espoused by Sandra Harding (1986). Qualitative research methodology was used in this study. In this section I will begin by espousing the standpoint theory before turning onto a discussion of the qualitative research methodology upon which this study is based.

4.2.1 Standpoint theory

The epistemological assumptions for this study are rooted in standpoint theory which originates from the work of feminist theorists influenced by the contributions of post-modernism. In the following section I outline some of the relevant features of standpoint theory. Standpoint theory focuses on the views, or voices of people who are typically on the margins of society. In this study the standpoint is that women are marginalized. In other words, there is need for research to start from the lived realities of women's lives. As such, one area, the gendered division of labour can lead to better understanding of women's work experiences (Harding, 1986). Drawing on the more expansive frame of the critical paradigm, it provides a useful basis for adapting standpoint theory to suit the focus of my research about female academics of all races, class and ethnicity. Critical feminist theorists have been critical of and concerned with women's under-representation in different positions within the social sciences. Their criticisms are centred on the social sciences both as subjects as well as theory producers.

Standpoint theorists argue that all knowledge is socially constructed (Harding, 1986). It is affected by the social conditions under which it is produced. Standpoint theorists reject the positivist approach to social research and argue for alternative forms of knowledge.

For them, everyday life experiences make suitable topics for research since they often relate and impact on people's lives (Harding, 1986; Giroux, 1992). My adoption of standpoint theory in gender studies is a moral effort and commitment to try and understand the world from the perspective of the socially subjugated women (Harding, 1986) Standpoint theory regards women's subjugated experiences as starting and ending points for inquiry that are epistemologically preferable to men's experience (Harding, 1986).

Some feminist standpoint theorists look at gender and sex roles as well as the poor representation of women in scientific scholarship (Harding, 1986; Giroux, 1992). Science is largely infused into the projects of a capitalist, Western and masculine-dominant state, military and industrial complex. Women scientists are seen as violating the division of labour by gender which restricts women to domestic work or low-status wage labour (Harding, 1986). Standpoint theory aims to resist dividing mental, manual, and caring activity among different classes of persons and such inquiry should be motivated by goals of feminist emancipation (Harding, 1986). Masculine biases in social research methodology are also critiqued through the use of the concepts gender and patriarchy. Standpoint feminists also challenge the capacity of social research to address the experiences of women adequately (Harding, 1986; Giroux, 1992). In other words, they challenge modernistic discourse in which knowledge is legitimized almost exclusively from a European model of culture and civilization and advocates a post-modernism approach to discourse creation (Harding, 1986; Giroux, 1992). In line with feminists' standpoint argument posited above, the form of domination in most modern societies is a mixture of economically determined class position and patriarchal rule. Women, as well as the working class and ethnic minorities, find themselves in a position of subordination (Harding, 1986).

Some feminist standpoint theorists have argued that power is present at multiple sites in society. It is found in many organized practices, for example, in government, in law practice, financial and business management as well as in professional bodies. Power is also found in educational institutions and in the discourses in texts that deal with the

multiple sites of power (Harding, 1986; Giroux, 1992). Emphasis is placed on texts and documents, for example, filling documents that conform to the rules and demands as formulated by the ruling group. They further argue that because women have been largely excluded from the relations of power, they experience contradictions and anomalies in their consciousness of everyday life and that contrary to many traditional approaches to social analysis, women experience a disjuncture between their own personal lived experience and that of the official, impersonal, male dominated organizations and culture that permeate much of their daily experiences (Harding, 1986; Giroux, 1992; Fay, 1993; Neuman, 1997)). Standpoint theorists have posited that there are restrictions of formal and informal educational opportunities for women which make women appear to be incapable of understanding the world within which men move. As such, women are forced to deal with the world in men's terms (Harding, 1986). A standpoint epistemology therefore aims to do away with such impediments to women's advancement. That means, a struggle is required to change those relations through education, so that the problem of male domination and power can be solved. Furthermore, there is also the problem of the policing of thought by the dominant group-males (Harding, 1986).

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Feminist theorists have advocated for a social theory which starts from the point of the lived experiences of real people (women). This approach to social theory, together with that of others, advocating for a similar approach has become known as "Standpoint epistemology/ theory" (Harding, 1986; Giroux, 1992). Standpoint theory seeks to bring women from the periphery to the centre by drawing on the actual voices of the people involved, so that they are provided with an opportunity to have their voices heard, thereby allowing them to gain a collective voice in order to better their position. As such feminist standpoint epistemologies privilege women and claim to overcome the dichotomizing that is characteristic of the Enlightenment/bourgeois world view and its science (Harding, 1986)

There is a view that men and women see the world in different light as shown by the different ways in which men and women pursue everyday life, for example, men as hunters/ warriors, and women as homemakers (Harding, 1986). Standpoint epistemology

could support different offerings for different people and the one that tries to arrive at hypotheses that are free of gender loyalties that is it should not be female centred nor should it be male centred. It has been observed that language and belief systems are socially constructed, hence a standpoint epistemology, it is argued, should be the one to solve such a problem (Harding, 1986). Furthermore, as outlined earlier, a standpoint epistemology seeks to find an alternative to positivism with its obsession with observation and experiment. It should also be a feminist program for new understanding of knowledge-seeking, and others have recommended the creation of a feminist society in order for a standpoint epistemology to take root (Harding, 1986). The aim of a feminist standpoint epistemology should be to reconstruct the original goals of modern science. It has been claimed that the grounds for a distinctive feminist science and epistemology are to be found in the social practices and conceptual schemes of feminists or women researchers in craft-organized areas of inquiry (Harding, 1986). As such women's socially created conceptions of nature and social relations can produce new understandings that carry emancipatory possibilities for the humankind. In line with this thought process, it has been argued that men have actively advanced their own futures within masculine domination (Harding, 1986). As such standpoint epistemology could allow women too to actively participate in the design of their futures within a degendered social order (Harding, 1986).

As outlined earlier in Chapter 3, women are subordinated through institutionalized activities of child rearing, food production, housekeeping and workplace duty. In addition, women are also producers of male-labour and other women's labour (Harding, 1986). Standpoint epistemology is supposed to be a science that is grounded in women's experience in order for both men and women to have the same conditions under which they contribute to social life. Standpoint epistemology must inevitably lead to a society that is no longer structured by masculinist oppositions in either the bourgeois or proletarian forms (Harding, 1986). As such, politically, epistemologically, it will lead to a science that will be both direct and be directed by the political struggle for that society (Harding, 1986). As a consequence of the above argument, a feminist epistemological standpoint is an interested social location (in the sense of engaged, not biased), the

conditions of which bestow upon its occupants scientific epistemic advantage (Harding, 1986).

I learn in the literature that death-risking activities done by men such as sky diving are taken by society to be more courageous than the act of giving birth by women. By engaging in these activities, men become strong role models for society. As a result, men have the institutional and social power to structure social relations. (Harding, 1986). The situation is exacerbated by legal and social restrictions on women, which makes both men and women's activities appear natural (Harding, 1986). From a standpoint epistemological view, this then means that women too, must participate in social relations which manifest and express abstract masculinity (Harding, 1986).

The methodological implications for this approach are that a qualitative research paradigm is preferred such as action research, collaborative inquiry, endogenous research, experimental research and so forth, in which there is some involvement and collaboration between researcher and subject (Harding, 1986). The inquirer and the subject of inquiry should be on the same plane; that is the relationship should be an interactional one and experiences of the subject of inquiry are to be taken as the final authority (Harding, 1986).

To this end, a qualitative research method was used in this study. In that regard, for the purpose of this study, the qualitative research methodology will be described below.

4.2.2 Qualitative research methodology

This study is premised largely on a qualitative research method. Certain key elements of the qualitative research methodology are spelt out below. In its basic form qualitative data refer to non-numerical data that is presented in words, whereas by contrast, quantitative data is presented numerically (Yin, 2003b; Henning, van Rensburg and Smit, 2004; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005). Qualitative research study is multi-method in orientation, involving an interpretative approach to the inquiry under study as it seeks to make sense of meanings that the different individuals bring up. Qualitative research is

that generic research approach in social research according to which research takes its departure point as the insider perspective on social action (Mertens, 2005; Babbie et al., 2007). The aim of qualitative research is to describe and understand rather than explain and predict human behaviour. Qualitative research includes unstructured interviewing, participant observations as well as use of personal documents. Other identified qualitative methods of analysis, for example include grounded theory approach, analytical induction, narrative analysis and discourse analysis (Neuman, 1997; Babbie et al., 2007).

The use of a qualitative method in this study involved the use of a variety of materials and techniques that include case-study, personal experience, document analysis and interviews. Data collection as an aspect of the research design is developed later in the Chapter.

As outlined earlier, (see p. 11 Research Problem, aims and objectives of the study) the major aim of this study was to understand the social and institutional factors related to the retention and progression of senior female academics in four institutions in Zimbabwe. In that regard, the study aimed at investigating the conditions under which women work, with a specific emphasis on employment conditions, and how institutions take account of the multiple roles which women play in society. This study was keen to identify the extent to which these are conducive to retention and progression of selected female academics in the institutions of Higher Education.

4.2.3 The Research Design

As a qualitative inquiry, the overall aim of this study's design was to understand the construction and reproduction of gender inequality in Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions as a historical sociopolitical phenomenon and as a social practice which affects female academics globally. This study focused its attention on the factors that impede the advancement and progression of female academics in four Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions.

4.2.4 Case Study as a Strategy

The data was researched from the sites through the use of a case study strategy. This strategy was used to inquire into the situation existing in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education pertaining to the appointments and advancement of senior female academics in order to interpret the social, political and economic conditions that give rise to as well as shape gender relations within the institutions of Higher Education. The four case studies which were selected for this study are designated in table 12 (see Appendix 6).

The case study is an intensive investigation of a simple unit and most case studies involve the examination of multiple variables. The interaction of the unit of study with its context is a significant part of the investigation (Leedy and Ormrod, 1989; Stake, 2005). Thickly described case studies take multiple perspectives into account and attempt to understand the influences of multilevel social systems on subjects' perspectives and behaviours which can be an advantage (Leedy and Ormrod, 1989; Stake, 2005). One of the defining characteristics of a case study is its emphasis on an individual unit, which may be an individual person or other units for example a family, a community or a country (Leedy and Ormrod, 1989; Babbie et al., 2007). In this study, a collective case study type has been used.

A collective case-study strategy is adopted in order to understand gender inequality in Higher Education management jobs as a collective phenomenon. This collective nature allows the researcher to identify similarities and differences with regard to the four different university cases in order to understand the phenomenon of gender inequality more generally.

Cases in the research study involve 4 universities that are similar in terms of social purpose that is, premised on the assumptions of social change. But they are very different in terms of delivery systems and political and geographical locations. The criteria for selection of the four universities as case studies are spelt out below.

4.2.5 Selection of the cases

Criteria

Out of a total of eleven institutions, this study draws on four institutions. These are University of Zimbabwe (UZ), National University of Science and Technology (NUST), Zimbabwe Open University (ZOU), and Midlands State University (MSU). The selection of the four universities for this research study was based on a number of criteria. The first being familiarity with the environment and incumbents of the institutions. Secondly, the similarity of conditions at the institutions. One of the factors that influenced the selection of the Zimbabwe Open University and the University of Zimbabwe was the researcher's prior involvement in the two universities as a lecturer. In this sense there was an element of convenience (see Kelly, 2006) insofar as the researcher had negotiated access informally prior to the start of the research study. In the case of National University of Science and Technology, the researcher had been a graduate of the university which also made it easier to informally negotiate access before the start of the research. In the case of Midlands State University, there was the advantage of existing networks in terms of link persons who were willing to link the researcher to individuals who were at the institution and available for the study.

The selection criteria were also based upon the similarities of the conditions existing in these universities for female academics. The universities selected were all public institutions; as such they have the same conditions of service as well as similar university charters. They also have similar management structures with the Head of State as Chancellor. Another similarity is that they are all sponsored from the fiscus; as such they have a general poor financial base.

Limitations

The major limitation of using convenience for selecting the cases is that it is judgmental and may not necessarily include homogenous cases for a good generalization of results (Kelly, 2006). Another limitation of the selection criteria revolved around the management styles as the different Vice Chancellors have different approaches to management which may have some effect on the people working within the institutions.

The study thus compares gender equity experiences at institutions with mostly similar management structures, conditions of service and source of funding although there may be a slight effect coming from different management styles in terms of masculinist or feminist styles of management as well as from the different management personalities.

A further difference among the universities bordered on the regions of the country where they are located and operate from. Regional differences may have an effect in terms of recruitment practices as well as distance from the capital, thus government influence; also the composition of the student body as well as traditional and cultural expectations of the local populations may differ. Another difference was that some of the universities were full-time campuses while Zimbabwe Open University offers its curriculum through distance and open learning programmes. Consequently, the work expectations may be slightly different. One other difference was that the older university, the University of Zimbabwe, tended to have more senior female academics though few in number, in the rank of professor than the other universities in the country. Therefore while at some institutions, there are a limited number of senior female academics for say mentoring purposes, the situation is slightly different at others.

4.2.6 Research Techniques

The face-to-face interview technique was used in this study to gather primary data from the respondents. This section will start by addressing itself to issues of interview processes, question design, criteria for selection, pilot study, and the actual interviews. Thereafter, a summary of the data collection process will be given. Finally an analysis is provided of the way in which different types of interviews related to each other. In addition, the challenges provided by different types of data and different types of interview methods with regards to the results were considered.

4.2.6.1 Interviews

In interviewing, one is trying to understand another person through interaction. Interviewing technique involves both quantitative as well as qualitative aspects such as codification and numerical data (Neuman, 1997; Kelly, 2006). Different approaches to

interviewing have emerged over time and emphasis is increasingly being placed on the voices of the respondents as well as their feelings together with the interviewer-interviewee interaction through either face-to-face, focus group or telephonic interviews. The researcher's attributes such as gender and race are seen as factors affecting the research process and results (Neuman, 1997; Leedy, and Ormrod, 2005).

Interview types range from group interviews to structured and unstructured interviews. Structured interviews involve the use of preset structured questions, which give very little room for variation. The interviewer uses a standardized set of questions. Another type of interview, the group interview, can be both structured and unstructured. Here a number of individuals are brought together into the same interview context. In focus groups, group dynamics and maintenance issues impact on the interview process (Fay, 1993; Neuman, 1997; Leedy, and Ormrod, 2005).

Another type of interview, the unstructured interview, uses open-ended questions (see Yin, 2003b; Leedy, and Ormrod, 2005) and a less formal approach. In this approach, the desire is to understand rather than to explain. Examples of unstructured interviews include oral history and narrations by respondents. Recorded voices, it is emphasized should be transcribed verbatim to reduce interviewer bias. Disadvantages to consider include cultural differences, language, notions of trust etc. (Neuman, 1997; Fay, 1993).

4.2.7 The Design of the Interview Questions

In this study, semi-structured interview techniques were used in the data gathering process. In order to guide the study, the questions were designed in advance. An interview schedule was prepared for use in the interviews (see Appendix 4). The interview schedule was made up of 18 open-ended items seeking for an account of the experiences of respondents on issues of patriarchy, discrimination, sexual harassment, gender stereotyping, marginalization and barriers to advancement (see Appendix 4).

4.2.8 Criteria for Selecting Interviewees

As outlined earlier, the aim of this study was to understand the social and institutional factors related to the progression and retention of female academics at four institutions in Zimbabwe. Towards this end, the four universities were researched in relation to the conditions prevailing within them in terms of gender and equity in management ranks. It is acknowledged that there are many female academics within the universities, however, for the purposes of this study, certain individuals were purposefully selected in order to represent female academics in the four universities as it is explained below in section 4.3.1 (Leedy, and Ormrod, 2005; Kelly, 2006).

4.3 Biographical profile of respondents

The population of the study was made up of senior female academics in Zimbabwean universities. The majority of the women were black Africans. Only one was a European expatriate woman. Their work experience ranged from 5 years to over 20 years in university institutions. The study included women with children as well as those without children. The population also comprised female academics from all social backgrounds as well as educational backgrounds. The respondents ranged in age from 35 to 46 years. Most of them were married women. The majority of the respondents were holders of Masters Degrees, and there were five Doctorates among this group. As outlined earlier in Chapter 2, there were very few senior female academics in Zimbabwean universities at professorial level at the time of the research. In that respect, it was difficult to locate female professors in order to make a sample. As such there were three professors, all of them from one institution. One was a Director of an Institute while the other two were Faculty Deans. As discussed earlier, at the time of the study, most high level management posts in institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe were occupied by a male majority (Chipunza, 2003). A total of 20 people were interviewed over a period of 8 months from December, 2007 to July, 2008 (see table 2 below).

Table 2: Profile of the study's respondents

		Institution 1		Institution 2		Institution 3		Institution 4		Total
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	N
Age	35-46 years	5	25%	5	25%	5	25%	5	25%	20
Qualifications	MA	2	10%	4	20%	4	20%	5	25%	20
	PhD	3	15%	1	5%	1	5%	0	0%	
Occupational level	S/lecturer	2	10%	5	25%	5	25%	5	25%	20
	Professor	3	15%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	
Marital status	Married	3	15%	5	25%	4	20%	3	15%	20
	Single	2	10%	0	0%	1	5%	2	10%	
Children	2	5	25%	4	20%	5	25%	5	25%	20
	5	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	
Racial identity	African/Black	5	25%	5	25%	4	20%	5	25%	20
	Anglo White	0	0%	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	
Social Economic Status: Property ownership	Urban low density	5	25%	4	20%	5	25%	5	25%	20
	Urban high density	0	0%	1	5%	0	0%	0	0%	

As shown by the above table, respondents were classified in terms of age, qualifications, occupational level, and marital status, number of children, race and social economic status with respect to home ownership and location. There were five respondents per institution.

4.3.1 Sample selection

As outlined earlier, there were not many female academics in Zimbabwean universities at the time of the study. As a result, purposive sampling was used to select the sample of respondents (Leedy, and Ormrod, 2005; Kelly, 2006).). Therefore, the interviewees came from the senior female academics that could be found at an institution during the time of the visit through prior telephone arrangement. The study initially targeted 6 female academics in each of the institutions chosen for the study but due to low numbers of senior female academics at some institutions only 5 could be found at the time of the interviews.

Two categories of people were interviewed. These were (a) Professors and (b) Senior Lecturers. Professors and Senior lecturers were interviewed as they formed part of the senior female academics that are affected by the prevailing conditions in the Higher Education institutional workplace by being minorities at both the operational and management levels (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5.1 for categories). This group of respondents made a meaningful contribution to the study through their recorded voices. Some of those interviewed, were people who took part in the recruitment process and supervision of fellow female academics; as a result, their contribution to the study was significant.

This group's contribution was highly sought after as women who had advanced to senior lectureship and professorial levels of the academic ladder. As they worked their way to the top of the academic ladder, it was felt that their experiences as managers as well as their experiences as academics would be valuable for the study's contribution to gender equity in Higher Education institutions (Leedy, and Ormrod, 2005).

4.3.2 Piloting and Planning the Interviews

The interview schedule was tested for validity during pilot testing or preliminary interviews in which the items were improved for clarity in subsequent interviews. In the pilot testing process, the interview questions were applied to five senior female academics at other Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education. The pilot study sample was made up of one semi-retired Professor and four Senior Lecturers.

Those individuals who were involved in the pilot testing were excluded from the group of persons that were finally interviewed for the purpose of the study. The schedules were refined by the researcher using feedback from the pilot study. After the piloting of the interview schedules and finalization of the questions, the researcher prepared the research action by setting up a plan of action which included budgetary issues, travel plans, putting materials and equipment together such as a digital voice recorder, papers, and planning carefully how to set about the research as well as contacting the informants and link persons through e-mails and telephone in order to organize the interview dates.

The interviews were arranged once the sample composition at each university had been ascertained. Informants were contacted earlier on through e-mail and appointments were made for interviews. Where leads had been established, the interviews were then re-confirmed shortly before the visit by the researcher through phone calls.

4.3.3 The Interview Process

The researcher traveled from university to university by prior arrangement through telephone or e-mail. On arrival at the place of interview, the researcher introduced himself to the interviewee and explained the reason of his visit as well as the purpose of the research in a relaxed friendly manner. The researcher also assured the respondents of the confidentiality in which the data they provided would be treated. He also explained that they should feel free to stop the interview whenever they so wished and that their names were not going to be used or mentioned to third parties. That assured the respondents and they willingly agreed to be interviewed and recorded on a digital voice recorder as well as on paper. As outlined earlier, the interviews were carried out face-to-face in December 2007, January 2008, and July, 2008. The interviews lasted one hour to one and half hours each.

Format of interviews

In this study, the researcher used a semi-structured interview technique. He recorded the interviews on digital voice recorder for later transcription and coding for emerging themes.

Emphasis here was placed on informants as speaking subjects as well as interviewer-interviewee relationship. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews formed the main sources of data for this study. The design relied on the respondents' own responses and narrations as well as the researcher's extensive field notes and voice recordings made during the interviews. The interviews were done across all the departments in four different institutions with a philosophy to explore the actual and perceived experiences of female academics from their point of view as narrated by the women themselves.

The semi-structured face-to-face interview technique to gather empirical data was used because it allowed the respondent to freely give as much information on the subject of research as possible. This technique suited the purpose of the interview which was to get as much information as possible on the factors experienced by senior female academics in Higher Education that impede their advancement.

Procedure and Challenges

The face-to-face interview also helped to reinforce validity as the researcher was able to probe further if a response was not clear the first time. The researcher was also able to clarify any issues with the respondents. Furthermore, trust had to be established. The respondents were assured of confidentiality. What ever they said was going to be kept by the researcher in confidence. One respondent declined any recording of her voice and in this instance the researcher copied down her response and before leaving read the complete text for her approval.

The interviews were carried out at the informants' workplaces in the privacy of their offices. Neutral settings preserve confidentiality and increase the subjects' confidence in the research process (Leedy and Ormrod, 1989; Kelly, 2006; Smith and Crawford, 2007).

4.3.4 Document Analysis

Document analysis is claimed to have had its origins with the publication of *The Polish Peasant* which filled five volumes between 1918 and 1920 in Europe and America. The *Polish Peasant* is credited for establishing the documentary method among the tools of social science research and used personal and other documents namely letters, material from newspapers, official documents, records and reports as sources of data gathering (Jupp and Norris, 1993).

The analysis of the data from this study is located in the theoretical frameworks that argue for texts being produced under certain social conditions (Giroux, 1992; Neuman, 1997) and assesses that the meanings around gender equity as a subject of research in Higher Education do not reside in the texts itself but are constructed by the different female academic actors. In this research study data was gathered from primary and secondary sources of documents and reflected and recorded the different stages in the development of gender equity research studies. Data was obtained through the analysis and perusal of sources of literature namely reports, journal articles, books, seminar and policy documents, conference proceedings and papers, for example Government Policy papers on gender equity were consulted in order to contextualize the topic of research within the field of Higher Education. This has been a very lengthy process as it continued throughout the study period.

4.3.5 Summary of the Data Collection Process

As indicated above, the data was gathered from face- to-face interviews. The data gathering process was guided by the aims of the research as outlined earlier. With regard to each aim, the data was gleaned mainly from primary sources in the form of interviews. A total of 20 interviews were conducted in all four universities as tabularized in Table 25 (Appendix 8). For ethical reasons, the names of the interviewees were turned into codes (see Table 24, Appendix 4).

4.4 The Interpretation and Analysis of the Data

In qualitative research, there is no clear point at which data collection stops and analysis begins (Yin, 2003b; Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly, 2006). In literature we learn of several techniques that have been employed to analyze and interpret data, some of which included those of narrative analysis, discourse analysis and content analysis (Leedy and Ormrod, 1989; Boughey and Goodman, 1992; Neuman, 1997). Content analysis focuses on the content of a written text and a checklist is developed in order to establish the frequency of the distribution of ideas, words and phrases (Leedy and Ormrod, 1989; Boughey and Goodman, 1992; Neuman, 1997). In narrative analysis one draws on content analysis but the focus is on the story in the text. The focus in discourse analysis is on the construction of meanings through language/grammatical representation (Leedy and Ormrod, 1989; Boughey and Goodman, 1992; Neuman, 1997). In this study, interpretive analysis was used. There are a number of qualitative analytic traditions that come under the framework of interpretive analysis. One such tradition is thematic content analysis upon which this study's analysis is based (see Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly, 2006).

This study explores the nature of gender representation, including the conditions that exist for women in the academic workplace. In particular, it draws on the experiences of women in four institutions in Zimbabwe. It is important to state that the presentation and analysis of the data is not in statistical terms; instead what I have done is to surface the ideas that have been highlighted by the women, especially those ones that by their nature suggest certain contextual factors specific to their roles in African society. I am interested in unpacking some of the meanings that arise from what it is that the women say about their roles and functions, seeking to understand this in light of the work in the academy in an African context. In that regard, as outlined earlier, I did not rely on statistical analysis but used an interpretive analytical paradigm (Geertz, 1973). In cases where I raise these, it is not to suggest statistical significance but rather to identify certain thematic areas that are significant for this study.

4.4.1 A Sensitizing Framework

Women are the numeric majority citizens in Zimbabwe and thus form the larger number in terms of the population. They are disadvantaged by the stratified society by means of gender, with males in the upper class and females in the lower class. This situation has resulted in females getting second class access to opportunities and resources (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). It is therefore important for decision-making to research on issues that affect women through studies like this one in order to address the imbalances between men and women.

The major aim of this study was to understand the social and institutional factors related to the retention and progression of female academics in four institutions in Zimbabwe, namely, UZ, NUST, ZOU and MSU. In that regard the study set out to examine the working life conditions, employment conditions that frame the daily practices of female academics in four Zimbabwean universities. Additionally, the researcher investigated Institutional cultural factors that impact on the operations of female academics in the Higher Education workplace. Another aspect that was investigated is the nature and shape of the social relations between male and female academics and between different hierarchical levels in the institutions. In particular, the study was interested in the nature of culture in the four institutions or the patterns of behaviour that overlook women for committees. Also of interest to the study was an in-depth investigation into the way female academics are treated in the institutions of Higher Education and the kinds of stereotypes that emerge.

The conceptual framework of the study derives from theories of gender identities that are informed by an African perspective. In this study, African women's status compared to that of men has been seen to be linked to a patriarchal social structure in which women are treated as subordinate to men (Lindgren, 2001; Pattman, 2001). There are hierarchical differences between men and women in the Zimbabwean society which are closely linked to a patriarchal origin (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Lindgren, 2001; Pattman, 2001). This is so despite the existence of a few minority groups of people such as the Tonga who exercise a form of matrimonial society (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.5) as well as some

cultural traditions that accord women some measure of patriarchal power (Dangarembga, 1989; Nzenza-Shand, 1997). Moreover, feminists have argued that women play a pivotal role in both the reproductive and productive roles that help to facilitate patriarchal economic and productive dominance (Harding, 1986).

The university like all institutions is a site of cultural production, reproduction and transformation and as such is profoundly marked by gender (Diaw, 2007). The institutional and intellectual cultures of Higher Education institutions in Zimbabwe have not shattered inequitable gender relations or smashed policies and practices that exclude women despite the proliferation of universities and their claims of being spaces for democratic reform. As in the African society, feminine and masculine identities in the universities are circumscribed and non-egalitarian despite the global discourses of gender equity and democracy. However, due to the inevitable interaction between local and global sites, these gendered identities are increasingly being negotiated and contested with impact upon the institutional and intellectual cultures of the local universities. However, there is still the question of how power is exercised through knowledge by men and to what extent women are excluded from knowledge production processes.

Feminist standpoint theory upon which this study is based argues for the inculcating of a feminist pedagogy into existing pedagogies as a way of enriching them. Such a feminist pedagogy will be one that strives for egalitarian relationships among all students, male and female in order to bring about social transformation (Endeley and Ngaling, 2007). There is also the advocating of the creation of a feminist society in addition to a feminist epistemology in order to achieve a social transformation which will lead to the emancipation of women (Harding, (1986).

Contextually, this study explores the situation of women in relation to men in universities in Zimbabwe, a phenomenon that accords with practices in international institutions, as shown earlier in Chapter 3. In this respect, the relation between men and women in African universities is inseparable from women's position in society at large (Endeley and Ngaling, 2007). Universities play an important role in the production of knowledge

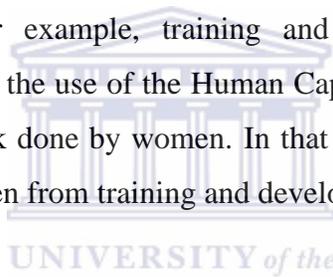
and research and yet to a large extent perpetuate gender bias as a result of the systems, structures, norms and values of the society that govern and define these universities and the ways they operate, which are significantly patriarchal. One of the elements in this landscape of conditions is the social and power relations that arise through patriarchy. In other words, the conditions are made up of the unequal relations between men and women.

In this study, institutions of Higher Education that is universities are viewed as organizations. The theoretical framework is derived from the work of Max Weber and his followers (1864-1920) (see Baldrige, 1971). In the views of Baldrige (1971), many contemporary observers argue that the Weberian model is not adequately suited to the unique nature of universities as organizations and therefore turn to the collegial paradigm. For the purpose of this study, universities are viewed according to the Weberian model intertwined with the collegial model. The basic assumption for this is that with the advent of globalization discussed earlier, university management has shifted from collegial to managerial or entrepreneurial focus, thereby entrenching the rules of accountability and value for money invested along the lines of the bureaucratic model of organization with its emphasis on rules and regulations for its operations. The university academy is increasingly bureaucratized. Power flows from the Vice Chancellor down to faculty and department level. The Vice Chancellor as the Chief Executive is seated on top of the structure, followed by the Pro Vice Chancellors, then Deans and Directors, Chairpersons of Departments and Chairpersons of Committees, Professors, Senior lecturers and Lecturers at the bottom rung for academics. Such a bureaucracy is viewed as having a Mission Statement, Vision, Goals, Aims and Objectives.

Crowther and Green (2004), maintain if Weber's work on bureaucracy is transposed to organizations, then clear lines of command which are seen as desirable for efficient management, as well as clear procedures and regulations, including rules for recruitment regarding the various positions in large organizations and their job descriptions become useful. Apart from its criticism of restricting creativity, inflexibility and slowness among other things, the Weberian model of organizational management is seen as an efficient

way of institutional management and is employed in Higher Education institutions as it suits the managerial approach to university management.

One of the problems associated with the Weberian model as used in institutions of Higher Education today is based on managerialist values such as managers controlling information and decision-making and that the manager's aims and strategies are not necessarily for the good of all employees and for the good of the whole organization (Crowther and Green, 2004). Organization theorists taking up these ideas have made their focus the exploitative nature of managerial practices in organizations (Braverman, 1998). As a result, in most organizations run on bureaucratic lines, there are strict rules and regulations to be followed in all procedures, promotions, appointments and advancements. Universities as bureaucracies are run on this same basis to the disadvantage of women. For example, training and development programmes in organizations are done through the use of the Human Capital theory which does not take into account the domestic work done by women. In that regard, as outlined earlier, men tend to benefit more than women from training and development programmes.



Some of the challenges that women encounter in Higher Education institutions are as old as organization theory. For example, Adam Smith (1776) in Crowther and Green (2004:9) argued for division of labour as a means of increasing industrial efficiency. Today there is division of labour in Higher Education along gender lines. The other challenge is that the Chief Executive Officer, in the case of a university, the Vice Chancellor is entrusted to run the organization for the good of the stakeholders, however, as an individual, he/she has his/her own individual or personal goals other than organizational goals. In other words, people can pursue their own goals at the expense of the organization (Crowther and Green, 2004).

Men still dominate at all levels of influence in the African universities which acts as a deterrent condition to the advancement of women within the institutions (Endeley and Ngaling, 2007). The situation of women in Zimbabwe reflects the unfair gender relationships prevalent in Zimbabwean society. Women are disadvantaged in the Higher

Education institutional workplace by low representation at all levels of employment with figures being skewed in favour of men (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Most women are found in low status, low paying positions in Higher Education institutions with a majority of the professoriate and senior lecturers being men (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Moreover, a number of existing adverse conditions readily expose women in Zimbabwe to an unfavourable existence. These include low levels of education, especially in rural areas, unfavourable cultural and traditional practices, poverty, lack of finance, unemployment, inequality, and violence against women among others (African Development Bank, 2010). Women are further limited by the traditional division of labour and the lower value attached to women's contribution in both their reproductive and productive roles (Chabaya, et. al. 2009).

4.4.2 Techniques for classifying the data

As outlined earlier, in this study, an interpretive analysis framework for data analysis was used. Themes and sub-themes that arose out of the resulting analysis were used to classify the data. Briefly, the data was arranged into various categories/ themes by use of various sub-headings per different finding or aspect, for example, data on women as nurturers was put under women as nurturers as sub-heading and so on (see Appendix 2). As mentioned earlier, in order to preserve the anonymity and confidentiality of the key informants, codes were assigned to the informants as per table 12 (see Appendix 4). I must point out at this stage that classifying the data was a difficult process because of the many overlaps in terms of responses to different single response items following under more than one theme or sub-theme.

4.4.3 Techniques for analyzing the data

As outlined earlier, interpretive analysis was used to analyze the data. The purpose of interpretive analysis is to provide thick description (Geertz, 1973). In the interpretive analysis, there are several steps as espoused by Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly (2006).

For the purpose of this study, I shall briefly lay out the steps as follows. After the data transcription process, I set about familiarizing myself with the transcripts before I went on to induce the themes and sub-themes from the data. Thereafter, I coded the data before going into the steps of elaboration and interpretation.

I transcribed the recorded interviews data first. Transcription was done within a short time afterwards. The transcription involved listening to the recorded responses of the informants' question by question and writing down verbatim what they said. The recording of the words and ideas had to be done with relative accuracy (Leedy, and Ormrod, 2005). This was a lengthy process which involved a lot of writing and careful listening at any single sitting.



Different documents relating to the semi- structured interview

After the transcription process, the next step for me was to familiarize myself as well as immerse myself with the data in line with the interpretive data analysis procedure.

This involved, familiarizing myself with the transcripts by going through them thoroughly. I had to try and understand the contents of the transcripts in as much detail as I could. In short, I had to make sense of the transcripts as well as gain an understanding of them by totally immersing myself in the transcripts.

After having become familiar with the transcripts as well as getting a fair understanding of them, I proceeded to the next stage to come up with themes from the data.

This process involved using the language of the interviewees/informants, to come up with themes. I went further than just summarizing content but tried to find an optimal level of

complexity. I discovered a number of themes and sub-themes. The transcription allowed me to be able to identify some emerging themes in the data as the transcription process went on. See Appendix 2 for complete evidence of respondents' voices. Some respondents agreed to the questions; some responded vaguely or overlapped and disagreed. I used the following themes to glean the data: (1) Patriarchal relations inside African society (see Appendix 2: 2b on the role of women academics in the recruitment process sub- theme 7 on governance). (2). Patriarchal relations at institutional level which had various sub- themes, some of which are around the aspects of (3) male domination in decision- making, (4) promotion and (5) barriers to promotion, (6) issues of recruitment of academic staff and (7) the roles of female academics in recruitment and appointment, (8) issues of teaching and governance, (9) the aspect of institutional culture, (10) treatment issues around stereotyping, (11) discrimination, (12) harassment and (13) marginalization among others, e.g., (see Appendix 2: 1a), Eighteen respondents agreed about patriarchy in the workplace (L1; In.1) deviated; (L9; In. I2) agreed after further explanation and probing by the researcher. Twenty members responded, 12 agreed, L1; In.1 disagreed; 7 members gave vague or overlapping responses L2, L3, in In.1; L6, L7 and L8 in In. 2; (L11, L13; In. 3); (L17, In. 4) were vague.

WESTERN CAPE

One of the key questions raised in this study has been on the nature and extent of patriarchal relations in the institution. In particular this study researched for women's experiences with respect to institutional conditions under which female academics work, the nature of culture in the four institutions or the patterns of behaviour that result in the exclusion of women in committees; how female academics are treated in the institutions of Higher Education and the kinds of stereotypes that emerge. Other themes included the factors that impact on the advancement of female academics in the institutions of Higher Education and support networks in institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe.

During the process of developing themes, I also coded the data by using coloured marker pens to highlight different pieces of text relating to one theme with the same colour. Bits of similarly coded material were later clustered together under the same themes for further analysis. The process involved coding phrases, lines, sentences, or paragraphs as

they were identified by virtue of their containing material that pertained to the themes under consideration. Finally I went through the whole process again in chronological order recoding where necessary until being satisfied that there was no more reclassification necessary.

4.4.3.1 The data captured in the results

Chapters were selected on the basis of its richness and strengths in relation to the themes being explored. However, there are also several signals in the larger data-set, that is, in the Appendix 2. These signals or traces are being used to aid the discussion. A challenge encountered was the difficulty caused by the overlapping of responses pertaining to different sections or themes within the study. In that regard, some responses were difficult to place in one theme.

4.4.4 Techniques for interpretation of the data

At the interpretation stage, I was involved in putting together a written account of my interpretation of the data. There is a certain amount of risktaking involved in negotiating or constructing meaning out of context-imbedded communication (Boughey and Goodman, 1992; Neuman, 1997). In this study, I relied on reflexivity and member checks in order to check the validity of my interpretations from the transcriptions of the recorded interviews. The transcripts and analysed texts were taken back to the respondents and checked with them on whether what was constructed from the data was actually what they said. While a few of the respondents had added a little more information to the transcripts, most of the respondents who were contacted did not contest the transcripts and analyzed texts.

4.5 The researcher's role

In this research, the relationship between the object of study and the researcher was an interactional one; hence the knowledge that has been created is a result of the interaction between the researcher and the object of study. As such the researcher is implicated in the inquiry. This then means that the process of making sense of the gender relations in the universities is filtered through the researcher's experience, personally, politically as well

as professionally. The researcher's involvement and position in the study is spelt out below.

As outlined earlier, I am involved in the study directly as one of the university lecturers in Zimbabwe. In that regard, I am not a detached observer in this process. As a result, I did not resort to a positivist approach but rather drew on approaches which are premised on the idea of the researcher and the researched being engaged in an interactive and dialectical way in the research process (Harding, 1986; Neuman, 1997).

4.6 The researcher's male gendered identity in the Zimbabwean context

Given my role in this research it is important to understand my own gendered identity in the context of my own role as a researcher. As such, it is important at this stage to provide a brief insight into the making of male gendered identities in Zimbabwe as this is a key to the way female academics are seen and treated in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education. The making of male gendered identities in Zimbabwe follows a general pattern with slight variations depending on ethnic group representation as well as traditional cultures. The majority of people in Zimbabwe are Shona speaking made up of Seizure, Korekore, Manyika, Ndau, Karanga and Kalanga dialects (Lindgren, 2001). The second largest ethnic group is the Ndebele. Many Ndebele are of Shona origin and inhabited the land now called Matebeleland long before the arrival of the original Ndebele group from South Africa in the late nineteenth century some thirty years before the arrival of European settlers in 1887 (Wicht, 1952; Murphree and Baker, 1975; Lindgren, 2001).

Both the Shona and the Ndebele believe in patrilineal principles as well as patrilocality, lobola, and totem identity (mitupo/ izibongo) (Lindgren, 2001; Pattman, 2001) as traditional customs which they practice. There are negligible variations in differences such as male circumcision among some of the smaller Ndebele or Nguni ethnic groups. As outlined earlier, there are also some small minority groups which are matriarchal as opposed to patriarchal such as the Tonga in the Zambezi valley. I will, however, dwell on

the main Shona group which has influenced by own male identity formation being a Shona myself.

Shona male identity is structured by power relations, marriage customs and division of labour. It draws on hegemonic masculinity which is based on the idea of a heterosexual marriage following the principles of patrilineality, patrilocality and lobola (see Dangarembga, 1989). Like the Ndebele, the Shona categorize human beings into men and women as two different sexual types based on the genitalia as well as appropriate behaviour (see Lindgren, 2001). Shona culture and tradition dictate that the man is the head of the household (Dangarembga, 1989). In such hegemonic notions of masculinity emphasis is placed on one's genitalia more than simply being human for inheritance as well as the exercise of power in the home, in social and public institutions. It is taken for granted that men should be dominant over women in leadership as well as in other societal structures (Dangarembga, 1989; Lindgren, 2001; Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001).

My own gender identity development was influenced by many situations under which I found myself while growing up. Growing up in colonial Rhodesia in the late 1950's, I was first and foremost under the influence of my own father who was born in 1918. His own gender identity had been formed under the influence of his uncles who were chiefs as his own father had died when he was of a young age. He had also been a migrant worker in the mines in Johannesburg in South Africa as well as being a general worker on farms, in factories and mines owned by white people. He had minimal education having learnt as far as Sub B. According to my father, "being a man is to be the head of your household, be brave, own wealth in the form of cattle, be married to a woman, be a hunter, be a hard worker and work for your family, own your own home and stand for your family" (see Dangarembga, 1989). He believes in beer brewing and the performance of African rituals for the good of his family. He also believes in lobola and that a responsible man should pay lobola for his wife and respect his in-laws. My father is a good model of hegemonic masculinity (see Dangarembga, 1989; Nzenza-Shand, 1997; Pattman, 2001; Holland, 2005). One distinction however is that he is a black African man

who grew up in the early days of colonialism. As such his African masculinity as a man while influenced by the arrival of European settlers as a young man and worker on the farms, in the factories and the mines, he often experienced problems as he tended to be less submissive to the subordination of black people by white people during colonial Rhodesia.

Apart from the influence of my father, my own gender identity was influenced by the role played by the colonial state of Rhodesia that used segregation as the basis for policy framework on race relations and the accessing of resources such as schools, training facilities and so forth. I went to a Mission boarding school where white missionaries tried hard to convert African boys and girls to Christianity. They also preached the “Word” with a certain slant to the maintenance of the colonial status quo and lived in segregated accommodation with whites occupying better housing on one side of the mission while blacks occupied decent but poorer housing on the other side of the mission (see Dangarembga, 1989; Holland, 2005). I learnt Christian values but felt poor and deprived and resented the colonial system which privileged one race at the expense of another. In other words, racial oppression influenced my own gender identity formation as a poor male.

My gender identity was further reconstructed by the influence of the British when I lived in England for four years in the late 1970's. Coming from Colonial Rhodesia, I suddenly found myself living in a society where every one was treated equally with the observance of human rights for all. I came under the influence of English masculine identities as I stayed with the English and learnt their culture and traditions. I empathized with the poor, also with women and children and the generality of oppressed people back home and other parts of the world. I became active in liberation politics and took part in anti-apartheid marches and other equality causes. While maintaining my own unique male African identity, I believe in the equality of people whether male or female.

4.7 Ethics of Research

All ethical guidelines were observed throughout the research process for this study. Before conducting the interviews, I fully explained to the interviewees the purpose of the research as outlined in my ethical instruments and protocols. I assured the respondents of the confidentiality in which the data they provided would be treated. This would be done at all times. I also assured them of no harm. I also explained their freedom to withdraw from the interview. This assured the respondents and they willingly signed the consent form and agreed to be interviewed and recorded on a digital voice recorder as well as on paper (see Appendix 2 and 3).

4.8 Limitations of Research

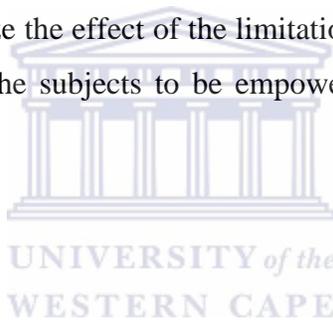
This research is not exhaustive as it is limited by: The case study design employed by the research which has certain limitations of its own. The detailed data collected through the cases does not necessarily lead to the ability to make meaningful generalizations to a larger population of cases (Leedy and Ormrod, 1989; Stake, 2005). As such an effective generalization can only come from replicating a high number of cases (Leedy and Ormrod, 1989; Stake, 2005). It is acknowledged this study seeks to generalize in- so- far as it investigates senior selected academic women's position at four out of eleven Universities in Zimbabwe. As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, another constraint was the low number of female senior academics at the universities visited. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that some of the few senior female academics who could have been interviewed were unavailable for interviews due to work commitments and absence from the university campuses at the time of the interviews.

The aspect of the sexual identity of the researcher is also up for debate, it is argued that a male researcher cannot investigate gender issues because of bias. And yet in the same breath, it has also been argued by others that such research cannot be said to be a prerogative of women and that in fact men can also research on gender issues and contribute positively (Neuman, 1997). The researcher cannot however claim to be free of

what is generally referred to as interviewer bias/ interviewee bias as this may happen through interpretation of certain meanings as well as through personal interest by the interviewees as they will be keen to impress upon the researcher of their challenges. Some may give biased views to the researcher.

As a practitioner in Higher Education, which is an advantage, this can also act as a limitation as the researcher might assume to know some of the negative factors experienced by female academics without a complete understanding of these barriers. Furthermore, as the researcher is known as a lecturer in Zimbabwe, some informants may have tended to take certain things for granted assuming that the researcher was already aware of them.

The researcher tried to minimize the effect of the limitations by endeavoring to listen and adhere only to the voices of the subjects to be empowered by the findings as well as engaging in reflexivity.



4.9 Conclusion

This Chapter began by outlining a number of methodological schools of thought that could be employed in research inquiry. These were classified into three broad schools, namely positivism, constructionism and critical theory. This was done as a brief introduction to the aim of this Chapter which was to offer an insight into the theoretical and methodological schools of thought employed in this research, namely standpoint theory and qualitative research methodology. As a qualitative study, it draws on both modern and post-modern sensibilities. In addition to offering insights into the schools of thought used in this study, the Chapter also addressed itself to the methods employed to collect data as well as the methods adopted for data analysis and interpretation and a conceptual framework. The next Chapter will address the issues of the research results.

CHAPTER FIVE

WOMEN IN SOCIETY: GENDER SOCIALIZATION

5 Introduction

This Chapter discusses the reported views of respondents on their experiences with regard to the factors that impact on the progression and advancement of female academics in the researched institutions in Zimbabwe.

This Chapter uses the empirical data to set the backdrop for patriarchy in society, home, extended family, and the kinds of struggles women encounter in the home as well as the socialization through the fields of study when they start the initial training for their professional careers. This is the canvas, in other words, the gendered landscape against which male domination practices occur in society.

As outlined in Chapter Four, some of the challenges encountered included the difficulty caused by the overlapping of responses pertaining to different sections or themes within the study (see Chapter 4, Section, 4.4.3).

As identified earlier, Zimbabwean society is stratified along several dimensions, including that of gender. As noted a hierarchical social structure exists in which males occupy the highest levels of the structure and females are located at the lower end (Lindgren, 2001; Holland, 2005).

One of the factors perceived as having a negative impact on women in Zimbabwean society is that of cultural practices between men and women which take on the form of gendered tensions. Culturally, men and women in Zimbabwean society play different roles within the family and society which leads to a gendered division of labour (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.3). The awareness around gender divisions in society was manifest in aspects of the data with reference to the question on the perceived experiences of

patriarchy in Zimbabwean society: **What are your experiences of patriarchy in Zimbabwean society?**

Table 3: Experiences of patriarchy in Zimbabwean society

Institution	Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	Sometimes both men and women resist authority of a woman due to their societal experience in which men exercise power.
2	35 years, married SL	L6	As a married woman, I am not in a position to move from one place to another for promotion purposes as I cannot move away uprooting the whole family with me.
3	35 years, married SL	L14	Most women at work need their husband's permission before applying for a post of responsibility in case the job interferes with the current family arrangements and the husband as head of the household has to agree to such a move.
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	Females are being marginalized. Men are used to treating women like their property. Marginalization, discrimination and stereotyping are major challenges for example, stereotyping that, "women refuse posts of responsibility," even some women stereotype those that want posts of responsibility.

5.1 Patriarchy in the home and society

Generally, the data (see Appendix 2: 1a) surfaces a number of factors that play a role in the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations between men and women in the home and society. The following themes emerge from the data (Appendix 2: 1b): the theme of male domination is raised with respect to the home and reproduced at work in all the institutions. In addition there is the issue of women as men's private property which leads to the subordination of women at home and reproduced at work raised in institution 4. Secondly, there is the issue of gendered division of labour in the home with women in all institutions struggling to keep a balance between work and family roles. Thirdly, there is the aspect of unequal gender relations produced in society and reproduced at the workplace in all institutions with men enjoying leadership positions in both society and in the institutions. In addition, the data (Appendix 2: 1a) raises resistance to women's authority by both men and women in institutions 1 and 4 as well as

the aspect of male domination in both lecturing and top positions within all four institutions.

Other issues raised by the data (Appendix 2: 1a) include how gender relations are constructed through kinship in the home and reproduced at work in institution 1 and how unequal gender relations are produced at home through the extended family and reproduced at work in institution 4. Despite there being a difference in leadership between the institutions, that is institutions 1, 2, and 4 are headed by male Vice-Chancellors while institution 3 is headed by a female Vice-Chancellor, there does not seem to be much difference in terms of what the data surfaces with respect to male domination at work in all four institutions.

Given the varied nature of the many responses as well as the number of overlaps in terms of themes arising from the data from the aforementioned question, I have isolated certain important aspects of the data insofar as this resonates with international literature on the topic, but at the same time it gives me insight into the uniqueness of the Zimbabwean context as shown by the above data (see Table 3).

From the above data the broad theme of patriarchy with a few sub-themes can be identified. The first is about male domination constructed within a system of patriarchy in which the conditions are such that men exercise political power over women. The second is about the marital contractual arrangement between men and women, which places constraints on women's freedom of movement resulting in a gendered division of labour. The third is that of "men treating women as their private property".

Each of these themes will be discussed in the sections that follow in this section.

5. 1.1 Male domination in society

As outlined earlier in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.1, gender relations have been viewed as produced in the home. One of the ways in which unequal gender relations are produced in the home is through marital arrangements in which lobola is paid as a bride prize with

married women becoming the property of the husband and his relatives. According to the data, such a practice leads to the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations between men and women both at home and at work.

5.1.1.1 “Men treating women as their private property”

From the above data (Table 3; L16; In.4), the respondent mentions that women are treated as the (private) property of men. This idea of ‘women as private property’ was extensively outlined earlier (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.1). The implication of this perception of women as private property in an African context is linked to the concept and practice of lobola which was outlined earlier (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.1). In addition, the implication from the above data seems to suggest that cultural customs like lobola payment work to the advantage of a patriarchal system which also affects the mobility of women transferring from one job to another. As such the marriage contract places constraints on women as it restricts women from taking up certain jobs that have always been the preserve for men. As a result, there is a perpetuation of the gendered division of labour to be discussed later - with males occupying jobs in the primary labour market and females being relegated to the home and the secondary labour market (see Dual Labour Market Theory, Chapter 3, section 3.4.4). This finding arises in the light of the above data (See Table 3, L14; In. 3) which surfaces the view that married women need their husband’s permission before applying for a post of responsibility in another geographical region. In that respect, a husband who has paid lobola wields greater power and control over his wife than someone else who did not pay the bride price. According to the above data (Table 3, L6; In. 2), married women cannot move from one place to another for promotion purposes as they are tied down to the current family location with the husband’s career prospects receiving first priority. This is in line with the Marxist-Socialist perspective on gender discussed earlier, in which men are viewed as family bread winners while women are viewed as homemakers (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2). Aisenberg and Harrington (1998) make the point that women forsake their own careers for the husband’s career. In that regard, the women’s life chances are limited to what is possible within the marital arrangement framework.

The implication of the above data suggests that some of the males may find it difficult to separate issues of customary marriage arrangements from work-related issues. This is to say that some males may harbour a superiority complex towards females. As a result they may tend to regard female academic colleagues as inferior to men (see Gaidzanwa, 2007). This attitude of men towards women arises from the idea of men paying a bride price which results in practices of male ownership of women (Table 3; L6; In. 2) and male superiority over women. The above situation seems to be replicated in the data generally with men exercising authority over women in both the private and public spheres of life. In that regard, the cultural custom of lobola payment in exchange for a wife's hand in marriage is one of the social factors that have a negative impact on the advancement of female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities. It is one of the factors responsible for the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations both at home and in Higher Education workplace and has a negative impact on the life chances of female academics .

5.1.1.2 Women as providers of domestic and child care services

As evident from the data (Appendix 2: 1a; L16; In. 4), the role and function of women in Zimbabwean society is about the provision of (domestic) labour both in terms of child care as well as household needs. From the data (Table 3; L16: In. 4), there are indications to suggest that the role of women as nurturer and child caregiver places constraints on the ability and freedom of women in terms of career progression in the academic sector. In this respect, one of the factors that impact on senior selected academic women is the aspect of child care. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.8.1), women's careers are intertwined with their roles as mothers and this factor works against their efficacy in the institutions of Higher Education in terms of what career positions they can take up as married women (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Spurling, 1997). The demands of the job are such that there is competition for the women's time between the job and the child care role in the home. The data (Appendix 2: 1a; L9; In. 2) suggests that married female academics in the four selected institutions have a problem balancing their work roles and family roles evenly. In the event of such role conflict, the signals from literature suggest that women choose to provide for the care of their children ahead of full time occupation

work (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Spurling, 1997). While this is evident in the international literature as discussed earlier, (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1), there are specific aspects to the constraints that women in a Zimbabwean context experience in their workplace which are more linked with socio-cultural factors. In the Zimbabwean cultural context, childcare is viewed as the role of women. In that regard, women have no choice except to stay home and look after children when the situation demands. In that respect, women's role as mothers is an important factor which works to their disadvantage in terms of retention and progression at work.

Moreover, the role of Zimbabwean women in the family is exacerbated by issues of the extended family in which the subordinate role of women has particular implications (Appendix 2: 1a; L4; In.1).

5.1.1.3 Women's role in the extended family

In this respect, it is important to understand the practice of the extended family in Zimbabwean society. The role of women as child caregivers is not limited to the nuclear family. Such views are evident from the data as surfaced by the following statement:

Socio-cultural factors affected me in my job. For example, I was unable to accept a promotion to another work site because I had to take care of my grandchild. If I accepted the promotion, I would have had to move away from home leaving him behind (Appendix 2: 1a; L20; In. 4).

From the above quotation, it is evident that the role of women as providers of child care services in the extended family as referenced by the acceptance of the responsibility around caring for grandchildren, is perceived as a key function of a woman in a family arrangement (see Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Gaidzanwa, 1992; 2007). Relevant literature reveals that this responsibility does not apply in the Western family arrangement in which the norms of the nuclear family supersede those of the extended family. For example, the difference between the Western family's perspectives on the role of women in Zimbabwean society is that the latter is more bound by the norms of extended families. Zimbabwean women's responsibilities around child care extend

beyond the nuclear family to embrace those of extended kin relationships. In practice this means that women take care not only of members of their close, that is the nuclear family but of members of a bigger family which is inclusive of all relatives and their children; in other words, the extended family. This was surfaced by the data (L20; In 4), where it is mentioned that as a grandmother she was bound by the norms of the extended family she had to make a choice between caring for a grandchild and that of accepting a promotion in another place.

From the above quotation, it is evident that the acceptance of a promotion by the grandmother meant leaving the grandchild without child care, a role specifically designated for women in Zimbabwean society (see Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001). This is very different from the Western culture where the trend is for men to take care of the children in an emergency situation. In other words, it is becoming a Western norm for men to participate in full-time child caring (Phillips, 2010). This means that in the Western society, women are able to explore job promotions and advancement away from home ((Phillips, 2010). To the contrary, in the Zimbabwean cultural context, with the exception of the 'modernized' or Westernized Africans (Dangarembga, 1989; Holland, 2005), it is still very much the customary expectation that women look after children and do domestic chores while men go to work (see Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Gaidzanwa, 1992; 2007). Such a situation is evident in the data (L20; In. 4) which surfaces the view that Zimbabwean female academics promotional chances, particularly in Higher Educational institutions are exacerbated by their role as nurturers and their subordinate position in the extended family (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.2).

Women in the researched Zimbabwean universities are therefore affected differently in the family compared to Western women insofar as the former are affected by the norms of the extended family as opposed to women in the nuclear family in terms of gender relations at home being reproduced at work. While women's role in the extended family works to their disadvantage in terms of their retention and progression at work, it also has its advantages in terms of child care; for example in the case of orphans and old age

relatives it is the married woman who is responsible for communal care giving to such people within the extended family. It is, therefore advantageous on a community basis.

One of the factors therefore which has an impact on the advancement of women in the researched Zimbabwean institutions is their inability to advance themselves academically as a result of their marital status and their role as caregiver in the extended family. As will be discussed later, high qualifications are one of the criteria for advancement through promotion in the institutions that were covered by the study.

The reported view of (Table 3; L1; In. 1) on the supremacy of men and the subordination of women within a framework of patriarchy has been extensively outlined in Chapter 3. When understood in relation to the subsequent respondent's view, (Table 3; L6; In. 2) it is interesting to note how the factor of patriarchy (read here as female subordination) 'genderises' the division of labour.

5.2. Gendered division of labour in the household

The marital contractual arrangement places constraints on women's mobility by the sheer nature of its ability to keep women in family relations that recognize the husband as head of the family around whom the relationship revolves (Table 3; L 14; In 3). The roles of women are therefore confined to the private sphere. In contrast, men's roles are extended from the family headship to the private and public spheres. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.3), Zimbabwean society recognizes the man as the head of the household. In that respect, married women are tied to their husbands' career trajectory. As a result, they tend to move from job to job in relation to the husband's career path. In other words, married women are not in a position to move from one job to another in a different location to that of the family (Table 3; L6; In. 2). That means the gendered division of labour is perpetuated in the workplace insofar as women may be unable to assume significant positions of authority that become available in other institutions of Higher Education located in different geographical regions than their current region. The

gendered division of labour in the home therefore, is one of the factors that have a negative impact on the life chances of female academics in Higher Education workplace.

It has emerged from the data (Appendix 2: 2c; L16; In. 4) that there is an academic study role versus family challenge associated with women's role as nurturers. In the reported views of (Appendix 2: 5; L11; In. 3), the time factor is a problem because women have multiple roles and do not have much time for taking up certain roles. They spend time with family and children which limits their life chances for advancement through study. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.4.1), working as academics in institutions of Higher Education requires the holders of such posts to be highly knowledgeable and skillful in the areas of their expertise in order to receive the required recognition from peers and students (Millett, 1962).

Tsikata (2007:35) highlights some important aspects regarding women's position as nurturers of the family and as academics. Tsikata mentions the fact that there are challenges associated with marriage and children. In the views of Tsikata, it is useful when one is married to a fellow academic as the partner would have understanding of the woman's situation. Tsikata further says that there is stagnation of research and writing during intensive child bearing and rearing years, and that after child bearing, women are too old for scholarships for PhD training.

Dunlap and Schmuck (1995), echoed by Moroosi (2007), maintain that women usually find it difficult to strike a balance between parenting and working. According to Munro (1994), the issue of childcare and the limitations this places upon women is a significant reason why many women fail to resume or fully participate in the workforce. In that regard, socially and economically essential tasks relating to households and family care continue to be characterized as women's responsibility, thereby limiting their life chances in terms of career retention and progression.

Traditionally, Zimbabwean men do not participate in domestic chores including child care (Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2003, Gaidzanwa, 2007). Such tasks are considered to

belong to the domain of women. As with the general situation in other African societies, Zimbabwean men's household chores have traditionally been viewed as those involving security, handling of outsiders and work of a physical nature such as cutting firewood (Asiyanbola, 2005).

Since husbands are recognized as the primary bread winners and heads of households (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.2), it gives them power over their wives and over the division of labour in the family. As a result of their bargaining power as their family's main bread winner with economic power (Enslin, 2003), only men have the individual choice to decide to do household chores or not.

In the light of the above situation, the division of labour in the household along lines of gender is one of the factors in which unequal gender relations in the household are reproduced in the Higher Education workplace. This is the situation as women's roles in the family as mothers and housewives tie them to the husband's career path at the expense of their own life chances as professionals within the researched institutions.

5.2.1 Women's double role: family vs. professional life

In this section the situation of married female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions with respect to their promotional prospects is discussed. In Zimbabwe (see Section 3.6.8.1), married female academics' careers are tied to their husbands' careers (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Spurling, 1997). It has emerged from the data that there is a work versus family conflict with respect to the promotion of women in the researched Zimbabwean universities. The above data (Table 10, L11; In. 3) suggests that married women in the researched universities are not able to move from one place to another in pursuit of promotional posts because of their family circumstances. In the reported view of (Table 10, L11; In. 3) women are not in a position to move uprooting the whole family to where the promotional post is based, for example from Bulawayo to Harare or Mutare. As a result of the patriarchal nature of the Zimbabwean society exacerbated by the lobola system in marriage, men are viewed as the head of their household. In that regard, women play subservient roles to men in the household. The

family can only change its geographical home location with the movement of the husband and not the other way round. As a result, there is a family versus work conflict for married female academics seeking career advancement (L13; In. 3),

Married women are controlled by their family situation and location and cannot move away from families on promotion to other cities. They worry about children (Table 10, L13; In. 3).

From the above statement, the implication from the data is that married women in the researched universities do not only get affected by the husband's career trajectory, but are also affected by their role as mothers. As a result, their mobility can range from limited to very mobile depending on the husband's mobility rate as he moves from location to location following his career. In that regard, married senior selected academic women find it difficult to take up advancement opportunities wherever they arise because this depends on the current family location as dictated by the husband's career movements (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Spurling, 1997). In addition, we are told by Aisenberg and Harrington (1988:124) that a common problem that arises for the professional woman is that her husband is usually getting established in his own career at the same time that her own work is beginning to progress, requiring her balancing act to include accommodating two careers. As a result, accommodation often has unforeseen and disastrous effects for the woman, because the weight of opinion says the husband's career comes first. In the reported experience of (L10: In. 2), she concurs that women are not in a position to move from one place to another for promotion if they are married. Powney and Weiner (1997) say that women who follow the husband's career lose substantial professional ground after each move. They lose out on vital experience as well as professional growth as they do not get time to settle down and mellow in one place as men may do.

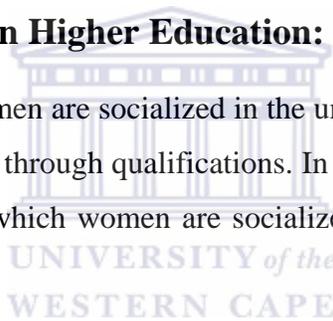
Furthermore, in the views of (L11; In. 3) married female academics shy away from higher level management posts because of the demands of the posts versus marriage roles. Walby, 1988; Jacobs, 1996; Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001 support these respondents' reports that married female academics find it difficult to balance work with

family as they spend much of their time providing social services to the family. However, not all married women struggle with work and family, some have found it possible and rewarding pursuing both work and family (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.8.1). The data (L11; In. 3) further suggests that divorced or single women have no problem taking up higher level management posts. Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) point out that some senior selected academic women have found it necessary to postpone or not to have children for the sake of an academic career (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.8.1).

According to the above data therefore, and in agreement with international literature as discussed earlier, a woman's role in the family or marriage arrangement is one of the factors which affect the advancement of married female academics in this study.

5.3 Gender socialization in Higher Education: Fields of study

This study also shows how women are socialized in the university sector when they begin the early stages of their careers through qualifications. In this regard, the curricula, that is fields of study is one way in which women are socialized. The following section gives some insight into this problem.



As outlined earlier, disciplines such as Physics, Mathematics and Engineering are said to embody qualities which are closely linked to people's ideas about masculinity and femininity (Thomas, 1990; Morley, et. al., 2008). In the views of Harding (1986), women are exposed to discriminatory practices in science and are seen as less competent in the sciences than the norm (Mahlck and Thaver, 2010). The data (Appendix 2: 1c; L6; In. 2) suggests that there are not many women being trained to be future scientists in a science university department as there are not many women enrolling to study science subjects within the institution. According to the data (Appendix 2: 1c; L6; In. 2), there is inflexibility or conservatism with respect to change at universities in terms of curriculum offerings in order to attract girls. In the views of (L6; In. 2), science subjects are male subjects. (Appendix 2: 8c; L11; In. 3), points out that even in curriculum development, the needs of girls are not taken into account. Science subjects offered by a particular institution are more important than other subjects - at the expense of the girls who in this

case are assumed to be attracted by the arts (L11; In. 3). (Appendix 2: 1c; L11; In. 3) also states that there are very few female academics in her science subject area. As a result she is the only woman offering a course in that subject area. Subject based discrimination has been identified as a global phenomenon. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.2), certain subjects are perceived to be more important than others in many institutions across the world. The implication from the data is that subject based discrimination seems to replay itself in the Zimbabwean institutional situation as shown by the data (Appendix 2: 1c; L11; In. 3).

Ndlovu (2001) indicates that on African campuses, a 'chilly' climate often awaits women students due to unfavourable conditions there. In that regard, subject choice is just one of the many issues women have to grapple with. With respect to the data (Appendix 2: 8c; L11; In. 3), the implication is that by not offering the arts, the institution is discriminating against the girls who would have wanted to join the institution to study arts rather than the science courses that are offered. As a result, the institution remains predominantly male in terms of both enrolment and management. Thomas (1990:19-20) agrees that some disciplines are considered more suitable for men than women. Women in African universities are affected by factors of subject choice in which lifetime opportunities to study the science subjects are limited for them. In the Zimbabwean situation the data (Appendix 2: 1c; L6; In. 2) suggests that female academics still experience factors that work against their training and development in particular science subject areas. While it has been observed that globally women are found mainly in the disciplines of social sciences, humanities and education rather than in science, mathematics and technology in Higher Education, this trend is more pervasive in Africa (Kwesiga, 2002; Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

The implication of not training future women scientists as a result of conservatism in curriculum development to include the needs of girls is one of the factors that affect the retention and progression of female academics in the institutions that were covered by the study. In that respect, evident from the data from institutions 2 and 3, this leads to the appointment of few female academics in science subject areas at the university. The low

numbers of female academics in science subject areas are indicative of the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations in the Higher Education workplace. As a result of all the above, opportunities for advancement for women are few because of their minority position in important university committees that make decisions on promotion and other governance issues (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.2).

5.4 Summary

In this Chapter, the aspect of social interactions between males and females within the institutions that were covered by the study was discussed, in so far as these interactions are imbued with issues of a cultural nature. For example, the payment of a bride price is a negative practice insofar as it perpetuates gender inequality between men and women in Zimbabwean society and in the workplace. In other words it forms part of the perspective on gender relations in which women are devalued and treated as ‘property’. Furthermore, the Chapter also discussed the issue of the extended family system as it affects women in the researched institutions in terms of advancement and its effect on female academics as nurturers. Additionally, the Chapter also discussed the aspect of the gendered division of labour in the household, women’s double role: family vs. professional life, and gender socialization through fields of study.

In the next Chapter, the major results of the study are presented.

CHAPTER SIX

WOMEN IN THE HIGHER EDUCATION WORKPLACE: PUSHING AGAINST THE TIDE

6 Introduction

In this Chapter I discuss the data related to the institutional factors which have an impact on the advancement of female academics in this study. In the next section I discuss factors that impact on the advancement and progression of female academics with regard to governance such as recruitment, the role of women in the recruitment process, criteria for appointment, composition of selection committees, the composition of the academic workforce, gender equity legal framework and conservatism in the appointment of women. Following this, the core functions for academics of teaching, research, administration and the promotion process are discussed. The aspect of stereotyping and issues of a patriarchal nature are also revisited. In addition, I discuss factors around the aspects of support networks, institutional culture and the aspect of inclusion and exclusion in this study. As mentioned in Chapter 5, there were a number of overlaps in terms of the data in the form of responses to different aspects of the enquiry which made it sometimes difficult to limit a response to one factor or results section.

6.1 Governance

In seeking to understand the data from all the institutions (see Appendix 2: 2a and b) the women responded to the questions regarding the recruitment process and also signaled some of the relevant legal frameworks. There were also some responses to matters relating to institutional authority, governance, criteria for appointment, roles of women in the recruitment process and the composition of selection committees. In addition, there were issues of the gendered shape of the academic workforce and the reforms that accompany this format. The equity framework, progression of women's career mobility, promotion prospects and practices as well as aspects of institutional culture featured in their responses. Respondents also focused on barriers which exist as a result of the policy on promotion and promotion criteria that include research, publication, experience and qualifications. Furthermore, issues of access to information (L15; In.3) and the

composition of committees were mentioned by some respondents (L9; In. 2 and L20; In. 4) who said that:

I am not in the interview panel. Appointment is done by top management (Appendix 2: 2b; L9; In. 2).

Vice Chancellors have a bigger role in who gets appointed or promoted. I haven't got much role to play in the selection and promotion process (Appendix 2: 2b; L20; In. 4).

In the following section I shall provide a discussion on the experiences of female academics with regard to the aspects of the recruitment process, the role of women in the recruitment process and the composition of the Higher Education academic workforce.

6.1.1 Recruitment process

The recruitment of lecturers at Zimbabwean universities is based on a record of research and publications (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.4.1). Other requirements include qualifications of at least a Masters Degree and experience of teaching in the required subject area at university level. Depending on the level of operation at which the incumbent will be expected to teach, a Doctoral degree becomes a requirement. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.4), the basis of authority in the academy is teaching, research and academic values. According to Millett (1962), a high degree of knowledge and technical skill for the academic profession is a required attribute. With respect to the recruitment of female academics, there are a number of barriers that affect women's entry to the academy. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.4) some of the barriers include lower publication records for women compared to those for men, lower qualifications and experience compared to those required for men and the effects of the old boys' network compared to the old girls' network. Senior academics play an important role in transformation and hiring, (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6. 4); consequently there are embedded social norms that come into play in academic hiring. Professors have power as purveyors of ideas as well as through their wide international networks which

may well influence patterns of employment and success in academic careers, particularly the careers of female academics.

6.1.2 The role of women in the recruitment process

One of the issues surfaced by this study that affects female academics is the role played by female academics in the recruitment process for academics (see Appendix 2: 2b). There are several factors that emerged from the data that impact on female academics in the recruitment process within the selected institutions of Higher Education. The experience of female academics with regard to their role in the recruitment process of academics was evident in their responses to the following statement: **Comment on your role in the recruitment process.**

In order to gain some insight into the uniqueness of the Zimbabwean context on the topic, I have selected some key aspects of the data which resonate with the international literature as shown by the following table.

Table 4: The role of female academics in the recruitment process

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	I am not in the final selection panel but I always encourage women to apply for academic posts
2	35 years, married SL	L6	If you are talking about employment equity, which is not my responsibility. If you want a job you apply. You qualify on your own merit. I follow the regulations that are given. Those women that have come into the system have not been wanting.
3	45 years, married SL	L15	I only get involved at the short listing stage of the recruitment process with the final interviews and appointments being done at head office level.
4	45 years married, SL	L19	There is no equity principles involved. It is advised to employ and promote women but it is not compulsory to do so. In any case I am not in the final selection panel.

Women's experience of their involvement in the recruitment process manifests in the data as follows: criteria for appointment; composition of selection committees and gender equity legal framework for appointment of women.

6.1.2.1 Criteria for appointments

The lack of a paradigm shift on the aspect of merit appointments surfaced through the above data (Table 4; L6; In. 2), is one of the factors that impact on female academics in the Zimbabwean universities that were covered by the study. In the views of one interviewee, (Table 4; L6: In 2), female academics should not look forward to employment equity for appointment, but should qualify on their own merit. The respondent (Table 4; L6: In. 2) argues for the use of the available merit regulations because in her view, those women who were appointed on the merit system have not been wanting in academic quality.

Such lack of paradigm shift from the merit approach in appointments by some of the women who have made it to the top in Higher Education is another factor that impacts negatively on the appointment and advancement of women in Zimbabwean Higher Education. The woman, a Dean (Table 4; L6; In. 2), advocates for fellow women to be appointed into academia on merit.

The implication based on the available data is that she herself is a product of the old school of meritorious appointments in academia. As such she operates to the disadvantage of fellow female academics by supposedly denying them appointments on a criterion based on gender equity principles (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3.1). Such a view resonates with the Condoleezza Rice attitude at Stanford in the nineteen eighties in which as Provost, she advocated for diversifying academy through the appointment of capable and talented women like herself and others who had made it to the top despite the barriers (Maher and Tetreault, 2007). While Condoleezza Rice's position then is admirable, nevertheless it plays to the disadvantage of the majority of female academics who might not be in a position to be mentored or to get favourable conditions in their careers for

opportunities that enhance and nurture them to achieve success (Maher and Tetreault, 2007).

The merit approach to the appointment of female academics advocated for by the female Dean in one of the institutions, while it resonates with some of the international literature (Maher and Tetreault, 2007), is a minority view which works to the disadvantage of women. It is not in agreement with the view of feminist scholars who advocate for changes in organization of social relationships which lead to changes to representation of power (see Radical feminism, Chapter 3, Section 3.5.1 and Post-modernist feminism, Chapter 3, Section 3.5.7). One of the challenges faced by women with regard to the retention and progression of female academics in the researched universities is the attitude of those females who have made it to top positions on the merit criteria towards the advancement of other female academics. In the views of the female Dean appointments of women to top positions within the institutions should not be done through affirmative action but on merit. They should fight it out with males in order to make it to the top - a disadvantageous position for women because of low numbers and prejudice - as has been shown by this study.

6.1.2.2 Composition of selection committees

There is a suggestion from the above data (Table 4; L1; In. 1) that the role of women in the recruitment process within the researched Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education is limited to the preliminary stages of the process. The above data (Table 4; L1; In. 1) suggests that most female academics do not participate in the final selection panel for the recruitment of academics. In that regard, there is a deduction from the data that female academics are excluded from the final selection panels which make important decisions on appointments. In the views of respondent, (Table 4; L15; In. 3), female academics only get involved at the short listing stage of the recruitment process with the final interviews and appointments being done at head office level. The views of the above respondent, (Table 4; L15; In.3) are echoed by another, (Appendix 2: 2b; L4; In. 1) who says that,

Although I sit on the interview panel, the final selection is done by the top management who are men (Appendix 2: 2b; L4; In. 1).

From the above statement, the implications from the data are that female academics play a limited role in the recruitment process in so far as the preliminary first stages are concerned. The final stages of the recruitment process are done by men at a higher management level of the researched institutions. As a result, the limited role played by female academics in the recruitment process of academics has a negative effect on the appointment and progression of women in the researched universities. The aspect of male domination in management posts (Appendix 2: 1a; L7; In. 2) places a further difficulty in the career path of women entering Higher Education institutions as academics since men dominate the interview committees and are likely to recruit men ahead of women (see Mama, 2005; Mkandawire; 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007)

The final decision is made by top management who at the time of the study as outlined earlier, were mostly male (Chipunza, 2003). Such a condition in the institutions of Higher Education has an adverse effect on the appointment and advancement of female academics. As discussed earlier, the domination of university selection committees by men resonates with international literature, which recognizes it as a global phenomenon. However, as shown above, in the Zimbabwean situation, because of a small number of female academics within the researched institutions compared to males in the international scenario, it is a serious challenge to the retention and progression of female academics within the universities (see Chapter 3, section 3.6.4.2).

6.1.3 The composition of the academic workforce

There are a number of factors concerning issues of gender equity with respect to the teaching establishment at the faculty level which have emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 2a) gathered at the researched universities in Zimbabwe. The response of female academics on the impact of gender equity related factors which have a negative impact on women was unanimous to the following question: **How is equity maintained in terms of teaching establishment at the faculty level?**

In the following section, I have isolated certain important aspects of the data concerning the issue of gender equity insofar as this resonates with the international literature on the topic, but at the same time the data also gives me some insight into the uniqueness of the Zimbabwean context.

Table 5: Gender equity in the shape of teaching posts

Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
40 years, married, SL	L1	There is no gender equity policy in place at this institution. Both men and women compete for posts on an equal basis.
35 years, married SL	L6	Males dominate. There is only one female Dean and there are more men than women among lecturers.
35 years, married SL	L14	They are supposed to hire both men and women on a fair basis but they don't seem to be implementing that policy at all. More men than women are lecturers.
45 years married, Professor	L16	There is conservatism in terms of change as authorities are not readily implementing affirmative action for women in appointments and promotions.

Surfaced by the data are the following themes mentioned by respondents with regard to equity in teaching establishment: the gendered shape of the academic workforce; gender equity legal framework for appointments and conservatism in the appointment of female academics.

6.1.3.1 Gendered shape of the academic workforce

With respect to the above data, the shape of the academic workforce in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education is skewed in favour of men. According to the data (Appendix 2: 2a; L9; In. 2), there is under-representation of female academics in science subjects. As discussed in Chapter 3, socialization at an early age leads to the stereotyping of subjects being suited to males or females. In that respect very few women study in the natural science fields which may explain the unavailability of female academics in some science subject areas.

As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, section 3.6.3), the problem of the under-representation of women in science subjects is a global phenomenon. Such a scenario has been extensively outlined earlier as it is experienced both in Zimbabwe and on a global basis. The data (Appendix 2: 2a; L15; In. 3) suggests that in the researched Zimbabwean universities scenario, the under-representation of women in the sciences is exacerbated by the fact that the phenomenon of under-representation exists in every subject. Such a view is evident in the following statement:

The institution has a domination of males as lecturers in almost every subject area (Appendix 2: 2a; L15; In. 3).

The above statement surfaces the view that female academics are under-represented in almost every discipline within the universities. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.3), in the experiences of one participant, (Appendix 2: 2a; L12; In. 3), female academics experience loneliness as a result of this under-representation of female academics in the researched universities. She (Appendix 2: 2a; L12; In. 3), also points out that the women find themselves isolated with no other females to relate to and share ideas with. It is generally accepted that the sharing of ideas is important for both academic growth and development of academic collegiality. The factor of loneliness at the workplace impacts on the level of productivity and development on the part of the female academics. It has been outlined earlier that productivity in the form of research and publications is essential for advancement in Higher Education institutions. Loneliness of female academics in male dominated institutions resonates with international literature and is a factor which works against the retention and progression for female academics.

Furthermore, under-representation of female academics in institutions of Higher Education is exacerbated by the low rate at which Zimbabwean women are attracted to the institutions of Higher Education. In the words of a respondent:

Most women are not coming into lectureship jobs. Most lecturers here are men (Appendix 2: 2a; L20; In. 4).

The implication of the above statement is that there is a perception that women are not sufficiently attracted towards a career in university teaching. A number of factors have been cited for the lack of a critical mass of female academics in the Zimbabwean universities. The plight of Zimbabwean academics in the researched universities is exacerbated by the aspect of a poor salary regime (Appendix 2: 1c; L9; In. 2). The salary paid to academics is not attractive enough to attract female academics to the teaching profession in sufficient numbers. Most qualified women choose to go into business where they get better returns on their skills inputs. As one respondent (Appendix 2: 1c; L3; In. 1), points out the situation regarding poor salaries is intertwined with that of the Zimbabwean economy which is performing poorly and affects both men and women (Maunde, 2003). The condition of poor salaries even has a negative effect on the motivation of senior academics to stay in the institutions (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). As a result, female academics are also not motivated to join Higher Education institutions as it is difficult for academics to carry on with their research and publication activities without sufficient motivation and an acceptable salary support system (Appendix 2: 1c; L9; In. 2), (Maunde, 2003). This is an important factor which affects both women and men in the researched universities. (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007), point out that, unlike in the global situation, Zimbabwean lecturers have had to bear the brunt of a debilitating economic meltdown which left them at one time without a salary, except for an allowance of \$100 per month. Such a situation is a factor which works to the disadvantage of the retention and progression of not only female, but also male academics within all the researched universities.

Moreover, as outlined earlier, the shape of the academic workforce in the country is exacerbated by a number of factors, such as the number of qualified women candidates available in the country as well as the interview criteria for appointment. Furthermore, due to the brain drain, discussed earlier, there has been an exodus of qualified academics to greener pastures elsewhere outside the country leaving behind a void in terms of experienced and qualified university lecturers (Maunde, 2003;

Gaidzanwa, 2007). As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.2) the production of unequal gender relations through fields of study, partly by way of socialization of females at an early age, leads to the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations in universities. In addition, the situation of the brain drain resonates with the manifestations of the World System Theory in so far as people from the developing countries form a reservoir of cheap labour for the developed countries (see Chapter 3, Section 3.4.1).

From the above data, it is evident that all four universities have a majority of male lecturers compared to females. This situation affects the retention and progression of female academics within these institutions.

6.1.3.2 Gender equity legal framework for the appointment of women

It has emerged from the data that those female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions are affected negatively by the absence of an operational legal framework for appointment in terms of gender equity within the institutions. The above data (Table 5, L1; In. 1) suggests that there is no gender equity policy in place in the researched Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education. According to an interviewee (L1; In. 1), both men and women have to compete for posts on an equal basis. Her view is supported by the data from a respondent at another university (Table 5, L19; In. 4), who suggests that there is no employment equity policy concerning the appointment of female academics in the institutions of Higher Education. The respondent (L19; In. 4), reports it is recommended to employ and promote women, but it is not compulsory to do so. According to the data, the same views are echoed by a respondent (Table 5, L10; In. 2) from a third institution.

Since Zimbabwean universities are a male dominated space it makes the situation more difficult for female academics with respect to the achievement of parity in appointments to positions within the institutions (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5.1). This view is supported by the data (Table 5; L14; In. 3) with the reported view of the respondent that because of the non-implementation of a gender equity policy, there are more men among lecturers than women. Throughout the interaction with respondents all participants agreed

that as a result of men being the majority holders of positions of authority in Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions, the situation does not augur well for the appointment of female academics (Chipunza, 2003). Another participant, (Table 5; L6; In. 2), supports this view. Her response concurs with this assertion when the respondent says that there are very few women Deans and there is male domination in lectureships. The implication from the above data is that the non-existence of a gender equity policy has an effect on the appointment of women to positions in the researched Higher Education institutions.

The non-existence of a gender equity policy as surfaced by the respondents leaves aspiring women stranded without any recourse to law should they not get appointed or promoted. In that regard, the suggested lack of clarity on gender equity policy for the appointment and promotion of female academics affects women adversely. Gaidzanwa, (2007) concurs that at the university level, none of the universities selected for the study have a gender equity policy which is in operation. As outlined earlier, while it is mentioned that there is a gender equity policy in place at one of the researched universities (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.5.1), the situation on the ground shows a different reality. As outlined earlier, with regard to national gender policy implementation, this process has been left to the discretion of individual institutions of Higher Education (Chabaya et.al, 2010).

The uniqueness of the absence of a working gender equity legal framework except in draft form within all four universities that were researched is that, despite the existence of a national gender equity legal framework and the existence of international legal frameworks in operation in various institutions globally, in the Zimbabwean situation there is an implementation gap at the institutions of Higher Education. In that regard, the gender equity legal framework implementation gap is a factor which has a negative impact on the progression and promotion of female academics in all four researched universities. In that respect, a chance to experience improvement of life time opportunities for female academics in the researched universities is arrested. This

implementation gap works against the advocacy by Liberal feminists for change through the use of law (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3.1).

6.1.3.3 Conservative approaches to the appointment and promotion of women

In the views of a respondent, (Table 5; L16; In. 4), there is a conservative approach to the appointment and promotion of female academics as authority holders are reluctant to implement affirmative action policies within the universities. Although the responsibility was left by the government to the individual institutions to come up with their own gender equity policy frameworks to minimize the disadvantage to women, most universities' gender equity policy frameworks are still at draft stage or non-existent (Gaidzanwa, 2007). The lack of tangible gender equity policy frameworks within the researched Zimbabwean universities, therefore, affects women negatively in terms of appointments and promotions.

In addition, the above data (Table 5, L1; In. 1) surfaces the aspect of the ineffective recruitment process which is exacerbated by a number of factors, such as the number of qualified women candidates available in the country as well as the interview criteria for appointment. There is no critical mass of female academics qualified to teach in particular science subject areas within the country. Furthermore, due to the brain drain, discussed earlier (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5.1), there has been an exodus of qualified academics to greener pastures elsewhere outside the country leaving behind a void in terms of experienced and qualified university lecturers (Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Nonetheless, the factor of conservatism in the appointment and promotion of female academics is intertwined with the already discussed factor of the non-implementation of gender equity policy, as well as the lack of a critical mass of suitably qualified female academics to appoint. These and other factors affect the appointment, retention, and progression of female academics negatively in all four selected universities that were covered by the study.

In the next section I discuss the factors that impact on the retention and progression of senior women academics with respect to the core functions of academics within the universities.

6.2 Core Functions

6.2.1 Teaching

One of the core functions assigned to academics within institutions of Higher Education is teaching (see Chapter 3, section 3.6.9.3). Among other functions, academics need to perform at least at a satisfactory level in the teaching sphere in order to be advanced. As outlined earlier, those doing the teaching in Zimbabwean universities in the pre-independence era have been mostly men, while women served as secretaries and cleaners (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.1.4). In the post-independence era, which started in 1980, we begin to see the involvement of women as lecturers, albeit in small numbers.

This section provides an account of the issues which have a negative impact on the advancement of women that arise from the role of female academics as lecturers. Briefly, this section will address issues in the teaching environment as well as the adequacy of support services for the advancement of female academics within the researched institutions.

This section seeks to address the experience of respondents as role players in the university teaching environment which was articulated in their responses to the following question: **Tell me about your experience as a woman academic in your institution with reference to the environment and support services?**

The data (see Appendix 2: 3a) surfaces a number of factors that are responsible for the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations with respect to the teaching function of academics. The factors are as follows: heavy workload; acceptance of the existing position in terms of gender power relations by women; shortage of resources; dissemination of information on career development and criteria; male domination in

management; lack of funds and unavailability of computers and internet facilities. (see Appendix 2: 3a)

Table 6: Factors with regard to the teaching environment and support services

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	Most women accept the situation as it is. It is important to point that out. Excessive workload is really a major challenge. One is supposed to perform like everyone else despite the work load. I am alone in this department.
2	45 years, married SL	L8	Decisions on who should go on staff development are made by top management and the criteria on who goes for staff development is not clear.
3	45 years, married SL	L11	The only hick up is money. The institution has no money for staff training
4	45 years married, SL	L20	There is a bigger workload due to staff shortages and limited funds to hire part-time staff for support.

The above data surfaces a number of themes with respect to the experience of female academics with regard to the core function of teaching assigned to academics in the four Zimbabwean institutions that were researched. The aforementioned data surfaced the following themes which are discussed below: workload; criteria for staff development; unavailability of resources. The issue about decision- making follows later.

6.2.1.1 Workload

This section provides an account of the reported experience of female academics regarding the aspect of work load; that is the amount of teaching that female academics have to do within the institutions of Higher Education. The above data (Table 6, L1; In. 1) suggests that female academics within the researched institutions are affected by having to teach excessive work loads. The respondent (Table 6, L1; In. 1) points out that despite the excessive teaching load she is supposed to perform like everyone else

although she points out that she is alone in the particular department. A respondent from another institution, (Table 6, L20; In. 4), explains that the bigger teaching loads are a result of limited funds within the institution as they cannot afford to hire part-time staff who can take on the extra teaching load. In that regard, female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities are forced by circumstances to bear the brunt of heavy teaching loads. Universities in Zimbabwe experience a high vacancy rate as a result of an exodus of academics to other countries exacerbated by the difficulties involved in replacing the departing lecturers at the same rate as the departures occur (Maunde, 2003). Maunde (2003) confirms that the brain drain has resulted in academic staff shortages. Such a view is also the reported position of the following respondent, (L4; In. 1) who points out that:

The workload is big due to staff shortages. We are forced by the situation to share the available teaching load (Table 6, L4; In. 1).

The implication from the data (L4; In. 1) is that female academics are forced by the situation of the shortage of lecturers to share the extra teaching load. Excessive work load or imbalances in the work load are an adverse condition for senior selected academic women in the institutions of Higher Education as they are left with little time for research and publishing (Currie, et. al., 2002; Wolf-Wendel and Ward, 2006). The absence of research and publications leads to failure to be promoted to a higher rank within the institutions of Higher Education as this is a key result area for advancement. As shown above, most senior and influential academics in Zimbabwean universities are men (see Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007, Barnes, 2007). Furthermore, there is a view that seniority determines workload (Tsikata, 2007). In that regard, because of women's subordinate position to men as they are mostly junior academics, the implication from the data is that they end up with heavy teaching loads which may affect their productivity in other core functions for academics. The aspect of heavy workloads resonates with international literature and is a global phenomenon that affects junior academics. As outlined earlier, in the researched Zimbabwean universities, most female academics are junior lecturers. As a result heavy teaching loads affect female academics more than males as they are mostly junior compared to males (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.7). Heavy

workloads are therefore a factor which affects the retention and promotion of female academics in the researched universities in Zimbabwe.

6.2.1.2 Criteria for staff development opportunities

This section highlights the reported factors that affect female academics with respect to staff development within the researched universities. Staff development involves the training of academic staff in a variety of areas of specialism in order to enhance their teaching skills. Such development can also include training at higher levels of learning such as Doctoral studies. It has emerged from the data (L8; In. 2) that the absence of a clear staff development policy in the researched universities works against the advancement of female academics. According to (Table 6, L8; In. 2), decisions on who should go on staff development courses are made by top management and the criteria on who goes for staff development are not clear (see Human Capital Theory, Chapter 3, section 3.4.3). Furthermore, the data (Table 6, L15; In. 3) suggests that the situation is exacerbated by the fact that information on staff development is not easily availed to staff (see Section 3.6.6). The implication from the data is that female academics are not given the opportunity to go on staff development courses. There are unequal access opportunities for women to Higher Education in African universities, especially since women are portrayed and treated as subordinate (Odejide, 2007). There is no support in the form of staff development and this is a factor which has a negative effect on Zimbabwean female academics in the four universities that were covered by the study.

6.2.1.3 Availability of teaching resources

This section provides a brief discussion on the experience of female academics in the researched institutions with reference to teaching resources. Teaching resources that are needed for the execution of teaching duties include books and funds. The data surfaces more factors that affect female academics with regard to support services such as the shortage of resources in all four institutions. The data (Table 6, L11; In. 3) suggests that there is a shortage of monetary resources. According to the data (Table 6, L20; In. 4), the shortage of funds also leads to the inability of institutions to hire part-time staff to assist with the workload. In the views of (L5; In. 1), there is a shortage of other resources such

as computers and internet facilities. Moreover, according to (Table 6, L20; In. 4) there is a shortage of staff within the institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe. The shortage of human resources impacts on the workload for academics. In the views of (L9; In. 2), in addition to the shortage of teaching resources such as computers discussed earlier, there is also a shortage of books. In that respect, one of the factors that impact negatively on female academics in the institutions covered by the study is a shortage of books for research and teaching purposes. This shortage of resources makes it difficult for women to achieve their teaching function goals which are crucial for advancement. The aspect of the shortage of resources is exacerbated by the general lack of funding for public institutions due to the current poor economic situation in Zimbabwe (see Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

In the next section I discuss the factors which affect female academics with respect to the core function research.

6.2.2 Research

6.2.2.1 Women in Research

Research is one of the core functions of academics within universities in Zimbabwe. As outlined earlier, female academics in Zimbabwean universities are not able to publish as much as men. This view is echoed by Gaidzanwa (2007) who argues that men are able to produce more than female academics in terms of publications. Research also plays a dominant role in the academic reward system (Fair-weather, 1996 in Rhoades, 2007).

In the views of an interviewee, (Appendix 2: 3b; L6; In. 2), mostly men engage in research projects. In that regard, the data (Appendix 2: 3b; L6; In. 2) suggests that women need encouragement to go out on research projects. The implication from the data is that men are more likely to take part in research than female academics. (Powney and Weiner, 1992), suggest that female academics are not able to publish as much as the men due to household issues. There are several barriers that act against Zimbabwean female academics in the researched institutions with respect to doing research and produce

publications. The experience of female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities was evident in their responses to the following question:

Tell me about your experience into accessing funds and other resources for research?

The data (see Appendix 2: 4) surfaces a number of factors with respect to access to funding and other research resources for female academics in the four Zimbabwean universities that were researched.

Table 7: Research resource constraints

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	People are affected by economic factors. They cannot publish. There is no provision for publishing.
2	45 years, married SL	L7	There are limited funds for conferences. In most cases these are used by senior people in the institution.
3	45 years, married SL	L15	There are no computers and internet facilities for research purposes. We are forced to use expensive private internet providers
4	45 years married, SL	L20	You can only attend a conference if you are a presenter because of the money involved. This is difficult.

The following themes will be discussed in the next sections: publications; conference attendance and research infrastructure.

6.2.2.2 Publications

This section provides a brief discussion on the aspect of publications as a key result area for academic promotions. As outlined earlier (see Section 3.6.8), academics are measured against a record of research and publications for advancement purposes. The above data (Table 8; L1; In. 1) suggests that those academics in the researched Zimbabwean

universities are affected by economic factors with respect to publications. According to (Appendix 2:4; L5; In. 1), there is not enough money for research purposes. The data (Appendix 2: 4; L11; In. 3), also suggests that there are challenges of finances that impact on female academics in this area while one respondent, (Appendix 2: 4; L6; In. 2) cites similar challenges of finance that impact on female academics in the area of research and publication. Zimbabwe is undergoing an economic crisis which has resulted in the under par funding of Higher Education institutions as the state fails to raise enough funds for the public purse (national fiscus). The implication from the data is that the exigencies of the economic situation exacerbated by the inability by institutions of Higher Education to provide funds for publishing purposes by academics is a barrier for women's involvement in publication. As outlined earlier, one of the key result areas for promotion for academics is publications. Generally female academics save for a few senior female academics in the institutions that were covered by the study, are affected by the unavailability of funds for publishing and are, therefore, unable to fulfill this important key result area for advancement. As a result, their retention and progression in the institutions of Higher Education is limited due to unavailability of funding, which has a negative impact on their life time chances in these universities. As outlined earlier, the uniqueness of the Zimbabwean situation with regard to women's limited publication efforts is that on an international level female academics are at least able to publish, albeit not always at the same rate as males (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.4.1).

6.2.2.3 Conference presentation and attendance

In this section I discuss the experiences of female academics from the researched universities with regard to conference attendance. Conference attendance and presentations form a major part of the developmental aspect of academics. Conferences contribute significantly to an academic's research output and development. The above data (Table 8, L7; In. 2), suggests that funds for conferencing are limited and that these limited funds are in most cases used by senior people within the institutions (Barnes, 2007). In the views of a respondent, (Appendix 2: 4; L13; In. 3), it has been difficult to attend any conferences as lecturers are told that there is no money for this activity, while according to another person, (Appendix 2: 4; L4; In. 1), conference attendance in their

institution is very competitive due to limited funds. A further participant, (Appendix 2: 4; L4; In. 1), agrees that mostly senior men go to conferences while another respondent (Appendix 2: 4; L18; In. 4) also suggests that there are limited funds for conferences and research.

The implication from the data is that newly appointed academics are not able to attend conferences in order to learn from experienced fellow academics. As discussed earlier, the majority of female academics in Zimbabwe occupy the junior ranks of the profession (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). female academics in the Zimbabwean universities that were covered by the study are consequently adversely affected by the limited funds available for conference attendance. As mentioned above, it is through conference attendance that academics are able to form publications and research networks in addition to publishing their research findings in international, national and regional conference proceedings for critical scrutiny by fellow academics and sharing of knowledge and academic growth.

Furthermore, the above data (Table 8, L20; In. 4), suggests that because of the shortage of funds, people can only attend a conference if they are presenters, further defeating the purpose of conference attendance by new academics as learning platforms for academic growth. If female academics in all the researched Zimbabwean universities are not able to attend conferences, it is a situation which impacts negatively on their promotional chances and is not conducive to the cultivation of equal gender relations within these universities. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.4.1), this situation is unlike the international situation in which female academics are able to be productive in research and publications although not at the same rate as men.

6.2.2.4 Research infrastructure

This section discusses the experiences of female academics in the four Zimbabwean institutions that were researched with regard to the impact of research infrastructure on their research efforts. Research infrastructure includes resources such as libraries, internet facilities, reading rooms and computers. It has emerged from the above data that research

facilities are scarce. (Appendix 2: 4; L9; In. 2) says that there are limited research facilities in the form of computers and internet. In the reported views of a respondent, (Appendix 2: 4; L9; In. 2), it is difficult to publish or attend conferences as a result of the limited research facilities while a respondent from another institution (Appendix 2: 4; L19; In. 4) suggests that internet facilities are not available and that academics have to use those facilities in the street, which are expensive. The view of a previous respondent, (Appendix 2: 4; L9; In.2), is echoed by another respondent (Appendix 2: 4; L15; In. 3) who suggests that there are no computers and internet facilities for research purposes. Furthermore, the data (Table 8, L15; In. 3), surfaces the view that because of the unavailability of the aforesaid research infrastructure, academics are forced by these circumstances to resort to the use of private internet providers who are expensive. In that regard, the implication from the data is that not all academics are able to afford the use of private providers of research facilities. The unavailability of resources in the form of computers and internet facilities therefore has a negative effect on the advancement of Zimbabwean female academics in so far as their achievement of the key result areas of research and publications is concerned (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.8).

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In the views of a participant, (Appendix 2: 3a; L5; In. 1) unavailability of resources such as computers and internet facilities is a factor which acts as a barrier against the advancement of all academics, in particular both female and junior male academics in the researched institutions. As outlined earlier there are no computers and internet facilities at most institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe (Gaidzanwa, 2007). In addition, we learn that it is difficult to achieve key result areas for advancement such as research; publishing and conference presentations because of the unavailability of the aforementioned resources (Gaidzanwa, 2007). In that regard, the implication from the data as put by the respondent, (Table 8, L 15; In 3), is that the absence of key resources of computers and internet facilities is a barrier in all four Zimbabwean universities that were covered by the study as they are not able to achieve important key result areas in order to be advanced. However, as discussed in an earlier section, this situation affects females more than males insofar as they are a minority and form the junior categories of academic grades.

Gaidzanwa (2007), observations on internet facilities at the UZ indicate that some search engines such as yahoo do not work on campus during normal working hours. Yahoo is only available before 8 am and after 4.30 pm when people are going home. In the views of Gaidzanwa, such a situation affects married academics with children, particularly women, who cater for their children and spouses in the mornings before and in the evening after work. The uniqueness of this situation is that, as outlined earlier, contrary to the international situation, where access to research infrastructure has since become a less important challenge with the proliferation of computer and information technology coming to institutions of Higher Education. This is however a symptom of the situation in most developing countries regarding technical development (see World Systems theory, Chapter 3, Section 3.4.1).

In the next section I discuss the factors that affect senior women academics with respect to the function of administration.



6.2.3 Administration

In this section, factors that impact on the advancement and progression of female academics with regard to the core function administration are highlighted. I will discuss the experiences of women regarding their role in institutional administration (see Appendix 2: 2: 5). As pointed out above, administration is another of the core functions assigned to academics in Higher Education institutions. In administration, academics are involved in university service such as sitting on important decision-making committees and executing university business. In the views of Kasambira (1998), administration is the process of working with and through others to accomplish organizational goals efficiently. The extent to which female academics participate in administration - that is their role in decision-making and participation in committees within Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions is one of the factors that impact on the advancement of female academics. Their experience in this regard manifests in their responses to the following question: **Tell me about your experiences and participation in decision making and committee representation**

A number of factors with regard to female participation in decision-making and committees emerged from the data as follows (see Appendix 2: 3b): male domination in administration; low participation of females in decision-making situations and committees and the attitude of males towards females. In the following section I discuss those aspects of the data I have selected which have a bearing on international literature and are relevant to the Zimbabwean situation.

Table 8: Women's participation in decision-making and other committees

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	Zimbabwe being a patriarchal society, there is always that patriarchal influence. Some of these are traditional. Eyebrows are raised when a woman is promoted. However when men are promoted, it is considered normal.
2	35 years, married SL	L6	Women are expected to conform to what males see. The male way of doing things because of the domination of males for example meetings at short notice, working at night.
3	45 years, married SL	L11	Multiple roles are a major challenge. Meetings of some committees for example Research Committee are called last minute and you are pushed to go to the meeting. It interferes with role as a mother, role as a woman. If I didn't have children, I wouldn't be bothered. The challenge is in taking up certain roles.
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	At a more senior level, there is a tendency for men to find some women a threat and try to push them down. Those that have got promoted have had to be more assertive.

Generally, the data in the above table surfaces a number of themes with regard to senior selected academic women's experience in decision-making and participation in university committees in the four selected Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education. The themes that emerged from the data are as follows: male domination in administration

levels; representation of women in university committees; and the attitude of male faculty towards female academics.

6.2.3.1 Male domination in administration levels

As outlined earlier, males mostly occupy positions at levels where they have decision-making power in the researched Zimbabwean institutions. In this section I provide a brief discussion on the experiences of female academics with regard to their participation in administration in the researched universities.

In the reported views of the respondent, (Table 9, L1; In. 1) eyebrows are raised when a woman is promoted. However when men are promoted, it is considered a normal event. The implication from the data is that there is an acute bias in the institutions that were covered by the study towards women joining administrative ranks. Furthermore, the data (L1; In. 1) surfaces the view that the ideal administrator is male. As outlined earlier, attitudes like that work against the advancement of female academics into administrative positions. In the reported view of one respondent, (Table 9, L6; In. 2), women's participation in administration is limited to what men see as fitting to their position. The data (Table 9, L6; In.2), further suggests that women are expected to conform to the masculine way of doing things such as calling meetings at short notice and working at night. In that regard, the implication from the data is that women in administration in the researched universities work under conditions that favour men. In that respect, the situation in administration ranks does not work well for female academics as shown by the following reported views of one of the respondents, (Appendix 2: 2c; L1; In. 1),

There is competition with males. Women in leadership are very few compared to men. Competition for posts with men is difficult. Men are more experienced (Appendix 2: 2c; L1; In. 1).

The implication from the above statement is that it is difficult for female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities to join administrative ranks because of having to compete with more experienced males. In the Higher Education environment (see Chapter 3; Section 3.6.3), one of the barriers to female academic advancement is male

domination in management positions (Farrell, 2007). In the views of another respondent, (Appendix 2: 5; L19; In. 4), there is little representation of women as men dominate committees and high ranking positions in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education. This finding is supported by (Chipunza, 2003).female academics are left out of decision-making positions (Chipunza, 2003, Gaidzanwa, 2007). Farrell (2007), points out that while women are now working in large numbers in management positions, their numbers are significantly lower than men's in top level management structures of organizations. Farrell (2007) argues that there is a 'Glass ceiling' that prevents women from reaching the top management positions. It is difficult for women to move up in male dominated organizations. As outlined earlier, most universities in Zimbabwe today are male dominated both at faculty level and at top post level. Women, therefore, find themselves restricted to lower level posts as well as being in the minority. This is particularly evident in institution 1, the oldest university and institution 2, a university of science and technology. However, male domination in management posts is also prevalent in institutions 3 and 4, despite the fact that institution 3 is led by a female head.

6.2.3.2 Representation and participation of women in university committees

Universities are run on a committee system, with the committees making important decisions concerning the operations of the institutions. It has emerged from the data (Appendix 2: 5; L20; In. 4) that there is under-representation of women in university committees in the researched universities in Zimbabwe. According to one respondent, (Appendix 2: 5; L20; In. 4), there are very few women in university committees and there are not many in the institution either.

Tsikata (2007) explains that institutional culture and national trends are to blame for the low representation of women in universities, while Barnes (2007:15) mentions that "gaining an academic position in an African university is challenging for women, and that maintaining it is even more difficult." A respondent, (Appendix 2: 5; L14; In. 3), points out that representation is by virtue of one's position in top level administrative posts and, there being very few women in top level posts, it is usually the case that one woman is surrounded by males in university committees. A respondent from another

university, (Appendix 2: 5; L4; In. 1), also supports the thoughts expressed by other respondents that institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe are male dominated, and also adds that men dominate university committees. Committee representation is based on seniority and women within the researched universities are mostly junior compared to men. Tsikata (2007) maintains that seniority is a factor in being able to serve on committees and boards. In that regard, the factor of women's limited participation in university committees in the four researched institutions in Zimbabwe affects their advancement within these institutions. The implication from the data is that female academics in the researched universities are not able to participate in decision-taking events which affect them (Appendix 2: 5; L10; In. 2), and the respondent reiterates that female academics are not able to be part of the decision-making process as they are not on any of the decision making committees. As a result important decisions are left in the hands of men at the expense of women, thus impacting negatively on the advancement of female academics.

(Appendix 2: 5; L11; In. 3) highlights the fact that women's multiple roles are a major challenge in their participation in university committees. A respondent, (Appendix 2: 5; L11; In. 3), also points out that committee meetings are called at the last minute and because of women's roles in the home as mothers and wives, they are not able to attend such meetings, further limiting their participation in decision-making. Another respondent (Table 9, L11; In. 3), also declares that committee meetings interfere with her role as a mother and as a woman. In that respect, Zimbabwean female academics experience a role conflict between their domestic role and their committee participation role in the researched universities.

Low participation of female academics at university committee level is a global phenomenon (Chapter 3, Section 3.6.4.2) and plays a role in the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations in universities. However, in the Zimbabwean situation, in all the researched universities this factor is exacerbated by the fact that there are very few female academics compared to males to make a significant impact on the retention and progression of female academics through decision-making.

6.2.3.3 The role of women in decision-making around teaching

This section highlights the reported factors that affect female academics within the researched institutions with regard to decision-making. The above data (Table 6, L1; In. 1), suggests that some female academics accept the subordinate role of women in the institutions of Higher Education without resistance. In other words, some women do not challenge male domination in management roles. Socialization at a young age plays an important part in one's gender identity vis-à-vis behaviour at an adult age. Girls have been traditionally socialized into displaying traditional personality traits of their societies (Johnson, 1993; Larry and Oaxaca, 1998).

As outlined earlier, exclusion of women in decision-making situations in Higher Education institutions is a global phenomenon. However, the difference in the treatment lies in the fact that female academics in African institutions are viewed to experience a more intense type of marginalization due to cultural and traditional differences. This is particularly so with male dominated institutions which are atypical to the African Higher Education landscape (Tsikata, 2007, Odejide, 2007). What is unique in the Zimbabwean context is that some of these women due to their cultural upbringing and socialization in the home and in society accept the subordinate position as it is. They do not challenge the status quo in which they are left out of the decision-making process on issues which affect them at work and which have an impact on their life time opportunities within the institutions of Higher Education.

The exclusion of female academics in decision-making situations with respect to the teaching load and the curriculum was evident in the data as revealed by the responses from the key informants to the following question: **Tell me about your experience in decision-making roles as a woman in your institution?**

A number of factors that affect female academics concerning their role in decision-making emerged from the data from all the researched universities (see Appendix 2: 307).

These factors were as follows: lack of consultation on decision-making concerning the allocation of teaching load and other important issues; women's non-involvement in curriculum development; non-involvement of women in research projects and consultancy outside the institutions and non-involvement of women in decision-making roles due to pressure of work involved.

Table 9: Women's experiences with regard to decision-making around teaching

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	45 years, married, SL	L5	Departmental management makes important decisions on the curriculum taught. One is only consulted during the allocation of the teaching load on their subject specialism
2	45 years, married SL	L7	Decisions on teaching load are made by top management who are mostly men. On curriculum development, most of the time, the curriculum to be followed is already in existence
3	45 years, married SL	L12	Decisions on the teaching load and the curriculum are in most cases done by a panel of senior people in the department
4	45 years married, SL	L17	Decisions on curriculum and teaching load are made by other people. Yours is to implement

In general, the data in the table above suggested a number of factors which impact on female academics in the four institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe concerning decision-making. When it comes to decision making, women in the researched Zimbabwean institutions are affected by a lack of consultation by the decision makers. The data (Table 7, L5; In 1) suggests that when it comes to decision-making concerning the curriculum female academics are not consulted. In the reported views of (L5; In. 1), consultation is limited to what subject one is able to teach in line with one's specialization. According to the response by (Table 7, L17; In. 3), decisions on curriculum and teaching load are made by other people while female academics have to implement those decisions. Furthermore, in the views of one of the respondents, (Table 7, L7; In. 2), decisions on teaching load are made by top management who are mostly

men. In addition, the respondent, (Table 7, L7; In. 2) mentions that in most cases the curriculum to be taught is already in place. In that regard, the implication from the data is that female academics implement the decisions which men make. Another respondent, (Table 7, L12; In. 3) indicates that decisions on the teaching load and curriculum are done by a panel of senior people in the department. A respondent from institution 1, (Appendix 2: 3b; L2; In. 1), agrees with the statements of former respondents. She adds that the chairman makes decisions on the teaching load. Chairpersons of university departments in the institutions that were covered by the study were mostly male.

In addition, the data (Appendix 2: 3b; L18; In. 4), suggests that female academics have minimum input in the curriculum as in most cases something already exists unless it's a new course. In the views of one participant, (Appendix 2: 3b; L10; In. 2), there is little consultation on what one teaches. The data (Appendix 2: 3b; L10; In. 2) further suggests that in the event of a new course offering, one can participate in developing the course structure, but the chairman makes the final decision. Moreover, the data (Appendix 2: 3b; L20; In. 4), suggests that people teach what is given to them as the situation is exacerbated by the shortage of lecturers in some subject areas. The implication from the above data is that female academics in all the researched institutions play a limited role in decision-making and that men make the important decisions on teaching operations.

As discussed in an earlier section (see Section Chapter 3, 3.6.4.2), the exclusion of women from decision-making positions is one of the factors that are responsible for the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations in the institutions of Higher Education (Mama, 2003; Morley, 2005; Odejide et al., 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007; Odejide, 2007). The retention and progression of female academics in all the universities in Zimbabwe that were covered by the study is inhibited by a number of factors around the aspect of women's exclusion in decision-making.

6.2.3.4 The attitude of male faculty towards female academics

In this section a brief discussion follows on the aspect of women's experiences within the researched institutions in Zimbabwe with regard to issues of people's attitudes towards

women's advancement. In order for female academics to move into decision-making positions, a respondent, (Table 9, L16; In. 4), states that being able to participate in decision-making women have to be assertive. According to her, (Table 9, L16; In. 4), there is a tendency for men to find some women a threat at a more senior level, and try to push them down. This respondent, (Table 9, L16; In. 4), argues that those women that have been promoted had to be more assertive than others who are in less senior positions (see Chabaya et.al, 2010). The implication from the data is that the tendency for men in senior decision-making positions to feel threatened by aspiring female academics is a factor which impacts negatively on the advancement of women.

Some female academics (Table 9, L1; In. 1) accept the situation of male domination in decision-making roles as it is without challenging the status quo. Not all female academics can be assertive in order to be promoted and are affected by senior male colleagues' behaviour to suppress aspiring female academics. Munro (1994) urges for assertiveness skills to be taught in school and reinforced within the workforce environment to nurture women as they progress in their careers.

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In the next section I indicate some of the factors emanating from the promotion process that impact on senior women academics.

6.2.4 Promotion process

The criteria for promotion in Zimbabwean universities are based upon a generally agreed spectrum of activities in which academics engage in the pursuit of academic excellence. As the Zimbabwean university is an off-shoot of British metropolitan universities of London and Manchester (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.3.1), the university in Zimbabwe adopted the culture and traditions of British metropolitan universities of research, publication and sabbatical leave. In that regard, the criteria for promotion in Zimbabwean universities are based upon a satisfactory achievement of the university functions of teaching, research, administration and community service. Millett (1962) argues that it is customary to speak of Higher Education as having three primary functions - instruction, research and public service.

6.2.4.1 Promotion policy: practices on the ground

In this section I discuss the position of female academics in the institutions covered by the study with respect to gender equity policy on the promotion of women within the institutions. As outlined earlier, although there is a national gender policy in place for the advancement of women in Zimbabwe, the implementation has been left in the hands of the individual institutions of Higher Education (Chabaya, et.al. 2010). It has emerged from the data (Table 10; L16; In. 4) that the absence of a clear policy on the advancement of women within the researched institutions is a barrier for the advancement of female academics.

The data (Appendix 2: 7; L4; In. 1) suggests that because of the lack of clarity on the policy for the advancement of female academics, not much is happening in terms of advancement of women to management ranks. Furthermore, the data (Appendix 2: 7; L12; In. 2) suggests that because of the absence of policies, the promotion of women is taken for granted and in practice women are not promoted as much as men are. The data (Appendix 2: 7; L12; In. 2) further suggests that from the past, men have had high positions and cannot be replaced easily as they have experience in the field:

There are no policies as such. It is taken for granted rather than the written policies. In practice women are not promoted as much as men do. From the past, men have had high positions and cannot move away. They have experience (Appendix 2: 7; L12; In. 2).

The implication from the data is that in the absence of a clear gender equity policy framework for the promotion of female academics, men have been promoted ahead of women as a result of their superior work experience. According to Chipunza (2003), that is the general situation at most of the researched institutions. This is unlike in the international situation in which there are gender affirmative action policies being used for the advancement of female academics, for example in South Africa (Subotzyky, 2003).

There are a number of barriers which prevent female academics from advancement to their fullest potential within the researched Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions

(see Appendix 2: 303). The experience of female academics with regard to barriers that prevent them from advancement was evident in their responses to the following question: **What kinds of barriers exist in your institution which prevents you or other women from rising to your fullest potential within the institution?**

The data raises issues of research and publication, male dominated promotion committees, the minority position of female academics, qualifications, competition with men, work and family double role conflict for women; discussed in an earlier section, men as leaders of institutions as opposed to women, funding issues and the aspect of male resistance to female leadership.

In the following section, I shall discuss a number of factors and barriers against the retention and progression of female academics which I selected for their uniqueness to the Zimbabwean context as well as their resonance with international literature as per the following table.

Table 10: Institutional factors which impact on the advancement of female academics

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L2	People who are in power are mostly male. They probably do not understand what women say when they complain about issues that affect them negatively as women
2	35 years, married SL	L10	There are no such policies. It is just that women are not in a position to move from one place to another for promotion if they are married.
3	45 years, married SL	L11	It may be a situation where women cannot move uprooting the whole family to where the promotional post is based, for example from Bulawayo to Harare or Mutare.
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	There are haphazard activities which are not well coordinated. Women are generally under privileged due to patriarchy as well as the past colonial policies which were not conducive for women to go to school

The following themes that emerged from the above data will be discussed below: work versus family, discussed in an earlier section; promotion policy, discussed above; composition of promotion committees and access to information on promotional posts.

6.2.4.2 Access to information on promotional posts

In this section, I provide a brief discussion on the experience of female academics in the researched institutions concerning the dissemination of information on vacant promotional posts (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.6). In the views of a respondent, (Appendix 2: 2c; L15; In. 3), the unavailability of information on promotional posts is another barrier that acts against the advancement of female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions. Sometimes important information on promotional posts is not easily availed to the disadvantage of female academics (Morley, 2005). It has been outlined earlier that in certain institutions, those who are in leadership positions at the institutions fill up promotional posts by sending invitations to apply to those people they want to advance. This is done to the disadvantage of “others” within the institution to which information on vacant promotional posts is not disseminated. In that regard, the unavailability of information on vacant promotional posts acts as a barrier for the advancement of women and other academics not in the know. In the next section the aspect of the composition of promotion committees is discussed.

6.2.4.3 Composition of promotion committees

This section covers the experiences of female academics in the researched institutions with respect to the composition of promotional committees and the effect on the promotion prospects of women. Committee representation is based on seniority. The data (Appendix 2: 2c; L2; In. 1) suggests that the people in power are mostly male who probably do not understand what women say when they complain about issues that affect them negatively. In the views of this respondent, (Appendix 2: 1b; L14; In. 3), committees in the researched institutions are dominated by males. Chipunza (2003) agrees that most universities in Zimbabwe are male dominated in terms of positions of authority.

As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9), a situation in the researched universities in which institutional leadership are mostly male acts as a barrier to women's advancement in a number of ways. There is a view that the dominant group- males - tend to guard their space by being suspicious of women; and use specific tactics to keep women out (Barnes, 2007). Traditional stereotypes within institutions of Higher Education associate leadership positions, for example the principal's position with masculinity, a view that hampers women's career progression in education management (Moorosi (2007).

In addition, Mbongo and Nchang (2008:66) say,

Ironically, UNESCO (1998a:2) argues that today , although there are no formal obstacles preventing women from reaching high positions in colleges and universities, men still dominate at all levels of influence.

In that regard, the university workplace is still dominated by men in leadership positions. In the views of Munro (1994), most women in large organizations still occupy support functions - areas where advancement opportunities and their ability to have a major impact upon organizational culture are limited.

The situation in which promotion committees are dominated by males in institutions of Higher Education is a global phenomenon as shown by the international literature (see Mama, 2005; Mkandawire; 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007). The same situation is pervasive in the researched universities in Zimbabwe and it is one of the factors which work to the disadvantage of the retention and progression of female academics in these institutions.

6.2.5 Criteria for promotion

In the following section the respondents commented on how institutional culture has acted as a barrier in terms of women's progression to higher level management posts as mentioned above (see section 6.1.2). The experience of female academics with regard to how institutional culture has acted as a barrier which prevents them from being promoted

to higher level management posts was evident in their responses to the following question: **How has the culture acted as a barrier in terms of promotion/ progression of women to higher level management posts?**

As outlined above, there are a number of factors related to culture that have emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 2e) which affect female academics both globally and in the universities that were covered by the study in Zimbabwe. In the next section I discuss some of the institutional cultural barriers that emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 2e).

Table 11: Cultural barriers to the progression of senior women academics

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	Promotion is through publishing. One needs to publish or they don't get promoted. It is purely on merit.
2	35 years, married SL	L6	If you are a woman, you are required to be very much qualified. You are required to have high qualifications to be H.O.D., but men with lower qualifications get appointed due to their experience. It is taken for granted that they are able to lead.
3	45 years, married SL	L11	Men in high positions think that things should be run the patriarchal way. For example, in this department men have been exchanging the chairmanship. When I came, there was one man and one woman, but when the man who was chairman left, they put in another man.
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	Issues of patriarchy are prevalent and I have experienced it in the last three years. For example three women and three men went for interviews to be Vice Principal and all three men got promotion despite their having lower qualifications than the women. Some of these men are old and have been around for too long.

It has emerged from the data that the following factors with regard to institutional cultural barriers are experienced by female academics: research and publications, discussed later; insufficient experience and qualifications.

6.2.5.1 Experience

As discussed earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.8.1), women's experience on the job is usually interrupted when they go on leave to have babies or when they break service to follow the husband as he goes from place to place in his career (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1.1.1). It has emerged from the data that while research, publications and higher qualifications play a part in promotions, there is also the aspect in which some promotions have been based on the criteria of seniority in terms of experience or length of stay in a particular job.

Aisenberg and Harrington (1988) argue that men's experience is usually uninterrupted as their careers come first, ahead of those of their wives due to strong patriarchy (see Human Capital Theory, Chapter 3, Section 3.4.3). They clock more experience than the women. In addition, it has been argued that some of the work that women do such as household chores, baby rearing, fetching firewood, tilling the fields and so on goes unrecognized for promotional purposes at work (Asiyanbola, 2005). It becomes difficult for women when it comes to compete for promotional posts with men as shown in the following statements by some of the respondents:

There is competition with males. Women in leadership are very few compared to men. Competition for posts with men is difficult. Men are more experienced at work (Appendix 2: 2c; L1; In. 1).

Lack of the required qualifications and experience among women is a barrier (Appendix 2: 2c; L14; In. 3).

The above statements suggest that insufficient work experience among female academics makes it difficult for women to compete on an equal basis with men for advancement within the researched institutions. As discussed earlier (see Chapter 2, Section, 2.3.3.1), Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education are male dominated with men having been

in the institutions right from their inception in the nineteen fifties while female academics mostly got into the academic picture in the post-independence era, that is since the nineteen eighties. As a result, there are more experienced male than female academics within the institutions of Higher Education (Gaidzanwa, 2007).female academics are impacted upon by the need for substantial work experience in order to compete on a par with highly experienced males. As a result, insufficient experience becomes a barrier for women's advancement in the institutions of Higher Education.

Munro (2007:11) argues, "The prerequisite for women who have reached the top has been for them to be better than men. Included in this is the need to demonstrate complete dedication to work, requiring a work history of continuous, fulltime employment." Munro further argues that business still believes in the traditional model of the executive who puts work before family. Hence the 2nd class status of the working mother is likely to remain unchanged. The above data from all four institutions including institution 3 which is headed by a female Vice-Chancellor suggests that female academics have to be highly experienced in order to be promoted in resonance with international custom. This is so, despite the perception created by the data presented by (Appendix 2: 8b; L 13; In. 3) that the female Vice-Chancellor is appointing and promoting mostly females ahead of males.

6.2.5.2 Qualifications

There is a culture of promotion through qualifications in the Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education that were researched. In this section I provide a discussion on the qualification criterion as a barrier for women's advancement in the researched institutions. The above data (L6; In. 2), suggests that women have to be highly qualified in order to be promoted to high level management posts. According to Munro (2007), institutional departments require doctorates for promotion and most females do not have these as they tend to do PhD's at a later stage of their career.

Moreover, it has emerged from the data that a majority of female academics in the institutions covered by the study have low qualifications. The data (see Table 10, L20; In. 4), suggests that women experience a problem in being promoted to higher level

management posts because there are more men in the Zimbabwean institutions (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007) of Higher Education and women need to have high qualifications in order to compete with men for promotion. The data (Appendix 2: 2e; L9; In. 2) suggests that competition with men is difficult due to the fact that one feels that they have to prove they can do whatever men can do. According to a respondent, (Appendix 2: 2e; L8; In. 2), there is always the pressure to perform well as one does not want to perform below the expected standard. The same views are echoed by a respondent from another institution (L5; In. 1) who suggests that it is difficult being a minority in an institution as attention seems to be centered on everything that you are doing. In the reported view of a further respondent, (Appendix 2: 2c; L14; In. 3) the need for the required qualifications among female academics is one of the barriers that work against the promotion of female academics. Female academics without the required qualifications have found it difficult to be advanced. Walby (1999) argues that discrimination against women in the academy is complex and shows its visibility at such key moments as those of recruitment and promotion.

6.2.6 Promotion barriers related to institutional culture

In this section I researched for the conduciveness of institutional culture to the advancement of female academics. I wanted to know in particular what effect, if any, institutional culture played on their promotional and developmental prospects. Women's negative experience on the effect of institutional culture on their promotional and advancement prospects inside the institutions of Higher Education is evident from the data that resulted from the following question: **To what extent does the institutional culture advance/ inhibit female academics?**

A number of barriers emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 2d) with respect to the promotion of female academics within the researched institutions of Higher Education. The same barriers as before emerge from the data (see Appendix 2: 2d): male culture in committees and senior posts; no policy regulation for women; culture of male leadership; individualism; academic culture and males as ideal examples of leadership.

Table 12: The impact of institutional culture on women's advancement

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	It depends, but the problem is numbers, there are more males than females in the institution, for example one woman surrounded by males in a committee.
2	35years, married SL	L6	This is a male dominated institution in the sense that the 1st four levels up to my level, there are very few women. I am the only female Dean. At the Vice-Chancellor, Pro Vice- Chancellor, Chairperson of Department levels, there are very insignificant numbers of women. There are very few women here.
3	45years, married SL	L11	The University runs on committee system. There is minimal representation where there are fewer people. It is in the committees where decisions are made. There are no women, for example there are 1 or 2 chairpersons who are women and 1 deputy dean.
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	Males dominate in positions of authority. Sometimes women withdraw from positions of authority. Women have handed over power in some departments. Men want the power.

It has emerged from the above data that one of the factors around the experience of female academics in respect to institutional culture is a culture of male dominance or leadership by men in the researched Zimbabwean universities. In the following section I will point out those aspects of the data I have selected with respect to their uniqueness to the Zimbabwean situation and links with international literature.

6.2.6.1 Male domination within the institutions of Higher Education

In this section I discuss the experience of female academics in the researched institutions with respect to cultural barriers. The data (Table 11, L6; In. 2) suggests that the culture of male domination is manifest and rather more pronounced in the researched Higher Education institutions in Zimbabwe than on the international scene. This is particularly so at the management and leadership levels of the four Zimbabwean institutions and is more

acute than at the international level (Table 11, L1; In. 1). Male domination in management is such that there are very few women in Higher Education management structures. In the views of a participant, (Table 11, L16; In. 4), men want the power to such an extent that sometimes women have withdrawn from positions of authority and handed over power to men in some departments. Those females who have given up on promotion are not interested in promotion any longer. Tsikata (2007:32) refers to a female professor's case as follows, "However, she appears to be exhausted by all the struggles of earlier years and professes a lack of interest in the highest offices in the university."

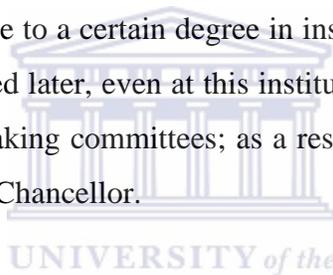
The implication from the data is that most informants feel that the culture in most universities in Zimbabwe today is not conducive to female advancement due to male domination at the top of the organizations or a culture of males occupying top posts (Gaidzanwa, 2007; Barnes, 2007).

Thelin (2007) explains that universities are governed through a committee system led by the university senate in which the most important decisions are made. In the views of Thelin (2007), in university governance decisions are made at committee level. One of the respondents, (Table 11, L11; In. 3), reiterates that university committees are male dominated. Decision-making is done by the university committees (L11; In. 3). This evidence shows that there is a culture of decision-making by men in the four institutions that were researched by the researcher. The condition in which the majority of institutional decision-makers are male is therefore not conducive to the advancement of female academics (see Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Globally (see Chapter 3), it has been argued that Higher Education institutional management areas remain male dominated spaces and that female academics find it difficult to operate under such conditions at work (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Gherardi, 1995; Morley, 2000).

Such a situation is indicative of the highly pronounced level of male domination in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education. The data (Appendix 2: 2b; L7; In. 2), continues to suggest that, as there are more males than females in the institutions there is

a culture of male domination in lectureships. In that regard, the situation of women's under-representation on university committees is exacerbated by women's under-representation as academics within the researched Zimbabwean universities (Gaidzanwa, 1992). A number of researchers also share the view that in Africa there are generally more men as lecturers than women (Teferra and Altbach, 2003; Mkandawire; 2005; Shackleton, 2007).

There is therefore a condition in which female academics find it difficult to operate in male dominated management institutional structures as indicative of the data (Table 11, L16; In. 4), a situation in which women have handed over power to men within the institution. Power in the four Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education, therefore, mostly rests in the hands of men. This situation is true for institutions 1, 2, and 4 with male Vice- Chancellors and true to a certain degree in institution 3 led by a female Vice-Chancellor. As will be discussed later, even at this institution, the data suggests that men are the majority in decision-making committees; as a result, they exercise power despite the presence of a female Vice- Chancellor.



Furthermore, it is evident from the above data provided by a participant, (Table 11, L6; In. 2), that, except for the faculty level in which the respondent is the only female Dean in the whole institution, institutional structures are run and controlled by men at the Department level - Pro Vice- Chancellor and Vice- Chancellor level. Such a condition is one of the impediments contributing to the slow rate of women's advancement in the institutions of Higher Education in African universities (Chipunza, 2003; Tsikata, 2007; Odejide; 2007).

The implication from the data (Table 11, L1; In. 1) is that the condition of under-representation of women on university committees has negative impact on female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities. As such, female academics are left out of important decision making processes affecting their operations. As discussed earlier, some of the important decisions made by committees include promotions and advancements within institutional structures such as faculties and departments as well as

other important decisions such as those to do with hiring and firing of academic staff, funding decisions for research and so forth.

A culture of male leadership is so pervasive at universities that the image of a leader is accepted as being that of a male (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9). Such a scenario is exacerbated by the fact that the professoriate in most institutions of Higher Education displays a male majority (Mama, 2003; Barnes, 2007; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

Furthermore, the data (Appendix 2: 2d; L15; In. 3) supports the prevalence of a culture of male domination, even in an institution under the leadership of a women academic as Vice- Chancellor. In that regard, female academics still complain of factors associated with male domination and the existence of a management ethos that is reflective of leadership by men. In the views of one respondent, (Appendix 2: 2d; L15; In. 3), in their university there is no culture of promoting women as only two Regional Directors are women and very few women are lecturers. This culture of male leadership is evident from the data, supported by one of the respondents in the following statement:

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We are led by a woman who has male advisors. Why does she need male advisors? Is she trying to speak through a male voice? Men dominate (Appendix 2: 1b; L15; In. 3).

It emerges from the above statement that the female Vice- Chancellor is relying on men as her mentors. In that regard she stands accused of speaking through men and leads through men's guidance. The implication from the data is that despite the leadership of a woman Vice- Chancellor, the management style is still that of a culture of leadership by men.

Traditionally universities are conservative places and they have been run by men from the time of their founding. In that regard, it has been argued that women managers in university management use masculine management styles (Priola, 2007). Such a scenario is exacerbated by the entrepreneurial culture intertwined with the managerialist ethos pervading universities making them competitive and difficult places to run (Currie, et. al,

2002; Priola, 2007). According to Odejide (2007), such a state of affairs makes African universities more suitable for masculine management styles. The deduction has to be that women Vice- Chancellors when promoted to the position of Vice- Chancellor run these institutions on male management styles to the disadvantage of female academics. The implication from the data is that female academics in all four Zimbabwean universities that were researched are impacted upon negatively by a male dominated institutional culture of management with respect to retention and progression. It is however, to be noted that women in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education are not alone in this kind of predicament as internationally, female academics are generally impacted upon negatively by male dominated institutional masculine management cultures (Jacobs, 1996; Mama, 2003; Priola, 2007; Gaidzanwa, 2007; Barnes, 2007).

I must, however, reiterate that the situation in the researched Zimbabwean institutions is of a more pronounced nature than the general international picture in which there are more women lecturers than men at some places.

According to Tsikata (2007), much of the difficulty experienced by women in terms of promotion rests in institutional cultures. In that regard, female academics in institutions of Higher Education experience challenges in terms of promotion due to insufficient experience, institutional culture and people's unchanging attitudes towards women as leaders. Institutional culture (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9), is therefore one of the barriers that is responsible for the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations in the institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe, but it is also a global phenomenon.

6.3 Stereotyping in the workplace

As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9.1), stereotyping is usually done by male workers through jokes and language at the workplace (Gherardi, 1995). Such jokes are meant to dampen or tone down the morale of those female academics that may be aspiring for higher office in order to discourage them from competing for the same posts with male colleagues. In this section I provide a discussion on the experiences of female academics on the aspect of female stereotyping in the institutions that were covered by

the study. As discussed earlier, stereotyping involves the making of statements or utterances that are prejudicial to female academics' standing as academics within the institutions of Higher Education. In that regard, stereotyping is a factor that operates in the interaction between male and female faculty.

It has emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 8b) that women in the researched Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education are impacted upon by a number of factors to do with the aspect of stereotyping at the workplace. When I researched the respondents on whether they had experienced prejudice and stereotyping in their work it became clear that female academics are exposed to a variety of conditions that are of a stereotypical nature by male colleagues as well as by other women. The experiences of female academics with regard to stereotypical factors were manifest in their responses to the following question: **Do you feel that you have been prejudged as a woman academic?**

Generally the data (see Appendix 2: 8b) surfaces a number of themes with respect to the subject of female stereotyping in the universities that were researched. Firstly, according to the data (see Appendix 2: 8b), the practice of female stereotyping occurs across all four researched universities. Secondly, stereotyping is practiced through a number of ways. In the next section, I have selected certain important aspects of the data which resonate with international literature on the topic but also show some insight into the uniqueness of the Zimbabwean context.

Table 13: Stereotyping guises

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	There are some people who engage in female stereotyping once in a while. They hide under the guise of making jokes
2	35 years, married SL	L6	Yes, there is female stereotyping in this place. There are a lot of biased statements about women being made
3	45 years, married SL	L11	Attributing negative roles to females, even females stereotype females, for example, 'females cannot do this and that', statements coming from other females. I have experienced it
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	That happens now and again for example, the statement that women refuse posts of responsibility, even some women stereotype those that want posts of responsibility

A number of factors pertaining to the practice of female stereotyping in the Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education were surfaced by the above data that include: stereotyping under the guise of jokes; through biased statements and attributing negative roles to females. Morley (2000) described stereotyping as involving rumour, gossip, sarcasm, humour, denial, throwaway remarks and alliance building. While the challenges of female stereotyping resonate with international literature, I also discovered a difference in the Zimbabwean context according to the above data (Appendix 2: 8b; L 11, In. 3), suggesting the existence of female to female stereotyping. While this resonates with international literature, it is not a common occurrence. The experiences of Zimbabwean female academics with regard to the subject of female stereotyping will now be discussed.

6.3.1 Joking

The above data (Table 13, L1; In. 1) suggests that one of the ways in which stereotyping is perpetuated within the institutions that were covered by the study is through jokes. As

outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9), such jokes may be in the form of throw away remarks as shown by the following statement:

If you look at ZOU, the VC is a lady. Women are also given a role. The Pro- VC Finance and the Finance Director are ladies. There are many ladies because the VC is a lady. Some people are now saying, “At ZOU, if you want promotion, just put on a skirt” (Appendix 2: 8b; L13; In 3).

From the above statement, it is evident that the promotion of women to higher level management posts has not gone down well with male academics within the institution. This is shown by the joke in which promotion within the institution is being labeled from the perspective of a female Vice Chancellor, who is promoting women. In that regard promotion is being jocularly linked to women within the institution through such statements as follows: “if you want promotion, just put on a skirt.” Such a statement gives a negative connotation to the promotion process within the institution as it implies that the promotion process is reserved for women. Stereotyping disguised as jokes is further echoed by the data (Appendix 2: 8b; L20; In. 4). As outlined earlier, stereotyping is one of the factors which affect female academics in Higher Education workplace in terms of advancement to higher level management posts (see Subotzky, 2001; Gaidzanwa, 2007). This situation also highlights one of the differences in the four universities covered by the study. In one of the universities the leadership is jointly shared by a female Vice Chancellor, while the other three universities are led by males. Had the university been under the leadership of a male, which is considered to be the norm, this kind of female stereotyping might have been different.

6.3.2 Biased statements

Another form of stereotyping that has emerged from the data is through statements that are biased against women within the researched institutions of Higher Education. One of the ways through which unequal gender relations have been viewed to be produced and reproduced at the workplace and in the everyday lives of women is through language. In that regard, the use of language, through biased statements is one of the ways in which female academics’ life time opportunities for advancement are impacted upon (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9). In the views of (Table 13, L6; In. 2) female stereotyping occurs

through the males making biased statements. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9), such statements may be in the form of utterances that put women in a bad light for promotion purposes as to their suitability and so forth. In the views of (Appendix 2: 8b; L14; In. 3), stereotyping may also happen through the attribution of negative roles to women. Moreover, stereotyping through biased statements that demean the capability of women at work is echoed by the data (Appendix 2: 8b; L17; In. 4 and L3; Ln.1). The existence of people who are in the habit of making such gender biased statements within the Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education is a factor that works against the advancement of female academics .

6.3.3 Attribution of negative roles to females

In this section I discuss stereotyping of women through the attribution of negative qualities to women. It has emerged from the data (Table 13, L16; In. 4) that another way in which female stereotyping has been carried on in the researched Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education is through the stereotyping of females as people who are incapable of assuming a leadership role in posts of responsibility. The data (Table 13, L11; In. 3) suggests that female academics are stereotyped as people who refuse posts of responsibility or filling leadership positions. What is unique about this aspect is that it has been surfaced by the above data (Table 13, L11; In. 3), that this kind of stereotyping occurs in instances where both males and females are involved. According to (Table 13, L11; In. 3), women portray other women who show ambition to accept leadership roles as incapable of assuming leadership positions. In that regard, fellow females are responsible for discouraging other female academics from aspiring to higher office. In the views of Gherardi (1995), such women have been socialized to believe that only men can lead, make decisions, and chair departments. As outlined earlier, such female behavior is a result of cultural socialization (see Chapter 5, Section 5.1) in patriarchal societies and such women are supporters of leadership by men.

As discussed earlier (Dual labour Market Theory, Chapter 3, Section 3.4.4), the segregation of the labour force, dividing it into ‘women’s work’ and ‘men’s work’ may help to explain this phenomenon. Barriers of convention and stereotypical expectations

exist in areas viewed as ‘male’ for women and these barriers are more subtle than, for example, the demands of child care (Brown, 1997:114). Gherardi, (1995) maintains that some female academics in universities are believers of division of labour in terms of their preference for male leadership as the norm at the expense of women’s advancement.

We are told by Atkinson (1996), that women are exposed to pressure to conform to cultural stereotypes. Atkinson (1996) further argues that manifestations of this pressure and typecasting vary among cultures, but its effect is to impede women’s right of choice. Atkinson also argues that depending on the culture, some of the stereotyping that is prevalent might be difficult to eliminate and women are usually expected to conform to the existing cultural norms. Women have choices to make, and bear the consequences of making those choices as there is always a price to pay for non-conformity (Atkinson 1996). Therefore, stereotyping of women varies from place to place depending on the cultural grouping.

The views of (Table 13, L16: In 4), corroborate with the above as she also maintains that female stereotyping is one of the conditions that work against the advancement of female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education. The situation is exacerbated by the existence of fellow female academics who are believers in male leadership. As such they stereotype other women who aspire to leadership in negative ways as shown by the following statement:

That happens now and again for example, the statement that women refuse posts of responsibility even some women stereotype those that want posts of responsibility (Table 13, L16; In.4).

The implication from the above data is that female stereotyping is one of the factors responsible for the production and reproduction of gender relations within institutions of Higher Education. Female stereotyping therefore is a challenge for the retention and progression of female academics in the researched universities in Zimbabwe. It has a negative effect on the lifetime chances of female academics in these institutions.

6.4 Patriarchy in the workplace

One of the factors that impact on women in Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions is that of cultural practices and expectations. Women in Zimbabwean society are bound by the cultural norms as these arise among the Shona and Ndebele – language speaking people. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1.1) these norms are gender-based. Of importance, is the extent to which these practices are carried over into the workplace, as evidenced by responses to the following question: **How have cultural factors in Zimbabwean society impacted upon you in your workplace?**

On a general level, a number of themes with respect to the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations from society in Higher Education institutions emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 1b). Firstly there is the aspect of cultural factors that impact on female academics in a Higher Education workplace. Secondly, there is the issue of perceiving women as subordinate to men in society, which is reproduced in Higher Education institutions and thirdly, there is the aspect of resistance to power exercised by females.



Given the above, I am interested in trying to understand the life chances of these women in Higher Education with respect to progression, retention and promotion given these gender forces from home and society and the conditions under which these women labour in the four institutions. Considering all of this the following questions arise: how do they engage and interact within the work situation; what are their chances of success in these institutions; how far can they progress; what barriers do they come up against; and what are the challenges that they face? In order to elucidate the issues raised in this section, certain key factors based on the data which are in line with the international literature on the topic, but give an insight into the Zimbabwean context are discussed below.

Table 14: The impact of cultural factors on senior women academics at the workplace

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	I am the only female fulltime lecturer out of 10. There are very few females entering the profession and women are less mobile. As the only woman, there are obstacles of being alone for example in a bar at a workshop venue; I will be the only female who will join my male colleagues for institutional gossip. The problem of culture then comes in. I grew up in a free society but here people will say that I am someone's wife. There are certain things they won't say in my presence. I am not included when male colleagues, want to go out after hours. The exclusion is due to social issues.
2	35 years, married SL	L6	In our society, men occupy higher social positions to women, in the same way the management ranks in Higher Education institutions are occupied by mostly male staff almost everywhere.
3	45 years, married SL	L11	People who are in power are mostly male. They probably do not understand what women say when they complain about issues that affect them negatively as women.
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	Informal issues affect women of child bearing age (i.e. married women). It is not like in Europe where everyone cooks. Some educated men still won't eat what has been prepared by the domestic. Hence most women rush home after work for domestic chores.

In general several themes arise from the above data on the aspect of women's experiences concerning socio-cultural practices as they are replicated in the researched institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe. The following themes which emerged from the above data will be discussed in the sections below: participation of women in institutional occupation categories; the aspect of interactions between women and men; and women as nurturers.

6.4.1 Cultural factors impacting on women's retention and promotion

From the above data (L11; In. 3), I note that the belief in patriarchy extending into the workplace is evident among those women who formed part of this study. As outlined earlier (see

Chapter 3, Section 3.6.4.2), there is an over-representation of male academics in particular occupational categories in the four universities that formed part of this study. In the views of (Table 14, L11; In. 3), due to female academics' minority status within the researched institutions, women find it difficult to have their voice heard as a result of a majority of men as authority figures. The data (L11; In. 3) suggests that men who are in the majority do not understand women's issues at the expense of female academics' professional and personal comfort. In other words there is no gender sensitivity within the male dominated institutions. Put another way, the data suggests that aggrieved women have no recourse in terms of grievance procedure because the males who are in authority positions do not perceive women's problems as issues worthy of their consideration. The implication based on the data (Table 14, L6; In. 2) is that in the institution the male authority figures, assume a situation in which men are the majority holders of positions of authority as normal, as it replicates the situation in society in which men exercise authority over women.

In addition, in the views of (Appendix 2: 1a; L2; In. 1),

Very few women have been appointed to top posts as compared to men.

The reported view of (L2; In. 1), surfaces the situation with regard to the minority position of women as holders of positions of authority in researched institutions. The data (L2; In 1) suggests one of the reasons why women are under-represented in university management jobs compared to men in those institutions is that women's minority status in higher level management jobs is exacerbated by low numbers of women appointments (see Chapter 6, Section 6.1.3 above) to top posts. In that regard women in the Zimbabwean institutions covered by the study are negatively affected by the factor of male domination in both lectureship and management posts. As outlined earlier, in situations where men are the majority holders of positions of authority, they appoint people who are like them, at the expense of women.

(Appendix 2: 1a; L15; In. 3) puts it as follows,

Just as men exercise power in society, they also exercise power in the institution through deanships, chairmanships and other positions (L15; In. 3).

The reported view of (L15; In. 3) is that men exercise power through official positions of authority such as Deanships and Chairmanships they hold within the institutions of Higher Education just like they do in society through the occupation of social structure positions such as chieftainships and headmen (see Lindgren, 2001). Furthermore, this view is echoed by other respondents who share the view that:

Mostly men occupy positions of authority in the institution (Appendix 2: 1a; L8; In. 2).

There is still a domination of men in top posts and there is not much change taking place (Appendix 2: 1a; L7; In. 2).

As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.3), the above data suggests that most positions of authority within the institutions of Higher Education are occupied by males. As shown in previous sections (see Section 6.2.3.2) the data (L13; In. 3), further suggests that decisions in the institutions are made by men. In that respect, female academics are left out of decision making positions in the universities (see Chipunza, 2003, Gaidzanwa, 2007). Thus there is a replication of male domination in society in Higher Education institutions. In this case, male domination in institutional management categories is one of the factors that affect the retention and progression of female academics and has an adverse effect on the individual women's life time opportunities within the researched universities.

6.4.2 Reproducing cultural interactions between women and men

In the Zimbabwean society there are societal expectations associated with the relations that can be forged between married women and men, which include the kind of behaviour that men may display in front of married women (Table 14, L1; In. 1). Such social expectations are carried over to the workplace as suggested by the above data (L1; In. 1). As mentioned by (Table 14, L1; In. 1), there are wide limitations to the extent in which married women in Zimbabwean society can relate to men. In other words, in the Zimbabwean African context, there are certain social norms that guide the behaviour of married women within society (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2).

In addition, the above data (Table 14, L1; In. 1), suggests the existence of a cultural clash between a married female academic of western origin and African male colleagues. This Western-Zimbabwean cultural clash is exacerbated by certain Zimbabwean cultural expectations to do with relations between males and females in the Zimbabwean cultural context (L1; In. 1). Such cultural expectations are intertwined with certain behavioral traits which are learnt within the society (Dangarembga, 1989). As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.1), humans learn the behaviour that is expected of males and females within their own society (Oyewumi, 1997). In this case (L1; In. 1), African academic men are showing a married woman respect by avoiding certain behaviours and utterances in her presence in order to respect her status.

In terms of African/ Zimbabwean Shona culture, married women are viewed as belonging to other men, a practice that has its origin in the lobola system. As such they are not to be interfered with by other men (Tsikata, 2007). In the case of the above informant whose cultural origin (i.e. in terms of birth) is Western, she finds it difficult to accept the situation in which she is left out of the after work outings by male colleagues. Such a misunderstanding comes about as a result of her own upbringing and culture in which there are no taboos associated with the intermingling of married women and men (L1; In. 1). According to (L1; In. 1), she finds that she is left out on important organizational issues that may be circulating informally among male colleagues. The latter is referenced as 'organizational gossip'. In the views of Michelson, Iterson and Waddington (2010), organizational gossip is an aspect of informal interpersonal communication in organizations which flows through 'the grapevine' network in organizations. In other words, it is an informal way in which information is passed on from one person to another in the organization or institution through word of mouth. The exclusion of (L1; In. 1) in perceived important informal discursive practices taking place within the work environment has a limiting effect upon her lifetime professional opportunities within the university. As outlined earlier, those persons that are excluded from involvement in networks are impacted upon negatively in terms of their motivation vis-à-vis productivity which is essential for promotion.

Unlike in the Western culture social interactions between men and married women is not open to after work socialization in Zimbabwean African culture. What is evident from the respondent (L1; In. 1) is that in the Western culture married women are free to socialize with male colleagues. Western society is open to such after work socialization between men and women (L1; In. 1). It has been argued that it is the culture of a society which exerts most influence in terms of the creation of masculine and feminine behaviour (Amadiume, 1987; Gherardi, 1995). Cultural values associated with African men at work are different to the Western cultural values of the respondent (L1; In. 1). Her colleagues, who are African men, treated her with the respect bestowed upon married Zimbabwean women by excluding her from their informal engagements. Culturally, married black Zimbabwean women are expected to go home soon after work so that they are with the family and do the household chores. The same view is advanced by the data (Table 14, L16; In. 4) in which the respondent says that women rush home after work to do domestic chores (see Gaidzanwa, 2007). While this may sound like the general norm of the institution of marriage, it has more to do with the division of labour in the African context (see Chapter 5, Sections 5.1.1.3 and 5.2), which is still gendered to a larger extent as a result of the lobola system outlined earlier (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.1). This view is echoed by Asiyanbola (2005) and Gaidzanwa (2007). Traditionally, black Zimbabwean men will generally not invite married women out for a beer or informal networking/gossip. This is out of respect for the husband of the woman as he may take exception to other men taking his wife out while he waits for her to come home and perform her usual household tasks which include cooking for him and the family (Gaidzanwa, 2007; Tsikata, 2007).

As discussed earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.8.1), in the African culture and tradition married women are expected to do household chores even if they are breadwinners (Gaidzanwa, 2007; Moroosi, 2007). This cultural demand, impacts negatively on female academics' research productivity, a key component of the promotion criteria, because they miss out on important informal networking engaged in by their male counterparts,

which often involves sharing important information on research and publication matters (see Gaidzanwa, 2007).

The production and reproduction of unequal gender relations with respect to cultural practices from home and society to the workplace is unique in this case insofar as Zimbabwean culture is different from other Western cultures globally and is a factor which affects the retention and progression of female academics in the researched universities in Zimbabwe.

6.4.3 Patriarchal relations within the Institution

As outlined earlier (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.5), gender bias in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education tends to be more pronounced than elsewhere according to the literature. There is an unmistakable directness about gender difference in the country. Due to the socialization of people in the larger Zimbabwean patriarchal society, somehow the position of women as being subordinate to men in the larger society is reinforced by institutional cultures that are imbued with patriarchal values seeing women as subordinates of men. Such a position is evident from the following statement:

Zimbabwe being a patriarchal society, there is always that patriarchal influence. Some of these are traditional. Eyebrows are raised when a woman is promoted. However when men are promoted, it is considered normal (Appendix 2: 1b; L12; In. 3).

A number of issues emerge from the above statement. In a previous section these factors have been discussed in full (see Chapter 5, Section, 5.1.1.1) there is the factor of patriarchy and its effect on institutional culture; the issue of an uncompromising attitude towards the advancement of women as revealed by the raising of eyebrows and the factor of the acceptance of men as natural leaders or seeing men as the ideal institutional leaders.

On the aspect of patriarchy and its influence on the institutional culture, one can argue that such a situation is inevitable given that the Zimbabwean society is patriarchal in

nature. Patriarchy is therefore bound to influence institutional structures and the way they operate. However it becomes pointed gender bias when eyebrows are raised if a woman is promoted. It is as if people expect only men to be more advanced than women and such a view is extreme, given that these workplaces are sites of multi-gender activity with both men and women interacting in collegial work relations.

On the aspect of viewing men as natural leaders of institutions, it has been outlined earlier that in Zimbabwe, men are the majority holders of positions of authority in institutions of Higher Education and therefore are seen as the natural leaders (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). This bias is exacerbated by the way in which the society is stratified by gender as indicated earlier, with males in the upper class and women in the lower class (see Chapter 3 Section 3.1). As a result, even at institutional level men dominate the way activities are executed.

Furthermore, in African universities the situation of women and men's positions does not deviate from women's position in society at large. Endeley and Ngaling (2007), argue that society is patriarchal in nature and the universities serve society using the same rules that apply in the larger society in the way they operate. The above argument by Endeley and Ngaling (2007) holds sway in the following statement by one of the informants of the study:

Women in the institution play subordinate to men as the management is made up of mostly men (Appendix 2: 1a; L18; In. 4).

As outlined earlier, male domination in top management jobs is a factor which impacts negatively on female academics in the Zimbabwean institutions as it replicates a situation in which power in the institutions, like in the society, is wielded by men (Appendix 2: 1a; L15; In 3).

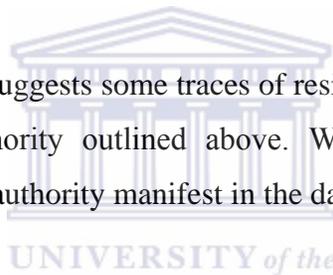
Male domination in Higher Education institutions is a global phenomenon (Subotzky, 2003; Mabokela, 2003 Zulu; 2003; Perumal; 2003). However, the uniqueness of male domination in the researched Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions shows itself in the way in which it is imbued with issues of culture and local tradition. Leadership norms

operative in society are reproduced (see Chapter 5, Section, 5.3) in Higher Education institutions, which affect the lifetime chances for progression and promotion of female academics in these institutions. As a result, the general under-representation of women in decision making roles is one of the barriers to women's advancement in the Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education (see Barnes, 2007; Gaidzanwa, 2007)

6.4.4 Male Resistance to women's authority in the workplace

Authority vested in one through the position they hold as a manager in an institution has been described as legitimate, formalized power (Baldrige, 1971). Women's authority is recognized by means of the exercise of power with respect to the positions they hold on an official basis within the institutions of Higher Education; that is in their capacity as Deans, Chairpersons of departments among other official institutional positions.

An overall perusal of the data suggests some traces of resistance by both men and women to women's institutional authority outlined above. Women's experiences of men's resistance to their institutional authority manifest in the data as follows:



Because most decision making positions in the institution are occupied by men, women find it difficult to exercise authority due to resistance by men (Appendix 2: 1a; L19; In. 4).

There are problems with supervision of some male colleagues as they won't readily take instructions (Appendix 2: 1a; (L5; In. 1).

The above data (Appendix 2: 1a; L19; In. 4), suggests that women find it difficult to exercise authority due to resistance by men. This is also the view of (L5; In. 1), who asserts that male colleagues do not readily take instructions from women. From the above statements the implication is that one of the factors that have an impact on female academics' progress is resistance from men who do not readily take instructions from women colleagues at the workplace. This resistance has a negative effect on a manager as it affects goal achievement. In management terms, in order for managers to achieve organizational goals, they need the cooperation of everyone in their unit so that they can

work towards achieving the unit goals. In the absence of such cooperation, women managers cannot achieve their unit goals successfully.

The situation in which men resist the authority of women is exacerbated by the supervision of male relatives. In the views of (Appendix 2: 1a; L4; In. 1), there is a culture versus academic role conflict for female academics who are managing male relatives. The reported view of (Appendix 2: 1a; L4; In. 1) is evident in the following statement:

As a married woman, I have experienced socially related problems particularly when trying to supervise male relatives at work. Culturally, they are my superiors (Appendix 2: 1a; L4; In. 1).

Culturally, male relatives in the extended family in Zimbabwean society occupy a higher social order than women in the same family (Holleman, 1968; Chabaya and Gudhlanga, 2001; Lindgren, 2001; Holland, 2005). A situation in which a woman supervises male relatives, particularly those of a higher social order in her extended family structure, opens up an immediate problem around the social norms of the family. In that respect, a woman who manages a male relative, for example, her husband at work runs into a social problem. On a cultural level, such a woman will find it difficult to give orders to her male relatives since they are deemed to be her superiors due to their position in the extended family structure. An equally difficult problem is that raised earlier by (Appendix 2: 1a; L14; In. 3) in which she gives the view that most married women at work require the permission of their husbands before applying for a position of responsibility. This is a socially related problem which affects women in the institutions of Higher Education. The women need their husbands' permission in order to get a career progression. Without their husbands' approval, the women's career trajectories remain uncertain and without upward movement into positions of power at work.

In this situation the reproduction of culture is transferred from home and society to Higher Education institutional workplace. These customs affect the retention and progression of female academics in the researched universities. This situation resonates

with the view that gender relations are produced and reproduced through kinship. As discussed earlier, this is a unique situation arising from the Zimbabwean cultural context and affects female academics differently compared to the global Western scenario with respect to their everyday life chances at work. A possible solution to avoid this challenge can be the education of men on women's right to equality in all spheres of life with the view to bring about change in organizations. This can lead to change in the production and reproduction of gender relations in both society and the workplace.

In the reported views of (Appendix 2: 1a; L1; In. 1), the factor of females resisting the authority of other females is rather unique in this situation but as outlined earlier under stereotyping of females by females, this can be attributed to gender socialization in society in which men are viewed as the ruling class while women are viewed as the subordinate class (see Chapter 3, Section 3.1). That is, this is a situation in which gender relations are viewed with respect to males and females as belonging to different categories/ classes which are reproduced at the workplace to the disadvantage of women's retention and progression as academics (see Gherardi, 1995).

6.4.5 Support networks

As discussed earlier (see Section 3.6.5.4), support networks play an important role in the development and advancement of academics within the institutions of Higher Education. Scholars have written about the role played by support networks on the advancement of women in Higher Education (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Morley, 2005). Support networks can be formal and informal and they play a significant role in the dissemination of important information in Higher Education institutions. In this section I researched for the availability of support networks for female academics within the universities covered by the study. I wanted to know in particular what effect, if any, support networks had on their promotional and developmental prospects. Women's experiences of the availability of support networks within the institutions were apparent in the data which emanated from the following question: **“What is the nature of formal/informal support networks for women staff in your institution?”**

The data (see Appendix 2: 6) surfaces a number of factors with respect to the aspect of support networks which include: unavailability of formal support networks; the existence of informal support networks and access to networks by both females and males. In the next section I will discuss the aspect of support networks as it resonates with international literature and the Zimbabwean context.

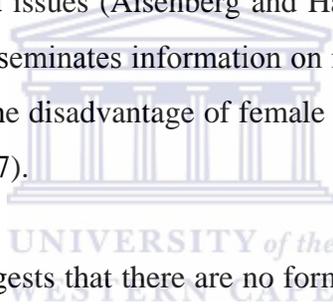
Table 15: The nature of formal and informal support networks

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	There are no formal or informal support networks in this university, none and there are no supportive colleagues.
2	35 years, married SL	L6	It is difficult to maintain networks. The networks in place are more informal than formal.
3	45 years, married SL	L11	There are no supportive people in the institutions and there are no formal support networks (L11).
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	Very few women go to the University common room after work. This is where partnerships, gossip, research issues, networking and so on happen. They rush home because their husbands won't allow them to delay coming home while gossiping and networking with fellow academics in the staff common room. Mostly men go to the staff common room after work.

In general, the above data surfaces the views of female academics as they apply to the availability of support networks within the institutions in which they work. Several themes emerge from the data on the availability of support networks within the four institutions of Higher Education that were researched. The data suggests that: there are no formal support networks in any of the four institutions; and that the existing networks within the institutions are mainly of an informal nature; married female academics have no time for networking; mostly men engage in after-hours informal networking which involves issues of research and partnerships.

6.4.5.1 Formal and Informal Support networks

In this section I provide a discussion on the experiences of female academics in the researched institutions with respect to the accessibility of support networks within the universities. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.5.4), support networks may take the form of formal groups or informal groups involved in both formal and informal discursive practices within the institutions of Higher Education. Formal support networks are institutional networks such as official forums for research and publications or institutionally supported networks for staff development. Informal support networks are unofficial staff networks such as clubbing groups set up by staff outside the institution's sphere of influence for their own discursive practices. Networks are very efficient in disseminating information in a university. Networks give members access to important information about work related issues (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Morley, 2005). The old boys' network also disseminates information on matters of promotion and career development opportunities to the disadvantage of female academics (Currie, et. al., 2002; Morley, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007).



The above data (L1; In. 1) suggests that there are no formal support networks in the four institutions of Higher Education that were researched. According to one participant, (L6; In. 2), it is difficult to maintain networks because the networks that are in place are more informal than formal, while the above data (Table 15, L11; In. 3) also suggests that there are no supportive people in the institutions and that there are no formal support networks. The absence of formal support networks in the researched institutions is a factor which situates academics in a difficult position in terms of development and sources of official information on development, research and, publications. The obvious conclusion is that formal support networks are powerful tools for the dissemination of important organizational information as well as providing resources (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.5.4). Their non- existence in the researched Zimbabwean universities is therefore, a negative factor for female academics within the institutions in terms of retention and progression. A respondent, (Appendix 2: 6; L3; In. 1), in fact comments about the existence of informal support networks and mentions that discussions take place in the

staff common room after hours. In addition, the above data (Table 15, L16; In. 4) suggests that men mostly take part in informal discursive practices in the staff common room after hours. The data (Table 15, L16; In. 1), further suggests that most female academics have no time for informal discourses that take place after work in the staff common room. Munro (1994) argues that one of the reasons why women may have difficulty being noticed in the organization can be attributed to women's lack of networking skills. She points out that many women rising up to middle management positions have done so through competence, often in specialized areas and hard work. Moreover, Munro (1994: 11) mentions that "Higher up the organization, the 'fit' of a person in a management team and the reputation of that person held by unseen others who have input into appointment decisions, play a role of increasing importance in career advancement." Furthermore, in the views of Munro (1994: 11), women are often excluded from traditional male circles through devices such as "men's talk," sometimes consciously, sometimes unwittingly. Munro further argues that networks are important as they provide information sharing, role models, support structures and coaching. There is a view that lack of access to informal networks and informal information influences possibilities to be promoted or applying for senior academic positions (Bill, 2006 in Mahlck and Thaver, 2010). In the views of Munro (1994), females need to be taught how to network and be encouraged to improve their skills by taking part in organizational networks.

The implication from the data (Table 15, L16; In. 4) is that informal support networks are intertwined with the male- female gender role dichotomy in which men have time for informal discursive practices while women have no time to take part in informal discourses at the work place. Mostly men have time for informal discourses. The importance of support networks in academic growth cannot be overemphasized. The above data (L16; In. 4) suggests the existence of a family versus networking conflict as women are viewed to be rushing home soon after work to take part in domestic chores. In the views of the respondent, (L16; In. 4), husbands do not allow their wives to come home late while taking part in informal discursive practices such as taking part in organizational gossiping after work. Gossip is an aspect of informal interpersonal

communication in organizations which flows through ‘the grapevine’ network in organizations (Michelson, Iterson, and Waddington, 2010). In that regard, men are advantaged as they are able to remain behind after work and network. In the views of Du Toit (2007:195), “...balancing work with family, gaining credibility and respectability amongst male peers, dual careers, lack of mentors due to small numbers of women engineers, access to networks, and inequality in terms of salaries and promotion opportunities,” are some of the barriers experienced by women at the workplace.

The factor of network participation by female academics has a big impact on women’s advancement within the institutions of Higher Education. In that respect, the absence of participation by female academics in support networks reported by the respondent, (L16; In. 4), leaves the old boys’ network even more powerful within the four researched institutions of Higher Education (Kwesiga, 2003; Zulu, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007; Barnes, 2007). The old boys’ network is the oldest, very powerful network of scholars in Higher Education institutions whose members are influential in decision-making on issues of research and publications. Within the institutions of Higher Education people are very competitive as they strive to achieve the promotional criteria. Participation in support networks is therefore a vital activity towards the advancement process. The dominance of the old boys’ network compared to the old girls’ network has led to men being able to have more networks than women and has been cited as a challenge for the progression and retention of female academics (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Morley, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

Briefly, support networks like the old boys’ network provide staff with information on available project funding, possible research partnerships, forthcoming conferences, research and publications. Due to the absence of support networks, female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions have no exposure to diverse intellectual resources and traditions (Gaidzanwa, 2007). Nevertheless it is important for female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities to be part of these networks for their academic development. It is in these networks where female academics can also get a chance to market themselves as consultants as well as get a sizeable cadre of senior

academics as mentors for their own academic development (Ward and Wolf-Wendel, 2004; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

Moreover, (Table 10, L6; In. 2), underlines the fact that women have to work extra hard to prove that they can do what men can do. It has been argued that organizational culture, the old boys' network and the nature of the organization play a role in shaping the experience of female academics with regard to promotion and advancement within the institutions of Higher Education (Moorosi, 2007). According to Tsikata (2007), much of the difficulty experienced by women in terms of promotion rests in institutional cultures. In that regard, female academics in institutions of Higher Education experience challenges in terms of promotion due to insufficient experience, institutional culture and people's unchanging attitudes towards women as leaders. Institutional culture (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9), is therefore one of the barriers that is responsible for the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations in the institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe, but it is also a global phenomenon.

6.5 Institutional culture

Institutional culture refers to a pattern of shared assumptions learned by a group as it solves its problems of external adaptation and internal integration (Schein, 1985 in Mahlck and Thaver, 2010). As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9), institutional culture plays an important role in the behaviour of faculty members towards work within organizational structures of academic work. Academic work is colleague driven and characterized by advanced education, specialism in a body of knowledge over which monopoly is enjoyed, code of ethics, rule of meritocracy, degree of autonomy embedded in peer review and self regulation (Goode (1957) and Parsons (1954) cited in Rhoades, 2007:121); for example, professors enjoy academic freedom and shared governance. In this section I researched for the type of institutional culture that characterizes the four Zimbabwean institutions.

Selected female academics' understanding of Institutional Culture was evident in their responses to the following: The term 'culture' refers to 'what it is that people can or

cannot do in an organization or unit.’ The adjective ‘institutional’ qualifies what is permissible in the said culture therefore, the term ‘institutional culture.’ **“What then, can you tell me about the culture of your institution?”**

Generally the following key themes emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 7) with respect to the factors that impact on the retention and progression of female academics regarding institutional culture: Leadership by men; aggressive culture; male culture; culture of male domination in senior and lectureship positions; individualistic culture; academic culture of research and publication and men as images of leadership. In the next section I will discuss those aspects of the data I have selected insofar as they resonate with international literature and the Zimbabwean context.

Table 16: Factors related to institutional culture

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L2	It is a male culture, especially in committees as well as senior positions.
2	45years, married SL	L7	There is a culture of leadership by men within the institution.
3	45years, married SL	L11	The culture is not all that conducive for female academics . There are very few women. Very few of the men are accommodative to women. People are individualistic.
4	40 years married, SL	L20	A culture in which men are seen as the proper institutional leaders.

A number of themes emerged from the above data around the experiences of female academics as regards the type of institutional culture in the four Zimbabwean institutions that were researched. The above data coincide with the key themes that emerged from the data (Appendix 2: 7). The data surfaces the following institutional cultural types which impact on the advancement of female academics: images of leaders in institutions; a culture of leadership by men and individualism.

6.5.1 Images of leadership in male dominated institutions

Respondents from different institutions (Appendix 2: 7; L3; In. 1) and (Appendix 2: 7; L8; In. 2) identify aggressiveness culture in a culture of male leadership which is further strengthened by a dominance of men as lecturers. In the views of the respondent, (Table 16, L11; In. 3), the leadership traits in a male dominated institutional culture are not all that conducive to support female academics. Furthermore the data (L11; In. 3) suggests that there are very few women within the institutions of Higher Education and that very few of the men in the institutions are accommodative to women.

The implication from the data is that a male culture pervades the researched institutions and that it works to the disadvantage of the advancement of female academics. We are told by Gaidzanwa (2007) that there is a masculine culture at one of the Zimbabwean universities that she researched. Middlehurst (1997:13) argues it is “Because management and leadership have for long been predominantly male enclaves, the picture of the ideal manager is grounded in masculine attributes.” Such biases among organizational personnel continue to be a barrier for women’s advancement in organizations today.

As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9) some people view the job of a principal, a chairperson, or a Vice Chancellor as jobs for men. There is a view that men are natural leaders (Moorosi, 2007). We are told by Moorosi (2007), that the traditional stereotypes associate leadership with masculinity and that this view hampers women’s career progression in education management. The above data (Appendix 2: 2e; L6; In. 2), surfaces the view that it is taken for granted that men are able to lead while one respondent, (Appendix 2: 2e; L11; In. 3), mentions a situation in which men in a university department have been rotating the chairmanship among themselves at the expense of the only woman in the department over a number of years. As a result, the female academic is kept being subordinated by men within the department.

It has been argued that there are structural barriers to women’s advancement in organizations which have their roots in the fact that most organizations have been created

by and for men and are based on male experiences of management. Consequently a particular form of masculinity in organizational management exists (Moorosi, 2007). According to Moorosi (2007:507), “absence of women in power positions suggests that women are being seen through traditional theoretical lenses and are being measured against ideas that have historically served men best.” The data (L2; In. 1) suggests that decisions are made by male dominated university committees with respect to appointments and promotions. Moreover, the data (Appendix 2: 2e; L4; In. 1) suggests that these male dominated university committees make decisions that favour the appointment of men above that of women. This view is corroborated by the comment of a respondent working at another university (Appendix 2: 2e; L17; In. 4), who argues that males who are in decision- making positions decide on who should or should not be promoted. As a result, organizations seek men for management positions and there is a lack of acceptance and resistance to appointment of women to posts of authority. (Appendix 2: 2e; L13; In. 3) also suggests that it is difficult for some men to accept women in leadership positions as they may hold the biased view that women are not capable to lead. In the reported views of a respondent from another university, (Table 16, L20; In. 4) men are seen as the proper institutional leaders and in the views of another respondent, (Appendix 2: 2e; L15; In. 3), women go through discouraging hassles in order to be promoted.

Based on the evidence provided by the respondents in different universities it has to be concluded that the culture of leadership by men is a barrier for female academics in the researched universities in Zimbabwe, which frequently prevent them from being promoted to higher level management posts.

Unless a woman is appointed to be chairperson by the Dean or the Vice- Chancellor, it will always be difficult for a woman academic to be chairperson of a department, let alone to be Dean of a department (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). The situation is exacerbated by the Higher Education institutional culture which continues to see the image of a leader as a man (Appendix 2: 7; L20; In. 4). (Appendix 2: 2c; L6; In. 2), expresses the problems women aspiring to leadership positions very aptly:

At times there is a general belief that a woman cannot do it well, especially if she is alone. She needs help. You have to work extra hard to prove that you can do what men can do because they think that a woman should submit to them (Appendix 2: 2c; L6; In. 2).

The statements above highlight some of the factors that impact on the advancement of female academics: it further brings to the fore the belief in men's leadership skills as opposed to those of women. It also brings to light the struggle that female academics have to go through in order to be recognized by male colleagues at work. In the views of a respondent, (Appendix 2: 2e; L18; In. 4), men who dominate decision-making committees are the same people whose recommendations women rely on to be promoted to higher level management posts.

Briefly, therefore, the promotion criterion is one of the difficult conditions faced by female academics in the Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education as it is not only based on research and publications, but is also based on qualifications and experience which is exacerbated by gender bias which favours men as ideal leaders.

6.5.2 Individualism

In this section I discuss the experiences of female academics in the researched institutions with regard to individualism in institutions of Higher Education. Various respondents, including the participant, (Table 16; L11; In. 3), suggest that there is individualism in the Zimbabwean institutions that were researched. People are not supportive of each other and are individualistic.

Individualism seems to be characteristic of the competitive nature of the Higher Education work ethos. Individuals compete for resources as well as for promotions. As a result academics engage in cut throat competition for scarce resources through such tactics as engaging in individualistic activities and micro-politicking at the expense of others (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Blase, 1991; Gherardi, 1995; Morley, 2000).female academics in Zimbabwe are affected by the nature of individualism in the

same way as in the global situation, as reflected in the highly competitive academic work ethos. The extended family system exercised in Zimbabwean society inculcates the spirit of equal sharing of resources among members. In that regard, the individualistic nature of academic work ethos may bring about a culture shock to some of these women. Therefore, individualism may act as demotivation for some of the women and impacts negatively on their productivity and progression at the workplace.

6.5.3 Culture of promotion through research and publication

In this section the experiences of female academics are discussed with respect to the aspect of academic culture as an integral part of the institutional culture. According to the data (Appendix 2: 7; L 18; In. 4), there is a culture of promotion through research and publication within this institution (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9). The same sentiments are echoed by respondent, (Appendix 2: 7; L 13; In. 3), when she points out that academics are supposed to be researching and publishing; however, both facilities and funds are limited. It has been discussed earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9.3) that working conditions for academics are deteriorating, for example, tenure has been abolished in certain places. That has eroded academic culture leading to part-time appointments and the limitation of academic autonomy (Altbach, 2005). There has also been the change from collegialism to managerialism in decision-making (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9.3).

The uniqueness of this situation is that while the institutions would like to follow academic culture in which academics research and publish in order to be tenured and be autonomous, academics are not in a position to do research and publication due to unavailability of funds; as a result they cannot be tenured. While academics are required to fulfill all the requirements of tenure, achieving tenure is now like pie in the sky as there are many other problems associated with the pursuance of academic culture in order to be promoted or tenured.

As outlined earlier (see Chapter 2. Section 2.3.3.1), universities in Zimbabwe follow the established academic traditions of British metropolitan universities from whom they were carved (Ashby, 1964). Like with any institution of Higher Education globally, academics

need to research and publish in order to be advanced within the institutions of Higher Education. The above data (Table 12, L1; In. 1), suggests that one of the criteria for promotion to higher level management posts in the researched Zimbabwean universities is publishing. Promotion is through publishing and academics need to publish or they don't get promoted as promotion is purely based on merit. The above data (L1; In. 1), surfaces two factors: the publication criteria for promotion of academics and meritorious promotions. On the publication criteria, it is left to female academics to fulfill these criteria in order to get advancement. In addition, the data (Appendix 2: 7; L18; In. 4) suggests that there is a culture of promotion through research and publication. As outlined earlier the reward system in Higher Education heavily depends on publications and women are less likely than men to be found among the tenured faculty, especially in the full professor rank (Ashby, 1964; Cole and Zuckerman, 1984; Mahlck, 2003). Unlike in the West where female academics are able to be productive in the area of research and publications, female academics in Zimbabwe are not able to be productive in terms of publications due to adverse conditions in the institution of Higher Education such as funding and lack of resources intertwined with socio-cultural factors (see Chapter 5, section 5.3.3.3). According to the data (Appendix 2: 2e; L12; In. 3), it is difficult to publish without funding and internet facilities, therefore, female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions are not able to publish. In the views of (Appendix 2: 2e; L7; In. 2), one cannot be promoted without research and publications. Moreover, the data (Appendix 2: 2e; L14; In. 3) suggests that there is pressure to publish, which is not easy due to lack of funds. According to the data (Appendix 2: 2e; L19; In. 4), the shortage of funds for research and publication has been a great hindrance for promotion. In that regard the implication from the data is that the culture of promotion through research and publications affects female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions in a negative way.

Gaidzanwa (2007:75), argues that

The small proportion of tenured female academics and the sex segregated nature of the society makes it difficult for many junior women, particularly those in

faculties with very few or no women to be mentored by senior selected academic women

One of the factors which work against the retention and progression of female academics in all four universities in Zimbabwe that were covered by the study is lack of publications. In order for an academic to be promoted both globally and in Zimbabwe, they have to research and publish. In the absence of publication, female academics fail to meet this important criterion for promotion, hence they cannot be promoted. The uniqueness of the Zimbabwean situation is that of an acute shortage of funds for research, which makes it difficult to publish whereas on an international level, in situations where funding permits, academics are able to be productive in publications.

6.5.4 Inclusion of female academics as decision makers

In this section the experiences of female academics will be looked at with respect to their experiences around the aspect of treatment. There are a number of factors pertaining to the way in which women are treated at the workplace in the Zimbabwean institutions that were covered by the study. Treatment factors that prevent women from being promoted to higher level management posts were evident in their responses to the following question: **As a woman do you feel that you are fully included in the activities that have to do with your work within the institution?**

Selected female academics raised a number of factors that centered on the aspect of marginalization (see Appendix 2: 8a). In the following section I will discuss those ways I have selected in which female academics have been marginalized in the institutions that were covered by the study.

Table 17: Factors associated with inclusion of female academics

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	I have been marginalized in terms of decisions on who represents the institutions at invited functions or decisions on how things should be run within the institutions in terms of the general planning and implementation of activities.
2	35 years, married SL	L6	Marginalization of women is also taking place. Some departments are all staffed by men. I have experienced marginalization. I am the only lady in the department. I am kept doing a job; capturing of marks all the time. They claim that no one else can do that job.
3	45 years, married SL	L11	Isolated, not involved in decision making, treated like children and not consulted when decisions are made. We are complaining about that.
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	I have felt marginalized once in a while, particularly when it comes to decision making on important work related issues such as the allocation of resources, meetings etc. You can't really make any real decision can you? Someone else makes decisions and in most cases there is no consultation done.

6.5.5 Inclusion of women in decision-making positions

The general view which emerged from the above data is that the decision-making process in the four researched Zimbabwean institutions is the men's responsibility. The above data (Table 17, L16; In. 4), suggests that female academics within the institutions covered by the study feel marginalized as they are not included in decision-making positions. In the views of (L16; In. 4), when it comes to decision-making on important work related issues such as the allocation of resources, or setting dates for meetings, someone else makes decisions and in most cases female academics are not consulted. The same sentiments are echoed by a respondent from another institution, (Table 17, L11; In. 3), when she says, that female academics are not involved in decision-making; they are treated like children and not consulted when decisions are made. In a similar vein,

another respondent from a different university (Table 17, L1; In. 1), suggests that female academics have been marginalized in terms of decisions on who represents the institutions at invited functions. In that regard female academics in the researched universities do not occupy positions of authority in the administration structures of the institutions.

Based on responses of participants from the four universities selected for the study the implication is that female academics in the universities that were covered by the study feel marginalized when it comes to the decision-making process within the institutions.

One of the factors which affect the retention and progression of female academics in the institutions undoubtedly is their under-representation in administration positions where decisions are made.

Moreover, the data (Table 17, L6; In. 2) surfaces the view that female academics are kept performing servicing functions of capturing of marks in departments which are mostly staffed by males. In the views of a respondent, (Appendix 2: 8a; L17; In. 4), women are manipulated into doing work that no one else wants to do. Such a situation resonates with the international literature in which it has been claimed that female academics are restricted to performing certain types of jobs within the institutions of Higher Education (Dual Labour Market Theory, Chapter 3, Section 3.4.4). Furthermore, we learn of the marginalization of women administrators and scholars (Mabokela, 2003), and the institutional privileging of their male counterparts and of 'masculine' expectations and practices that continue to be the norm across the Western academic world (Barnes, 2007).

It is important for the production of equal gender relations for both males and females working in an institution to be involved in decision-making on issues that affect all of them at the workplace. However, in all the researched universities in Zimbabwe marginalization of women in decision-making positions is prevalent.

6.5.6 Perceived discrimination

One of the issues concerning the experiences of Zimbabwean female academics in the institutions that were covered by the study is that of perceived unfair treatment of women at the workplace (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.7). It has emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 8c) those female academics are exposed to a number of conditions that are of a discriminatory nature by male colleagues as well as by other women. The experiences of female academics with regard to unfair treatment were captured in their responses to the following question: **Do you feel that you have been unfairly treated as a woman academic?**

Table 18: Marital status and tribalism impacting on women's positions

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	Yes it does happen across the board. People discriminate others in different ways, for example in terms of marital status or looking down upon single people
2	45 years, married SL	L7	Yes, I have experienced discrimination by seeing it happen. I have acted upon it by writing to the Ministry and something was done. For example when going out on a student assessment trip to the rural areas, the men would often ask women, can you rough it up? in order to exclude them from the trip.
3	45 years, married SL	L11	Yes, most institutions take it for granted and are more inclined to put men in positions of authority. They talk about it but do not implement it. Even in introducing new curriculum, they do not consider the needs of girls.
4	45 years married, SL	L17	I once experienced it, when I was discriminated against because of my tribe. Any strategies get abused. They promote friends and relatives and people from their home regions.

In general, the data in the above table surfaced a number of ways in which unfair treatment is carried out within the researched institutions in Zimbabwe. Unfair treatment

takes a number of forms such as tribalism and regionalism or ethnicity; gender and marital status; and exclusion of women from field trips (discussed earlier). Next, several ways in which exclusion of women is exercised in the four institutions follow below:

6.5.7 Perceived Tribalism and Regionalism / ethnicity in the workplace

Ethnicity involves the social construction of origin as a basis for community or collectivity (Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 1992 in Mahlck and Thaver, 2010). These origins are historically, territorially and culturally based and can be internally constituted by the group and/ or externally imposed (Mahlck and Thaver, 2010). Tribalism is a form of ethnicity which involves favouritism in terms of the allocation of resources such as jobs, promotional posts on narrow tribal/ ethnic lines at the expense of others who do not belong to the tribal/ ethnic grouping of the practitioner.

Tribalism has emerged from the above data (Table 18, L17; In. 4) as one of the ways through which unfair treatment is practiced in the four selected institutions of Higher Education. The practice of tribalism has negative repercussions for the advancement of women in that it is often used to promote what is perceived to be undeserving candidates at the expense of hard working meritorious women. What is unique about the practice of tribalism is that it is not a prerogative of the majority or the minority tribal groupings because it depends on who has power to appoint or promote people in the institutions. It may be practiced by a member of any of the tribal groupings in the country at the expense of other tribal groups who are not in a position to appoint and promote people. As such, the practice of tribalism leads to the promotion and advancement of people who are perceived to be not necessarily meeting the advancement criteria but benefit on the basis of their tribal affiliation in the larger society.

Furthermore, the data (Appendix 2: 8c; L3; In. 1) suggests that in the four selected institutions there is a perception that the aspect of tribalism is intertwined with the promotion of friends and relatives and the abuse of advancement strategies. The implication from the data is that female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions are affected by the aspect of tribalism. Tribalism is exacerbated by the

perceived appointment of friends and relatives resulting in a negative impact on the advancement of both male and female academics .

Regionalism is a form of ethnicity based on geographical region of origin. In regionalism people from the same geographical region of the country monopolize certain jobs and positions by favouring one another in appointments and promotions. This is the case, particularly when the manager from a geographical area decides to appoint or promote his so called ‘home boys/ girls’ at the expense of other deserving individuals at work. The above data (Appendix 2: 8c; L3; In. 1) suggests that regionalism is rife in the researched Zimbabwean universities. In the views of a respondent, (Appendix 2: 8c; L3; In.1),

Any strategies get abused. They promote friends, relatives and people from their home regions. (Appendix 2: 8c; L3; In. 1)

Regionalism is closely intertwined with tribalism as outlined earlier. This kind of unfair treatment depends on whether the persons who have the power to appoint or promote people are regionalists as opposed to being nationalists in their work ethics. While regionalism is perceived to affect certain female academics, it in fact is also perceived to affect both men and women coming from different geographical regions as those people in charge of institutions.

6.5.8 Gender and marital status

The above data (Table 18, L1; In. 1) unlike the views expressed in international literature, suggests that there is discrimination against unmarried women in the researched Zimbabwean universities. The data (L1; In. 1), suggests that people discriminate against others in different ways. In the views of (L1; In. 1), one of the ways in which this type of exclusion is done is by looking down upon single women as shown by the following statement:

Yes it does happen across the board. People discriminate others in different ways, for example in terms of marital status or looking down upon single people (see Table 18, L1; In. 1 above)

As outlined earlier, (see Chapter 2, Section 2.3.1.2) as a result of patriarchy, some traditional males in the selected institutions connect women with marriage and the household. Such patriarchal men in the institutions have the tendency to despise unmarried women and look down upon them. In that regard, unmarried Zimbabwean female academics may be discriminated against in situations where such traditional African men are in decision-making roles with respect to issues of advancement and promotions.

6.5.9 Perceived sexual harassment

In the views of Walby (1988:91), sexual harassment is “unwanted sexual attention”. As outlined earlier, the problem of sexual harassment in institutions of Higher Education is a global phenomenon and occurs across the world. It has emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 8d) that one of the issues raised with regard to the experiences of Zimbabwean female academics in the researched institutions is that of sexual harassment. It emerges when female academics are exposed to a number of conditions that favour harassment. The experiences of female academics with regard to sexual harassment were evident in their responses to the following question: **Do you feel that you have been harassed as a woman academic?**

A number of themes which have emerged from the data (see Appendix 2: 8d) on the aspect of sexual harassment are as follows: sexual harassment as a cultural construction; sexual harassment of young female academics; harassment of new female academics and derogatory statements. In the following section, some aspects of the data will be discussed insofar as they resonate with the Zimbabwean context and international literature.

Table 19: Factors associated with harassment of women

Institution	Personal Profile of Woman	Code	Data
1	40 years, married, SL	L1	It depends really on what culture you come from. A lot of statements said by African men can be sexual harassment. Even in conversations, a lot of African men say a lot of raw statements which can be construed to be sexual harassment if you were in the USA, UK or Europe. It happens a lot. It's a struggle, particularly with the younger people. As you get older, it gets better. It is an uphill battle. You can be tough with sexual harassment and give back what you are getting.
2	35 years, married SL	L6	Those who have power usually as men intimidate those below them. Sometimes (I hear) men ask for favours from women and it has happened here. If women don't respond correctly they can even lose jobs. Sometimes these are young women who do not quite understand their rights and what is happening to them.
3	45 years, married SL	L11	Yes it occurs at work places especially if you are new at the workplace. People try this and that. They only stop when they realize that you don't like it and may take action against them.
4	45 years married, Professor	L16	It seems sexual harassment of women happens here depending on who you are. It is bad for the young females

The above data suggests a number of ways in which the perceived harassment of female academics takes place within the institutions along the following themes: perceived sexual harassment as culturally based; perceived sexual harassment of young women; and perceived transactional sex.

As mentioned above, sexual harassment is “unwanted sexual attention.” A view that is emerging from the above data (Table 19, L1; In. 1) is that sexual harassment is culturally based. In the views of a respondent, (L1; In. 1), what constitutes sexual harassment depends on one's culture and the person involved in the perceived harassment. In the

reported views of this respondent, (Appendix 2: 8d; L1; In. 1), a lot of statements made by African men can be understood as sexual innuendo. According to her, (Appendix 2: 8d; L1; In. 1), even in conversations African men use many raw statements which can be construed to be sexual harassment if you were in the USA, UK or Europe. As outlined earlier, traditional African Shona men in the Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education sometimes exploit extended family relationships with women. This is done in order to get closer to the women concerned either as a 'maiguru or a mainini' (Gaidzanwa, 2007). In the event of sexual harassment, the women find it difficult to rebuke such people, let alone take concrete action because cultural traditions allow for joking between a 'maiguru - senior wife (sister in law) or a mainini' - junior wife (sister in law) and a 'babamukuru- senior husband (brother in law) or babamunini' - junior husband (brother in law) (Gaidzanwa, 2007:75). The men in question can easily escape censure by pretending that they were joking with their relative. The aspect of the extended family through patrilineage comes into play. As the informant (Appendix 2: 8d; L1; In. 1) mentions, such things, if said to a woman from a different culture such as a Western woman from Europe, UK, or America, would be interpreted as sexual harassment by the particular woman and the men would be in trouble. The same assertion is echoed by the participant, (Appendix 2: 8d; L7; In. 2), when she says,

I have experienced problems with sexual harassment. It depends on what culture you come from. Sexual harassment is found even in conversations between males and females. It is a daily battle (Appendix 2: 8d; L7; In. 2).

From the above statement, the data suggests further that sexual harassment is culturally based and that it is found in people's daily lives through conversations between men and women. Literature shows that in the African context, there is denial of the existence of gender discrimination and the reinforcement of maternal and wifely roles such as auntie and mama for women and academic titles for men (Tsikata, 2007). Moreover, Tsikata (2007) refers to sexual undertones which are difficult to judge, when done in a jocular mode by senior men. She goes on to talk of sexual innuendo that is practiced. In the views of Gaidzanwa (2007), there is patronization of women by men in African

universities. This type of situation supports Atkinson's (1996) argument that some of the issues that affect women are culturally based.

As discussed earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.5.5), women from Africa are grappling with different cultural and traditional issues as opposed to their Western counterparts. In that regard, their readings of sexual harassment can easily get different interpretations depending on the identity of the perpetrator of such "assumed" sexual harassment. As a result, it is difficult for sexually harassed women to be taken seriously because of the cultural aspect linked to it. Consequently, women in the researched universities in Zimbabwe are perceived to be affected by the aspect of sexual harassment. The uniqueness of the Zimbabwean situation are the cultural connotations associated with the way in which it is done which makes it difficult for sexually harassed women to seek proper legal recourse.

6.5.10 Perceived harassment of young female academics and new female staff

The ways in which the perceived sexual harassment is carried on in the institutions will now be discussed. As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9.2), sexual harassment has been described as "unwanted sexual attention." The above data, suggests that there is sexual harassment of young female academics and new female staff in the researched universities. The above data (Table 19, L16; In. 4) suggests the existence of sexual harassment of young female academics within the researched Zimbabwean institutions as one of the factors that affect the appointment and advancement of female academics. The respondent, (Table 19, L6; In. 2), reports on the fact that women can even lose their job if they don't respond favourably to the request for sexual favours by senior male academics with power. As outlined earlier, the situation of sexual harassment of young female academics is exacerbated by the fact that holders of offices that make decisions on appointments and advancement are males in most Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education (Chipunza, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

In addition, the above data (Table 19, L11; In. 3) suggests that such perceived sexual harassment is also extended to new female academics. The above data (Appendix 2: 8d;

L2; In. 1) suggests that sexual harassment occurs either verbally or through overt action. In the views of the respondent, (Appendix 2: 8d; L1; In. 1), sexual harassment incidents get fewer with women who are older. They are less frequently harassed than younger colleagues who are perceived to bear the brunt of sexual harassment. Tsikata (2007) says that “married women are protected in the sense that they are considered to belong to other men.” On the international level, Morley (2005) mentions that sexual harassment is rife on campuses across the Commonwealth. Sexual harassment is frequently cited as an explanatory factor for women’s reluctance to make themselves visible in the academy or in some cases to enter in the first place either as students or staff.

The implication based on the data is that female academics in all the researched Zimbabwean universities like their global counterparts are vulnerable to sexual harassment (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9.2). However, as outlined earlier, sexual harassment may be difficult to deal with because of cultural traditions as well as the fact that some of the victims enter into transactional sex for jobs and other favours. Some of the victims don’t report such harassment but may choose to leave or not join the academy (Morley, 2005). Furthermore, there is a view that the widespread occurrence of sexual harassment is exacerbated by the existence of transactional sex as well as seductive dressing by females on campuses (Tsikata, 2007; Morley, 2005; Adedokun, 2005).

Writing on the issue of sexual harassment in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, Bennett et al., (2007:88), point out that, the hierarchical nature of universities, coupled with patriarchal cultures of leadership, means that there are multiple zones of seniority operating within the campus, and those women who are considered “junior” are constantly vulnerable to unwanted sexual attention from senior men. In that regard, the issue of sexual harassment of female academics is not just common to Zimbabwe but is also prevalent across the SADC countries as well as in the Commonwealth strengthening underlining the fact that it has been analyzed as a global phenomenon that affects female academics.

Gaidzanwa (2007) alludes to the existence of gender based violence at the University of Zimbabwe with the campus being unsafe for women in the evenings after work hours as women have been attacked. Barnes (2007) writes of sexual harassment of women at African universities, while Ndlovu (2001) writes of sexual harassment of students, and Bennet, (2002) writes of direct physical violence of rape and assault.

6.5.11 ‘Unfavourable’ work practices

As outlined earlier (see Chapter 3, Section 3.6.9.2), while perceived sexual harassment is a serious challenge within the universities, it is sometimes enhanced by the existence of transactional sex in which women deliberately engage for purposes of gaining favours from men (Gherardi, 1995: 47-51). There are signals from the data (Table 19, L6; In. 2) to suggest that “men” ask for favours from women in exchange for either being appointed to a job or ensuring a promotion. The data suggests what could be perceived as (Table 19, L6; In. 2) transactional sex pressures in the institutions. In the views of the respondent, (Appendix 2: 8d; L13; In. 3), a person could be entitled to the job but subject to certain conditions. In such a situation, if the female academic accepts such conditions in order to get the job, this could be perceived as an arrangement. It has been argued that the contests around gender in the African university do not only involve management, curricular and pedagogical issues, but that they also involve the bodily expressions of inequitable power relations. Attention is increasingly being paid to the prevalence of sexual harassment and gender based violence on African campuses (Barnes, 2007:18). Like on other African university campuses, the situation of perceived sexual harassment in Zimbabwean universities is exacerbated by the existence of gender based violence at some of the institutions (see Gaidzanwa, 2007; Barnes, 2007). In that regard, the aspect of unfavourable practices related to perceived arrangements, is another factor which gives rise to the production and reproduction of unequal gender relations within the researched institutions in Zimbabwe. In that respect, the data suggests a link between barriers to professional advancement and perceived ‘unfavourable’ social practices.

6.6 Summary

In this Chapter, I presented a number of factors that have an impact on the retention and progression of female academics in the four Zimbabwean universities with respect to governance such as a gender equity legal framework for the appointment of female academics within the institutions that were covered by the study. The aspect of conservatism was also discussed in terms of the appointment and promotion of female academics insofar as the shape of the academic workforce in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education is skewed in favour of men. The composition of the selection committees for recruitment of academics within the institutions that were covered by the study was also discussed in detail. One other issue that was discussed in this Chapter is the issue of the criteria for the appointment of academics within the researched institutions in Zimbabwe. In addition, I discuss the university functions of teaching, research and administration. Among the issues discussed were the reported experiences of female academics regarding the aspect of work load; that is the amount of teaching that female academics have to do within the institutions of Higher Education. The factors that affect female academics with respect to staff development and the experience of female academics in the researched institutions with reference to teaching resources were also included. Factors that affect female academics negatively with regard to decision-making in different situations were also covered. Finally, issues regarding publications and its impact on advancement in Higher Education institutions, as well as the experience of female academics with regard to conference attendance as well as the impact of an insufficient research infrastructure on their research efforts were highlighted.

Moreover, I also discuss the representation of women in institutional occupation categories and how the institutions are characterized by an over-representation of male academics in particular occupational categories. The aspect of how female academics are excluded from decision-making positions in the universities was also considered. Another aspect that was discussed in this Chapter is the resistance by men to women's authority as exercisers of power in their capacity as Deans or Chairpersons of departments.

Furthermore, the Chapter also dealt with the perception and impact of men as institutional leaders on the advancement and progression of female academics.

Further to the above, the following issues were also considered: the issue of a promotional policy within the institutions with respect to the advancement of women in view of the current gap between government policy formulation and the implementation of policy in Higher Education institutions. Another factor that was discussed in the Chapter was that of the shape of promotion committees within the institutions of Higher Education insofar as they are based on seniority and dominated by men as well as the effect on the progression of female academics within the institutions. Other issues that were discussed included the factors of information dissemination on vacant promotional posts; issues of male domination within the institutions; the aspect of barriers that are related to institution culture; and factors around the issue of promotion criteria as barriers for women's advancement within the institutions.

Moreover, the experiences of female academics with regard to the aspect of inclusion and exclusion within this study also received attention. It emerged from the data that female academics are exposed to a variety of stereotypical conditions by male colleagues as well as by other women. It also emerged from the data that women are generally not treated on an equal basis with men in institutions of Higher Education with regard to advancement to higher level management posts. Unfair treatment in this study appears to take a number of forms including ethnicity, tribalism and regionalism; exclusion of unmarried women; and exclusion of women from field trips. Furthermore the data surfaced the existence of perceived sexual harassment of young female academics and new female staff, all of which pose significant challenges for senior women academics in the universities.

In the final Chapter I will consider findings, conclusions and possible recommendations arising from this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN CONCLUSION

7 Introduction

In this Chapter, the concluding discussions, recommendations emanating from the study, as well as the limitations of the study and the interventions for further studies are provided. This thesis set out to examine the factors that impact on the retention and progression of female academics in four Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education. A premise of the investigation was that institutions of Higher Education in Zimbabwe would have an existing legal framework in terms of gender equity for the advancement of female academics within the institutions. This was because of the proliferation of gender equity laws enacted by the Zimbabwean government in the form of several national and international gender declarations and conventions over the years since independence. Among these policies are the 1965 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination (CERD); and the 1979 United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (Chabaya et al., 2009).

Furthermore, there is the Gender Affirmative Action Policy of 1992, the 1999 Nziramasanga Commission, and the National Gender Policy of 2004 which sought to “eliminate all negative economic, social and political policies, cultural and religious practices that impede equality and equity of sexes and professed to promote equal opportunities for women and men in decision making in all areas and all levels” (see Chabaya et al., 2009). Other pieces of legislation that exist are the Labour Relations Act of 1985 which bars discrimination on the grounds of race, tribe or place of origin, political opinion, colour, creed or sex, the Legal Age of Majority Act, Equal Pay Regulations and the Sexual Discrimination Removal Act introduced by government in 1992.

The major aim of this study was to understand the social and institutional factors related to the retention and progression of female academics in four institutions in Zimbabwe.

In giving shape to this inquiry a number of questions had been formulated as outlined earlier (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2).

The evidence from the research surfaced by the respondents through the interviews during the investigation point to a range of factors that are currently facing Zimbabwean female academics including stereotyping and discriminating, harassment and exclusionary practices. What has emerged from the data is that despite the proliferation of gender laws both enacted and internationally ratified by the Zimbabwean government, it is clear that female academics in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education are experiencing barriers to appointments and advancement to higher level management jobs in the university workplace. The university workplace in Zimbabwe is still predominantly male oriented. Mostly men occupy most of the senior posts as Chairpersons, Deans and Vice- Chancellors.

The sentiments expressed in the above results are echoed by Chabaya et al. (2009), when they argue that despite all the gender equity legislative measures, there appears to be little impact in practice, for example in the university sector where there are far fewer women who are heads of departments than men. These views of Chabaya et al. (2009) have been echoed by the 1999 Nziramasanga Commission of Inquiry into Education and Training in Zimbabwe, which noted that among other things, gender disparities persisted at all levels of education (Nziramasanga Commission, 1999:173). Such views are also advanced by Gaidzanwa (1992:10) when she says that “higher levels of university management remained male dominated despite legislation” In the following section I shall provide a discussion on the major findings of the study.

7.1 Findings

Table 20a: Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

Findings	Towards gender equity/ Conclusions	Recommendations
1. Stereotyping, perceived harassment, marginalization and discrimination, which may be exercised along ethnic lines such as tribal lines - tribalism, or regional lines - regionalism.	The advancement and retention of senior women academics is affected by perceived stereotyping, discrimination and harassment in the institutions covered by the study. (see 3.1.1.1)	Universities should develop codes of conduct on stereotyping, perceived harassment, marginalization, and discrimination and enforce them in order to redress this situation. (see 5.2)
2. Absence of specific gender equity policies for the promotion of women within the universities. (see 6.2.2.1)	The absence of specific gender policy frameworks within the universities is one of the factors which work to the disadvantage of senior women academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions. (see 6.1.3.2)	Government should enact specific gender equity laws for the appointment and promotion of female academics and monitor these.
3. Male domination in both management and lectureship posts (6.2.3.1)	There is a culture of male domination within the researched universities which works to the disadvantage of senior women academics (see Section 3.5.1).	3. Due to culture which is difficult to change in a short time, universities need to come up with both short and long term plans to redress this situation.
4. Unavailability of research infrastructure	The unavailability of research infrastructure makes it difficult for academics to achieve their key promotion goal of research and publications (see 6.2.4).	Universities should establish ICT facilities and platforms specifically for research purposes.

Table 20b: Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

Findings	Towards gender equity/ Conclusions	Recommendations
5. Depressed economic situation is also evident in universities.	The depressed economic situation in the country has resulted in poor working conditions and there is also the flight of senior academics to other countries. As a result there are very few mentors and role models for junior academics (see 6.2.1.3).	The recent discovery of huge quantities of diamonds, gold, nickel and other high value minerals in the country should come as an advantage to stem the academic brain drain by improving the conditions of service for academics.
6. Absence of mentors.	There are few or no senior academics in the researched institutions to provide mentorship to junior academics	Improve the conditions of service in order to attract and retain senior academics.
7. Married senior women academics are affected by gendered division of labour in the home. (5.2)	7 Some women avoid higher level management posts because they clash with their domestic roles in the home with respect to time availability (see 3.4.4); (see 5.2).	The government or civil society groups need to establish community education programmes on the rights of women. This could be a long term project as it involves culture which is difficult to change.
8. Married senior women academics are affected by their role in the extended family.	8. The extended family plays a negative role in the retention and progression of female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities. (see 5.1.1.3)	However, it changes slowly with time.

Table 20c: Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

Findings	Towards gender equity/ Conclusions	Recommendations
9. Men treat women like their private property.	9. Such an attitude by traditional males does not work in favour of women in the workplace as they are not viewed as equals by traditional men. (see 5.1.1.1)	Government or civil society groups to come up with community education programmes on the rights of women pertaining to issues of customary law marriages.
10. Perceived discrimination of single women (see 6.5.8)	Single women experience a barrier to advancement depending on their location in Higher Education and the type of male stereotypes they are dealing with. (see 6.5.8)	Community education programmes on the rights of women by the government are recommended. Also codes of conduct recommended earlier should be developed at university level.
11. Lack of support networks. (see 6.4.5)	The absence of formal support networks within the universities covered by the study makes it difficult for junior academics to be mentored by senior academics. (see 6.4.5)	Universities should set up formal networks within campuses for research, conferences and publishing purposes among other issues.
12. Traces of resistance to women's authority by both men and women. (see 6.4.4)	Resistance to women's authority by other women academics is a factor which exacerbates the situation of women with regard to advancement to higher level management posts. (see 6.4.4)	Civil society and universities to establish educational programmes on human rights through the curriculum and other community based projects (see 3.3.1) .

Table 20d: Findings, Conclusions and Recommendations

Findings	Towards gender equity/ Conclusions	Recommendations
13. Individualism/ individual makes academic practice.	While individualism is part of the academic ethos, in the Zimbabwean cultural context, it has the effect of shock as people are socialized into the value of sharing of resources as a noble human attribute (section, 6.5.2).	There is need for universities to induct the new recruits into the academic profession in terms of expectations, work ethic as well as networking skills. The setting up of formal support networks recommended earlier will be helpful in this respect.
14. There are very few female academics qualified to teach the natural sciences disciplines at university level.	There is need to establish strategies to improve the access of women to natural science study programmes. In that way, the conditions are created for the growth of a new generation of women academics in the natural sciences. (see 5.3)	Government in conjunction with the universities to set up a fund for the training of female academics in the sciences, particularly the natural sciences.
15. There is not much dissemination of information on career development linked to teaching for female academics or any other academics going on in the researched Zimbabwean universities. (6.4.5.1)	As a result, female academics have limited access to important information concerning their careers within the institutions of Higher Education which impacts negatively on their career progression. (see 6.4.5.1)	Universities should set up transparent information systems for the dissemination of information to all stake holders.

7.2 Reflections on the Findings

7.2.1 Effects of patriarchy and related practices on life chances of female academics

A major finding of the study was that married female academics in the researched institutions are affected by the gendered division of labour in the home. In the Zimbabwean cultural context, married women are expected to provide domestic and childcare services for the family whether they are bread winners or not. As discussed earlier, in cultural terms husbands are not expected to take part in domestic chores or child care duties. Such activities are considered the duties of women; this is unlike in the Western culture where it has become a norm for husbands to also take part in domestic and child care services. In that regard, married female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities experience barriers to advancement due to their marital status. Those with children and husbands find that they are restricted in what opportunities they can utilize at the workplace. Respondents aver that female academics are not in a position to leave their families in order to take up opportunities or to go on job assignments which have been given at the last moment. They need to plan for the family in advance. What is unique in this case is that a married woman is expected by cultural custom to prepare the meals herself for the husband. In other words, traditional men will not eat food in the home that has been prepared by the domestic worker. As a result, some women shy away from higher level management posts at work as such promotion interferes with their domestic roles in the home.

One of the major findings of the study is that married female academics, unlike their Western counterparts are impacted upon by issues of the extended family in contrast to the nuclear family. Women in the researched Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions, unlike their Western counterparts, are affected by their role in the extended family in which they take care of the domestic needs of their own family and of all members of the extended family. The data revealed that the promotional opportunities for married women academics are secondary to their role of providing child care services for children, including children in the extended family such as grandchildren. As such their chances of advancement are impacted upon by the extended family duties.

Furthermore, as discussed earlier, women play subordinate roles to men in the extended family structure. As a result, female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities are affected by their subordinate position in the extended family in which they play a subservient role to men. Men occupy leadership roles in the family and society. Such relations are replicated in Higher Education institutions to the disadvantage of female academics, for example, in the views of the respondents, a married female academic in a management or supervisory position at work will experience problems should one of her subordinates be a senior male member of their extended family. Because a woman plays a subordinate role to males in the extended family structure she cannot supervise a senior male relative/ member of the extended family.

As evident from the data, men enjoy leadership roles in both institutions of Higher Education as Deans, Chairpersons and Vice- Chancellors, as well as in the society as chiefs, village and family heads. In that regard, the subordinate practices from the extended family mediates the relations in the workplace insofar as women professional authority is not held or given the same weight as that of male academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities.

Another major finding of the study is that as a result of the African marriage arrangement in which lobola or bride price is paid by the husband for his wife's hand in marriage, some men treat women like their private property. As outlined earlier, such an attitude by traditional males does not work in favour of women in the workplace as they are not viewed as equals by traditional men. As a result the practice of lobola payment by men for a woman's hand in marriage is embedded with negative connotations for the equality of women and men in both the private and public spheres of life, and the university workplace is no exception. In that respect, the subordination of women in society is replicated at the Higher Education workplace.

Moreover, one of the major findings of the study closely linked to the above is that being a single woman is sometimes seen as a "deficiency" by some traditional males who may

be holders of positions of authority within the universities and society at large. Briefly, as a result of patriarchy, in the views of respondents, there are men in the institutions who view single women with as deviant or as women who do not follow the norm in terms of marriage. They view single or unmarried women as irresponsible people and not fit to hold high office or be promoted to higher level management posts. This type of attitude is to the detriment of the advancement of single or unmarried female academics .

Furthermore, another key finding surfaced by the study is that there is an implementation gap between gender policy formulation by government and implementation at the institutional level. What is specific about this finding in the Zimbabwean context is that this situation for female academics is exacerbated by the fact that despite the proliferation of gender equity policies put in place by the Zimbabwean government (Chabaya et al., 2009), it is evident from the data that it has been left to individual universities to come up with their own gender equity policies for the advancement of female academics . It is also manifest in the data that most Zimbabwean universities do not have operating gender equity policies in place except for draft gender equity policies. Such gender equity drafts' implementation has been described by the respondents as haphazard activities that are not well coordinated, and that there are at most universities no clear policies being followed for the advancement of women faculty. In that regard, the gender policy implementation gap between the formulation and implementation at the university level is a disadvantageous factor for the advancement of female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions.

In addition, because of the non-implementation of gender equity policies at most Zimbabwean universities' workplace, female academics have no recourse to fall back on when they face challenges in appointments or advancement. In the views of respondents, it is assumed that everyone is equal and everyone takes care of themselves. Appointments and advancements are strictly done according to the laid down procedures and regulations. Where someone claims to be using some unwritten affirmative action strategy, the tendency is that it is viewed as corruption and abuse as pointed out by the respondents (L3; In. 1 and L13; In. 3). In such cases, the respondents argued that

undeserving favourites of top officials benefit at the expense of better experienced and qualified women.

Moreover, another key finding that emerged from the study is that while some female academics are able to get support networks, the majority of them are unable to get any networks; hence they find it difficult to grow as academics. In the views of the respondents (L1; In.1 and L12; In. 3), most universities do not have formal support networks in place for academics. Furthermore, for married women, there is a networking family conflict in which women have no time for networking after hours as they have to rush home to do domestic chores. Further to that it has been surfaced by the data (L3; In. 1 and L12; In. 3) of the study that there is not much dissemination of information on career development linked to teaching for female academics or for any other academics going on in the researched Zimbabwean universities. As a result, female academics have no access to important information concerning their careers within the institutions of Higher Education which impacts negatively on their career progression. Power is maintained through old networks, social class, institutional culture, and forms of assessment, for example, senior academics control the career aspirations of their peers and junior colleagues by evaluating intellectual outputs, theses, papers, books, and research applications (Ismail, 2002; Morley et al., 1996; Heward, 1996).

One other unique finding that has been surfaced by the study is that women in authority in Zimbabwean universities face traces of resistance from both males and females. As outlined earlier such traces of resistance to female authority by fellow female academics may be due to their societal experience in which men exercise power, or a result of social conditioning through patriarchy in which women are brought up to view men as the natural leaders. As a result such women will resist authority of other women in the institutions of Higher Education (Moroosi, 2007). The situation of female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions is, therefore, exacerbated by the resistance of fellow women managers in the workplace.

Chabaya et al. (2009: 235), maintains that the causes of persistent under-representation of women in educational leadership positions are gender stereotyping, low self esteem, lack of confidence, women's perception that their role in the family overrides all other roles and lack of support from the home and the workplace. As such, as manifest in the data, there is need for female academics to be assertive in order to get promotion and appointment to top posts. Women's under-representation in management posts in Higher Education institutions in Zimbabwe is interlinked to institutional culture and is not limited to Zimbabwe but is more of a global phenomenon (Morley, 2000; Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; Morley, 2005; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

Another key finding is that of the stereotyping of female academics as people who are uninterested in promotional posts. According to the respondents, this type of stereotyping of women is done by both men and women. As discussed earlier, in the cases in which women are stereotyped by other women, it is either a result of socialization of women in African society in which women are socialized to be subordinate to men or a result of African patriarchy which patronizes women through its apportioning of certain patriarchal powers to certain women (Dangarembga, 1989; Nzenza-Shand, 1997; Amadiume, 1987; Oyewumi, 1997). Women with patriarchal power such as "tete" in the Shona culture work for and with men against other women. They are the custodians of African patriarchy. In the institutions of Higher Education, such women act as barriers to the advancement of female academics by discouraging other women from aspiring for higher level management posts.

A following major finding that emerged from the study is that female academics in the researched Zimbabwean universities experience barriers to advancement due to discrimination. What is unique in this case is that it has surfaced from the data that such perceived discrimination could be exercised on ethnic lines such as along tribal lines - tribalism, or along regional lines - regionalism. Some respondents complained of being discriminated against on such a basis. Moreover, it has emerged from the data that Zimbabwean female academics perceive themselves to be excluded from important

positions in the form of marginalization. Such marginalization has been said to be in terms of jobs and the duties that women are assigned to in the various institutions.

Farrell (2007) points out that the roots of gender based discrimination run deep and lie buried in culture, customs, beliefs and superstitions. In that regard, discrimination is reflected in our daily lives, be it in areas of health, education, job opportunities or legal rights. Discrimination against women is evident in the male domination of faculty as well as in positions of authority. It also became evident through the study that there is a perception of a unique form of sexual harassment in the researched Zimbabwean universities, which is culturally constructed. In the views of the respondents, a lot of what African men say in social conversations with women at work is imbued with sexual innuendo if one were from a different culture. As a result of the extended family system in the Shona culture, for example, sexual harassment relies on culturally accepted relations between men and women which take several forms depending on the people involved. The extended family structure culminates in a number of relationship formations between men and women which unscrupulous men may abuse to exploit or sexually harass women. Under the extended family situation, there are a number of culturally acceptable relationship formations between men and women, for example, with respect to a man, his wife's sisters and female cousins are referred to as "mainini" or "maiguru" and according to the Shona culture, these people are referred to as his "wives". Traditionally, any of these women could become the men's second, third and even fourth wife under the polygamous marriage arrangement. Alternatively, any of these women could be given to the man by his in-laws as replacements should his wife happen to die. As a result, this cultural practice in which sisters inherit their sister's husband at death opens room for sexual harassment of women by men in the extended family.

Moreover for a woman, her husband's brothers and his male cousins are referred to as "babamunini" or "babamukuru" and according to culture, these people are referred to as "husbands" of the wife giving room for sexual harassment of the woman by the men. In addition, a nephew can also be termed "husband" to his uncle's wife thereby creating another valve for sexual harassment of the women. Furthermore, people of the same

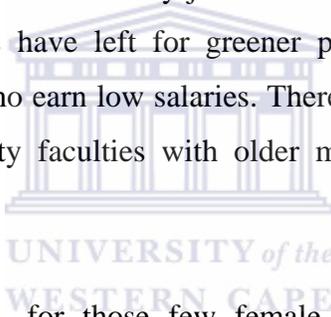
totem can also claim these relations in the larger society. At the workplace, these relations are usually exploited by unscrupulous men in positions of authority when they exploit women or sexually harass them by claiming some such link with the women or the husbands.

Briefly, culturally constructed sexual harassment is difficult to deal with as the perpetrator will often hide under the guise of having been joking with a relative. A key finding intertwined with this finding is a unique situation in the perception that there is sexual harassment of young and new female academics in the workplace, which does not work well for the appointment and progression of female academics in the researched Zimbabwean institutions.

Finally, one other key finding that has emerged from the study is that of individualism. What is unique about individualism in this case is that, while it is a well known norm of academic culture, in the Zimbabwean cultural context it is in direct conflict with social culture in which people are brought up believing in sharing of resources. As such, it comes as a cultural shock to female academics when they are faced with individualistic fellow academics within the institutions. Such a situation is exacerbated by the fact that women are already a minority in the researched institutions requiring mentoring and collegiality for skills development. As a result, individualism has a demoralizing effect on female academics which impacts negatively on their attitudes and motivation to be productive for advancement within the institutions. Munro (1994), indicates that it is widely believed that the ability of women to achieve advancement within the organizational environment is dependent upon their ability to gain acceptance and recognition. She, however, points out that there are a number of reasons why many women fail to gain these fundamental requirements. According to Munro's argument, these fall broadly into the categories of attitudes, representative numbers and lack of skills.

7.2.2 The Zimbabwean Economic Crisis and its effect on female academics

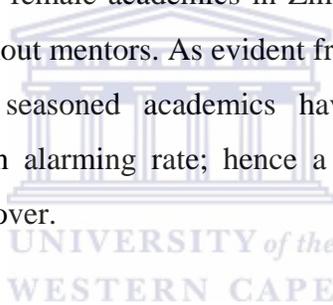
A unique situation for Zimbabwean female academics is the role played by the Zimbabwean economy in the productivity of academics in terms of research and publication. In the views of respondents, there are a number of economic factors that work negatively towards the effectiveness of Zimbabwean female academics. Due to the poor economic performance of the country in the past decade, academics have been impacted upon negatively through the earning of low salaries leading to a poor standard of living and low morale (see Maunde, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007). From my experience of the Zimbabwean economic situation, the plight of academics is exacerbated by the effects of the continuing poor economic performance of the country with academic salaries remaining at below the poverty datum line. What is unique in this Zimbabwean case is that currently in Zimbabwe, there are mostly junior lecturers left to teach in universities while the seasoned academics have left for greener pastures, hence the majority of lecturers are junior lecturers who earn low salaries. There are, however, still more males than females staffing university faculties with older males claiming senior positions within the universities.



According to the respondents, for those few female academics who are in senior institutional positions it is difficult for those female academics to maintain the expected standards under a situation of serious economic collapse and unattainable working conditions for academics (Maunde, 2003). The situation in which staff is not remunerated well makes it very difficult for staff to remain motivated and focused on their jobs. As discussed earlier, the uniqueness of this particular situation is that at one time the economy actually collapsed and academics went without any salaries save for an allowance of one hundred United States dollars per month (Gaidzanwa, 2007). In that regard, as outlined earlier, such a situation culminated in the hiring of a second string of academic staff mostly composed of junior academics without senior mentors supervising their research and advancement (Gaidzanwa, 2007). Furthermore, in the views of respondents, because most female academics are in the junior categories, they earn less salary than their older male colleagues. As such, women are still to achieve parity with

men in terms of salary and representation at the upper end of the profession (Barnes, 2007; Chipunza, 2003).

A further effect based on a key finding interlinked to low salaries is that, in the views of respondents, most qualified women are opting out of Higher Education for the business sector where they earn better salaries. As a result, fewer women compared to men apply for academic posts. Moreover, a further effect based on a key finding linked to economic factors is that of the unavailability of research infrastructure in the form of computers and internet facilities. Academics are forced to resort to the use of expensive private internet facilities and not everyone can afford to use these. As such, they are not able to research as well as do the necessary networking for professional growth purposes. Further linked to economic factors is the general unavailability of other resources such as books and digital resources. Additionally, female academics in Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education find themselves without mentors. As evident from the data of this study, due to poor conditions of service, seasoned academics have left and are still leaving Zimbabwean universities at an alarming rate; hence a male dominated second string academic workforce has taken over.



While there are many challenges faced by female academics in the researched universities in Zimbabwe which impact on their retention and progression, hope is not all lost as there are now a few females who have been promoted to higher level management posts in the form of a Deanship and one Vice-Chancellor. As discussed earlier, there is a suggestion from the data that although the institutions are male dominated, the female Vice-Chancellor is promoting women to management posts and that is a step in the right direction.

7.3 Towards Gender Equity

At the outset of this thesis, it was envisaged that upon reflection some thoughts would be advanced for the promotion of gender equity in the Zimbabwean institutions of Higher Education in order to advance an emancipatory agenda for female academics in Zimbabwe. This is in line with the lens of standpoint theory employed in this study. It is a

daunting prospect when confronted with institutions of Higher Education that are predominantly male dominated. In the light of such a state of affairs, it is evident that strategies to establish gender equity in higher management posts will need to be both short term and long term projects.

7.3.1 In the short term:

It would be important to attract and retain seasoned academics, both male and female, in order to bring back the academic mentors that have been lost to the system. In this Endeavour, it is a key finding in this study that institutions work on improving the conditions of service - especially the remuneration aspect. This is a necessary and more sustainable solution to staff turnover. Additionally, salaries should at least be based on what academics are currently receiving in the SADC region. As outlined earlier, most senior lecturers that have left Zimbabwe and continue to leave are destined mostly for the SADC region, particularly South Africa where salaries are much better than those which academics are offered in Zimbabwe. This is possible considering that since the formation of the GNU (Government of National Unity), the economy has been dollarized bringing with it some economic stability. The situation has been made even more feasible with the discovery of huge quantities of diamonds, gold, nickel and other high value minerals in the country. Zimbabwe's well known mineral wealth has been outlined earlier in Chapter 2.

It is also the view of this study based on key findings that universities approach the government or their responsible authorities for funding in order to revamp or introduce internet facilities on their campuses. Academics need computers with internet connection in their offices. Students need computer labs with internet connection. That way, chances of networking and network building for academics become enhanced. This is achievable considering that Zimbabwe is a well networked country in terms of technological infrastructure and also the fact that computer hardware and software are now common place throughout the SADC region. The aspect of formal networks is intertwined with the setting up of internet networks discussed above. It is therefore the view of this study that universities introduce formal networks within campuses for research purposes where

seasoned and new staff can mingle and share ideas and information on research projects, conferences and so on. Such networks could be in the form of basic discussion forums in university common rooms for all staff.

Furthermore, based on one of the further key findings it is a conclusion of this study that universities should develop codes of conduct on sexual harassment, marginalization and stereotyping where they don't already exist and enforce the rules. Where these policies exist, they should be enforced. Further, findings in the study have brought the need to the fore that universities should exercise transparency in all appointments and promotions of female academics . Senior management should put in place strategic plans to deal with this aspect. More female academics should be promoted to higher level management posts so that they are on an equal footing with their male counterparts.

7.3.2 In the long term

There is need across Zimbabwe that Government should pass a law of a gender affirmative action policy on appointment and promotion for female academics . Such a law can then be enforced at government level so that the universities can be held accountable in the case of non- implementation. At the moment, women experience many difficulties of an equity nature due to the absence of such a law. This will not only help to bring about gender equality and gender equity, but will also create role models for school students to emulate. It will also help to even out the numbers of males and females employed in the institutions of Higher Education.

Moreover, universities are urged to petition the government for funding in support of staff development for female academics so that they bring the numbers of female academics on a par with men in the various university departments. Whatever funding that can be sourced in the face of the current economic difficulties can be allocated to this initiative. If any institutions are using the Human Capital Theory approach to training and development as outlined earlier, this study supports the view that such institutions need to revisit their staff development policies with a view to include female academics based on some criteria other than Cost Benefit Analysis, which is in favour of men in terms of rate

of return on training investment. A gender equity approach in training and development of academic staff should be instituted.

From the data, it has been advanced by respondents that gender equity policy has been abused to promote girlfriends, friends and relatives. In that regard, this study strongly endorses the principle that universities recruit and train as well as promote women on merit so that the deserving female academics are the ones to be promoted. Management should not promote female academics based on friendships, relationships, party political affiliation or on being linked to influential people. Capable women should be promoted to positions of authority. Recruitment committees should be made neutral by having equal numbers of males and females from a diversity of backgrounds sitting on them.

The findings of the study have revealed that in Zimbabwe, there are very few female academics teaching in the natural sciences disciplines. In the light of these results, it is the view of this study that there is need at government level in conjunction with the universities for the setting up of a fund for the training of female academics in the sciences, particularly the natural sciences. Such a fund can then be used as a source of Study Fellowships or Bursaries for the training of women in these areas of expertise.

7.4 Limitations of the Study

The study was limited by the following factors:

The writing of this thesis has been one of the most challenging and indeed humbling experiences I have ever gone through in life. This has been one of the biggest academic projects I have ever embarked on which required a lot of energy, patience and determination. Although I had written and published, as well as presented at many conferences before and had done other courses, I discovered that writing a doctoral thesis was a demanding project which required a different approach.

One of the difficult tasks had been the fact that because of my being a natural scientist, I am more used to the positivist research approach. As a result, one of the difficult things

was that I had to confine myself to a feminist qualitative research approach. A further difficulty I had to overcome was the language and style in which I had to express myself which was quite different from my earlier writings. I had to learn to write differently.

Moreover, as a male researcher, I initially wondered if the female academics would open up to me by answering my questions in a truthful manner. However, my fears were rested once I started my interviews and the selected female academics were more than willing to be interviewed by me and provided valuable data for the success of this study. Being a former head of a high school, a fellow university lecturer as well as having operated at a management level at the university level came in handy. Through that experience I was able to relate to the female academics very well. It was because of my work within university management level that I became aware of the many gender related issues that impacted on the advancement of female academics within the institutions. As outlined earlier, female academics would share their frustrations with me, which made me empathize with them; hence as someone who was working with female academics on a daily basis I decided to research the factors that affected them with a view to finding solutions to these problems. Additionally, financial availability was a serious hassle. I did not have any financial sponsorship from any source other than from my own meager resources. This greatly limited my freedom and scope of movement, as well as the procurement of research materials, equipment and communication. I had to borrow funds from family and friends in order to counter this limitation.

Furthermore, availability of informants at the institutions of Higher Education on the arranged times was another limiting factor. I had to wait around for some informants to turn up or had to make a call back arrangement in order to deal with this limitation. In addition, my progress was also hampered by the attitude of some respondents who did not turn up for the arranged interviews. I had to do follow-ups and re-appointments as well as arrange interviews with replacement informants who were available at the time of the interview visit. One other limitation emanated from the fact that some respondents did not want to be recorded on the voice recorder while agreeing to be interviewed. I had to write verbatim what the respondents said in order to overcome this limitation. Finally,

one of the limitations was that of unavailability of equipment such as printers and photocopiers. I had to spend a lot of money on printing and photocopying as well as binding services.

7.5 Recommendations for future study

Because this study centered on the factors that impact on female academics with respect to retention and progression within the institutions of Higher Education, it is recommended that future studies could centre on one such factor, the role of economic factors on the productivity of female academics. Briefly, the role played by economic factors with respect to research and publications for female academics would be helpful in explaining further the reasons behind the under-representation of female academics in higher level institutional management posts.

A further area of interest could be an investigation into the role played by the current political situation in Zimbabwe with respect to the appointment and advancement of female academics. In particular, gender equity policy implementation should be addressed as there is a gap between policy formulation and implementation. This study could highlight some reasons behind gender equity policy non-implementation by universities. It might also be interesting to see how the political situation has affected the Higher Education workplace in terms of the conditions of service and the general working environment for female academics in Zimbabwe. Moreover, another recommended area of study could be an investigation into the effects of the brain drain of senior academics from universities in Zimbabwe with regard to the lack of mentoring of female academics in terms of research and publications as well as advancement in terms of study.

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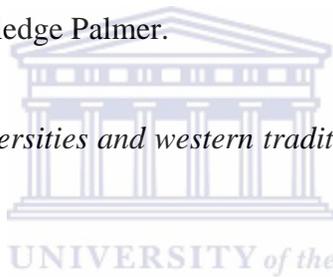
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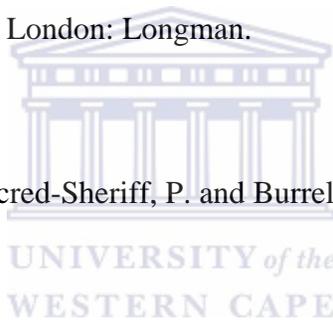
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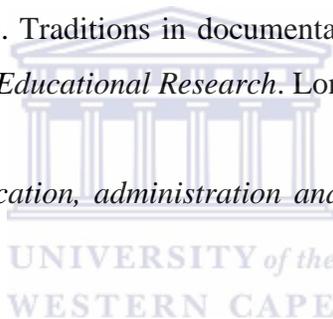
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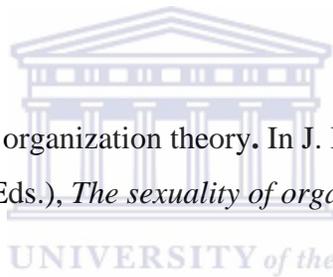
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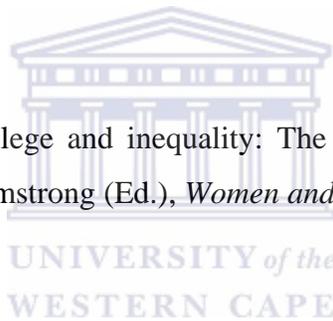
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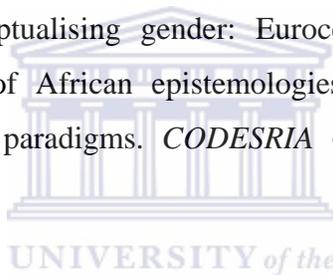
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Appendix 1: Interview Schedule

1. Patriarchy (probe socialization as women in Zimbabwe)

- What are your experiences as women in Zimbabwean society?
- How have cultural factors in Zimbabwean society impacted upon you in your workplace?
- Tell me about the factors that advance/ impede your effectiveness as an academic

2. Governance

2(a) Recruitment, Appointments and Hiring

- How is equity in terms of teaching establishment at the faculty level?
- Comment on your role in the recruitment process? (probe for equity strategies)

2 (b) Promotion (probe for barriers)

- What kinds of barriers exist in your institution which prevents you or other women from rising to your fullest potential within the institution?
- To what extent does the institutional culture advance / inhibit female academics ?
- How has the culture acted as a barrier in terms of promotion/progression of women to higher level management posts?

3. Teaching (probe for workload, decision-making, participation, support)

- Tell me about your experiences as a woman academic in your institution with reference to the environment and support services?

(Participation and decision-making: probe for decisions into teaching load, curriculum)

- Tell me about your experiences in decision making role as a woman in your institution?

4. Research (probe for decisions, support, and seminar –conference attendance)

- Tell me about your experiences into accessing funds and other resources for research?

Appendix 1

5. Administration (probe decision-making, participation, committee representation, influencing the direction of the department/faculty)

- Tell me about your experience and participation in decision making and committee representation?

6. Support networks

- What is the nature of formal/ informal support networks for women staff in your institution?

7. Personal experiences as a women in the institution

Institutional Culture: (explain): The term ‘culture’ refers to ‘what it is that people can / cannot do in an organization/unit and the adjective ‘institution ‘ qualifies what is permissible in the said culture, hence, the term ‘institutional culture’.

- What then, can you tell me about the culture of your institution?

8. Feeling of inclusion/exclusion

- As a woman do you feel that you are fully included in the activities that have to do with your work within the institution?

8. Prejudice/ Stereotyping

- Do you feel that you have/are prejudged (explain term) as a women academic

Yes/ No. Probe both responses (especially in terms of marginalization and perceived unfair treatment).

- Do you feel that you have been unfairly treated as a woman academic? (Probe for perceived discrimination).
- Do you feel that you have been harassed as a woman academic?

Appendix 2: Interview data

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR WOMEN ACADEMIC STAFF AT FOUR ZIMBABWEAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

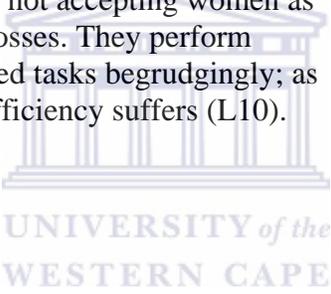
1a. Patriarchy: Experiences as women in Zimbabwean society

1	2	3	4
<p>Sometimes both men and women resist authority of a woman due to their societal experience in which men exercise power (L1). Very few women have been appointed to top posts as compared to men (L2). There are very few women in positions of authority and men dominate decision making meetings (L3). As a married woman, I have experienced social related problems particularly when trying to supervise male relatives at work. Culturally, they are my superiors (L4). There are problems with supervision of some male colleagues as they won't readily take instructions (L5).</p>	<p>In our society, men occupy higher social positions to women, in the same way the management ranks in Higher Education institutions are occupied by mostly male staff almost everywhere (L6). There is still a domination of men in top posts and there is not much change taking place (L7). Mostly men occupy positions of authority in the institution (L8). Married women have problems balancing their work roles and family issues (L9). The university is generally a male space due to the science subjects on offer. There are very few women in both lectureships and management (L10).</p>	<p>People in society believe in male domination of women and this kind of thinking extends to the workplace (L11). There are more men who are in place in both Institutional and department top posts (L12). Most decisions in the institution are made by men by virtue of their positions of authority (L13). Most women at work need their husband's permission before applying for a post of responsibility (L14). Just as men exercise power in society, they also exercise power in the institution through deanships, chairmanships and other positions (L15).</p>	<p>Inf chi wo wh edu has He wo In ma We sub ma me Be pos occ dif res So my to wo of pro mo bel</p>

1b. Patriarchy: The impact of cultural factors in the workplace

1	2	3	4
<p>I am the only female fulltime lecturer out of 10. There are very few females entering the profession. and women are less mobile. As the only women, there are obstacles of being alone for example in a bar at a workshop venue; I will be the only female who will join my male colleagues for institutional gossip. The problem of culture then comes in. I grew up in a free society but here people will say that I am someone's wife. There are certain things they won't say in my presence. I am not included when male colleagues want to go out after hours. The exclusion is due to social issues.(L1)</p> <p>Some men are used to treating women as subordinates at work like they are used to from society.(L2)</p> <p>For married women, husbands play a big role in what choices you can or cannot make even at work.(L3)</p> <p>Promotion is dependent upon research and publication.</p> <p>Sometimes it is difficult as married women to engage in research activities due to limitations of time for both work and family.(L4)</p> <p>Men are used to seeing other men as leaders. They take supervision from females begrudgingly.(L5)</p>	<p>As a married woman, I am not in a position to move from one place to another for promotion purposes.(L6)</p> <p>Yah. I think patriarchy does affect us women a lot. Because men in high positions think that things should be run the patriarchal way. For example, in this department men have been exchanging the chairmanship. When I came, there was one man and one woman, but when the man who was chairman left, they put another man.(L7)</p> <p>Yes, there is always that patriarchal influence, the promotion of men is considered normal(L8)</p> <p>I think that patriarchy does affect us women a lot. For example department chairpersons have always been men.(L9)</p> <p>One has to work hard all the time in order to prove your worth. (L10)</p>	<p>People who are in power are mostly male. They probably do not understand what women say when they complain.(L11)</p> <p>Zimbabwe being a patriarchal society, there is always that patriarchal influence. Some of these are traditional. Eyebrows are raised when a woman is promoted. However when men are promoted, it is considered normal.(L12)</p> <p>Really in the society, it is there. People in society believe in male domination of women and this kind of thinking extends to the workplace(L13)</p> <p>At the workplace you get women having to work much harder than males to get to a position. Most Committees are male dominated. Men don't seem to see a problem. Decisions are made by males. Competition gets stiffer because of more males in the institution.(L14)</p> <p>We are led by a woman who has male advisors. Why does she need male advisors? Is she trying to speak through a male voice? Men dominate. (L15)</p>	<p>Fer Me the dis ma ste pos wo pos Ye a r soc of ext Th mu Th wo We aw Sir mo Me wo dec as sub Ma cor litt the</p>

1c. Patriarchy: Factors that advance/ impede the effectiveness of female academics

1	2	3	4
<p>The time factor is a problem; because of multiple roles women do not have much time for studying. They spend time with family and children. It is a challenge for advancement (L1). The poor salary is a challenge (L2).</p> <p>Trying to motivate the workforce as Director is very difficult in this economy. Maintenance of standards is also difficult (L3).</p> <p>There are so many challenges for example pushing yourself up to the standard that is expected (L4). Poor remuneration and non recognition of academic efforts (L5).</p>	<p>There is inflexibility in terms of development in the university. The Science subjects offered are male oriented, hence fewer girls are able to enroll than boys (L6). Poor remuneration and lack of recognition for academic work (L7) Making a break through into advanced academic work such as Doctoral studies and professorship (L8). Poor salaries and failure by authorities to recognize one's academic work (L9). Some of the challenges are a result of men not accepting women as their bosses. They perform allocated tasks begrudgingly; as such efficiency suffers (L10).</p> 	<p>Being barred from some types of work or role because of what I am, for example sex, race or belief. I happen to be the only non African in the Department. There are very few women in this subject area. I don't blame anyone but sometimes it's like they don't know how to include me (L11). Lack of support from top management (L12). One has to keep being assertive to be taken seriously (L13). Working long hours is a challenge (L14). Everyone should be gender sensitive. There is need to educate people on this issue (L15).</p>	<p>The po difficul as Dire of stand</p> <p>I am th have no</p> <p>The ma my dep Men re learn to (L19). They d everybo (L20).</p>

2a. Governance: Recruitment factors

1	2	3	4
<p>There is no gender equity policy in place at this institution. Both men and women compete for posts on an equal basis (L1). There are more men in lectureships than women (L2).</p> <p>The university has a majority of male lecturers. Women are very few in most departments (L3). They are supposed to hire men and women on an equal basis but the situation on the ground shows differently (L4). They often say that there are few women that qualify for lectureship position (L5).</p>	<p>Males dominate. There is only one female Dean and there are more men than women among lecturers (L6).</p> <p>Women are very few in the institution (L7).</p> <p>There are at least four times more males than females among lecturers (L8).</p> <p>The institution has a science bias. More men are involved as lecturers due to the science subjects offered which are male oriented (L9).</p> <p>There is no equity between male and female lecturers in the institution. There are more males than females (L10).</p>	<p>Although everyone is encouraged to apply for posts. Promotions and appointments show differently (L11). I am the only female in the department. I have no one to share ideas with (L12).</p> <p>There are very few women lecturers in the university (L13).</p> <p>They are supposed to hire both men and women on a fair basis but they don't seem to be implementing that policy at all. More men than women are lecturers (L14).</p> <p>The institution has a domination of males as lecturers in almost every subject area (L15).</p>	<p>There is change a impleme women i promotio Most of this insti Most dep dominate Women instituti There is men hav the exper Most wo lecturesh here are</p>

2b. Governance: The role of senior women academics in the recruitment process

1	2	3	4
<p>I am not in the final selection panel but I always encourage women to apply for academic posts (L1)</p> <p>We recruit on merit. More men have been appointed than women (L2)</p> <p>There are very few females in this subject area. More men have been appointed (L3)</p> <p>Although I sit in the interview panel, the final selection is done by the top management who are men (L4).</p> <p>I am only told when a candidate has been appointed at the time they are coming to start work in the institution (L5).</p>	<p>If you are talking about employment equity, that is not my responsibility. If you want a job, you apply. You qualify on your own merit. I follow the regulations that are given. Those women that have come into the system have not been wanting (L6).</p> <p>There are very few females applying for posts compared to males. More men have been appointed (L7).</p> <p>There are very few women with qualifications in certain subjects of a scientific nature (L8).</p> <p>I am not in the interview panel. Appointment is done by top management (L9).</p> <p>There is no policy in place on the appointment and promotion of women. The final selection is done by top management (L10).</p>	<p>Nothing, even if you want to hire more women, they are not qualified (L11).</p> <p>I haven't got control of full time staffing at Regional level. I had one woman colleague who left. I am only recruiting part timers. Women are not applying (L12).</p> <p>Fewer women are applying for the posts due to marital commitments (L13).</p> <p>There are more males, 2 women, 9 men. Women are not qualified. They do not have the opportunity to pursue higher degrees. Once they get bachelors degrees they get married and look after children (L14).</p> <p>I only get involved at the short listing stage of the recruitment process with the final interviews and appointments being done at head office level (L15).</p>	<p>I have number women</p> <p>More employ of 4 me of qual</p> <p>The lec They ar most w There i employ There a It is adv women In any c panel (Vice C who ge haven't selectio</p>

2c. Governance: Barriers to the advancement of senior women academics

1	2	3
<p>There is competition with males. Women in leadership are very few compared to men. Competition for posts with men is difficult. Men are more experienced at work (L1). People who are in power are mostly male. They probably do not understand what women say when they complain about issues that affect them negatively as women (L2).</p> <p>There is no gender equity policy in this university (L3).</p> <p>There is no policy in place; as such not much is happening in terms of advancement of women to management ranks (L4).</p> <p>The lack of resources such as computers and internet facilities is a barrier (L5).</p>	<p>At times there is a general belief that a woman cannot do it well, especially if she is alone. She needs help. You have to work extra hard to prove that you can do what men can do. Because they think that a woman should submit to them (L6). There are no policies as such. It is taken for granted rather than the written policies. In practice women are not promoted as much as men do. From the past, men have had high positions and cannot move away. They have experience (L7). In terms of policy, men and women are supposed to be treated equally but not in practice (L8). There are no policies in place from the past; men have had high positions due to their experience (L9).</p> <p>There are no such policies. It is just that women are not in a position to move from one place to another for promotion if they are married (L10).</p>	<p>It may be a situation where women cannot move uprooting the whole family to where the promotional post is based, for example from Bulawayo to Harare or Mutare (L11).</p> <p>There is no policy in place but something is happening as the woman Vice- Chancellor is appointing and promoting mostly females. Men are complaining (L12).</p> <p>Married women are controlled by their family situation and location and cannot move away from families on promotion to other cities. They worry about children (L13).</p> <p>Lack of the required qualifications and experience among women is a barrier (L14)</p> <p>Lack of information on promotional posts is a barrier (L15)</p>

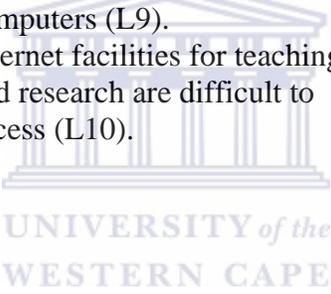
2d. Governance: Institutional cultural factors that inhibit the advancement of senior women academics

1	2	3	4
<p>It depends, but the problem is numbers, there are more males than females in the institution, for example one woman surrounded by males in a committee (L1).</p> <p>Not really, it depends on the woman. You have to be more aggressive to push up. There used to be an Association for University Women. It's no longer there (L2).</p> <p>I think it does. It does and it doesn't. It does: if you have the papers required for a specific post, you are given a fair hearing. It doesn't: there is no policy, when people complain, there is no policy to fall back on, and for example there are no quarters and so on. Any woman can apply for example for PVC. I didn't apply to be PVC because of my 4 years experience at the Dean level. I felt that I did not have enough experience (L3).</p> <p>No because the top posts are occupied by males. One has to be aggressive to push up. There used to be an Association for University Women. It's no longer there (L4).</p> <p>I am not sure; I am not interested in promotion (L5).</p>	<p>This is a male dominated institution in the sense that the 1st four levels up to my level, there are very few women. I am the only female Dean. At the Vice-Chancellor, Pro Vice-Chancellor, Chairperson of Department levels, there are very insignificant numbers of women. There are very few women here (L6).</p> <p>No, it is not conducive. Only the Bursar is a woman. It's not so easy for a female to be promoted to a top post (L7).</p> <p>On paper it does, but all the discrimination against women is not written down. You just see it manifesting, otherwise everyone is encouraged to apply but appointments don't reflect (L8).</p> <p>I can't say really. I haven't seen it. It has to have encouragement. culture is not all that conducive. There are very few women. Very few of the guys are accommodative to women (L9).</p> <p>No the institutional culture is not conducive to the promotion of women to top posts (L10).</p>	<p>The University runs on committee system. There is minimal representation where there are fewer people. It is in the committees where decisions are made. There are no women, for example there are 1 or 2 chairpersons who are women and 1 deputy dean (L11).</p> <p>All the discrimination against women is not written down. The climate is supportive due to the presence of a female VC. (L12).</p> <p>The culture is not supportive despite the presence of a female VC. (L13).</p> <p>Only in theory. The rest of the top posts are occupied by males (L14).</p> <p>Women are really promoted. Two Regional Directors are women. EEE, probably it doesn't really promote. Only 2/10 Directors are women. There is no culture of promoting women, for example there are few women. I am the only one in my Department (L15).</p>	<p>Male auth with auth over Men Yes the p cultu No, easy a top No, is en Prom diffe It do few There won won 50/5</p>

2e. Governance: Cultural barriers to women's promotion to higher level management posts

	2	3	4
<p>Promotion is through publishing. One needs to publish or they don't get promoted. It is purely on merit (L1).</p> <p>Appointment and promotions decisions are made by male dominated committees (L2).</p> <p>Promotions are biased towards men since men are seen as the natural leaders (L3).</p> <p>Male dominated committees make decisions that favour the appointment of men ahead of women (L4).</p> <p>It is difficult being a minority in an institution as attention seems to be centred on everything that you are doing (L5).</p>	<p>If you are a woman, you are required to be very much qualified. You are required to have high qualifications to be H.O.D., but men with lower qualifications get appointed due to their experience. It is taken for granted that they are able to lead (L6).</p> <p>One cannot be promoted without research and publications (L7).</p> <p>There is always the pressure to perform well. One does not want to be found wanting (L8).</p> <p>Competition with men is difficult. You feel that you have to prove that you can also do what ever they can do (L9).</p> <p>As a married woman, sometimes it is difficult to keep up with the pressure of work like everyone else due to family issues (L10).</p>	<p>Men in high positions think that things should be run the patriarchal way. For example, in this department men have been exchanging the chairmanship. When I came, there was one man and one woman, but when the man who was chairman left, they put another man (L11).</p> <p>It is difficult to publish without funding and internet facilities. We are unable to publish (L12).</p> <p>It is difficult for some men to accept women leadership as they may think that you are not capable (L13).</p> <p>There is the pressure to publish, which is not easy to do due to lack of funds (L14).</p> <p>Sometimes, the hassles that one goes through in order to be promoted are discouraging for women (L15).</p>	<p>Issues of p experie example th for intervi the three m having low Some of th around for Males who decide on promoted Men who committee recommen promoted The shorta publicatio promotion Because o needs to h qualificati for promo</p>

3a. Teaching: Experiences of senior women academics with respect to institutional environment and support services

1	2	3	4
<p>Most women accept the situation as it is. It is important to point that out. Excessive work load is really a major challenge. One is supposed to perform like everyone else despite the work load. I am alone in this department. The other lecturer is sick (L1).</p> <p>They have even failed to cater for women for example the creation of a crèche for children of female workers has gone unimplemented (L2).</p> <p>The employer does not disseminate sufficient information on career development for women (L3).</p> <p>The workload is big due to staff shortages. We are forced by the situation to share the available teaching load (L4).</p> <p>There is a shortage of resources such as computers and internet facilities (L5).</p>	<p>There is need for more communication (L6).</p> <p>No, not much is disseminated in terms of career development (L7).</p> <p>Decisions on who should goes on staff development are made by top management and the criteria on who goes for staff development is not clear (L8).</p> <p>There is a shortage of teaching resources such as books and computers (L9).</p> <p>Internet facilities for teaching and research are difficult to access (L10).</p> 	<p>The only hick up is money. The institution has no money for staff training (L11).</p> <p>We don't get much career development information, for example the Doctorate programme was not advertised internally. Everyone got to know of it after the deadline. It was only advertised in the Herald and not in the Chronicle (L12).</p> <p>I don't think that the employer disseminates sufficient information. There is nothing specifically channeled for women (L13).</p> <p>There are no career development programmes or support done by the institution (L14).</p> <p>Information on Training Fellowships is not easily availed to all staff (L15).</p>	<p>L w to C a (T c w T re in T st h (</p>

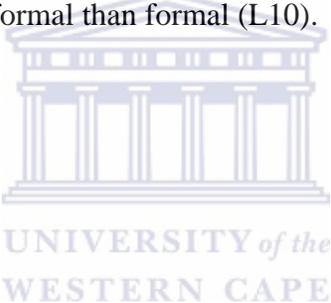
3b. Teaching: The role of women in decision making within the institution

1	2	3	4
<p>I have felt marginalized once in a while, particularly when it comes to decision making on important work related issues. Someone else makes decisions and in most cases they don't consult you (L1).</p> <p>The teaching load is allocated by the chairman. Sometimes lecturers have to share a big teaching load due to fewer people in the department (L2)</p> <p>We are involved in curriculum development, although much is dependent on the chairman who determines what is taught and by who (L3).</p> <p>Involvement in curriculum development is minimal as most of the modules on offer to students are already developed and in use (L4).</p> <p>Departmental management makes important decisions on the curriculum taught. One is only consulted during the allocation of the teaching load on their subject specialism (L5).</p>	<p>Most women don't like to participate. Mostly men go for projects outside the University. Women need encouragement. (L6)</p> <p>Decisions on teaching load are made by top management who are mostly men. On curriculum development, most of the time, the curriculum to be followed is already in existence (L7).</p> <p>One does not make many decisions on issues of the curriculum and teaching load. These are usually given to you (L8).</p> <p>Sometimes one is forced to teach what has been left behind by the last person without much consultation (L9).</p> <p>There is little consultation on what one teaches although if you are lucky to be involved in the launch of a new course, then you can participate in the making up of the course structure with the chairman making the final decision (L10).</p>	<p>I have no problem as a divorced woman. Some women shy away from responsibility because of the pressures involved (L11).</p> <p>Decisions on the teaching load and the curriculum are in most cases done by a panel of senior people in the department (L12).</p> <p>In most cases, you are asked to teach what has been availed to you. You don't have much choice to make (L13).</p> <p>What you teach depends with your subject area and the chairman of the department (L14).</p> <p>You can only teach what you offer as teaching subjects but the teaching load is sometimes big (L15).</p>	<p>Isolated making consult are com Decision load are to impl There i curricu is some course I have v curricu I have t difficul some st</p>

5. Administration: Women's participation in decision making and committee representation.

1	2	3	4
<p>Zimbabwe being a patriarchal society, there is always that patriarchal influence. Some of these are traditional. Eyebrows are raised when a woman is promoted. However when men are promoted, it is considered normal (L1).</p> <p>There is a poor representation of women in university committees (L2).</p> <p>There are only a few women in committees (L3).</p> <p>This is a male dominated institution. Men dominate committees (L4).</p> <p>I have not participated in decision making as I am not in any committee in the institution (L5).</p>	<p>Women are expected to conform to what males see. The male way of doing things because of the domination of males for example meetings at short notice, working at night (L6).</p> <p>Not much. There are very few women. They are however trying to promote women of late (L7).</p> <p>Women are poorly represented in university committees (L8).</p> <p>Women are not well represented in committees. This is where decisions are made (L9).</p> <p>Decisions are made by committees and I am not in any of the committees (L10).</p>	<p>Multiple roles are a major challenge. Meetings of some committees for example Research Committee are called last minute and you are pushed to go to the meeting. It interferes with role as a mother, role as a woman. If I didn't have children, I wouldn't be bothered. The challenge is in taking up certain roles (L11)</p> <p>Committees are by virtue of one's position hence women are not well represented (L12).</p> <p>There is unfortunately not much representation. There is domination of men in committees (L13)</p> <p>Representation is by position. There are only very, very few women in top positions (L14).</p> <p>No, women are not well represented in university committees (L15).</p>	<p>A te w d h N s C h re T w c T u th</p>

6. Support networks: Factors associated with support networks for senior women academics

1	2	3	4
<p>There are no formal or informal support networks in this university, none (L1). There are no support networks and there are no supportive colleagues (L2) There are no formal networks. There is informal networking in the staff common room. Most women have no time for that (L3). At Departmental and Faculty levels, colleagues are supportive (L4). Formal support exists. There is no problem for me. Also informal networks are very supportive. There are no problems (L5).</p>	<p>It is difficult to maintain networks. The networks in place are more informal than formal (L6). Support networks are mainly informal, for example friends (L7). Support is both formal and informal (L8). There are no networks in place here (L9). The networks in place are more informal than formal (L10).</p>  <p>The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building facade with columns and the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' below it.</p>	<p>There are no supportive people in the institutions and there are no formal support networks (L11). There are no support networks, both formal and informal (L12). There are no networks in place here. I sometimes get support from other women (L13). I get support from fellow programme coordinators. There are no formal support networks (L14). I get support at Regional level and in the Department. There is no informal grouping in the institution (L15).</p>	<p>Very Univ This rese on h their dela and acad room com For the c supp We reaso orga supp Ther (L18 I get won form Som leve</p>

7. Institutional culture: Factors related to institutional culture

	2	3	4
<p>There is no culture of promoting women, for example there are few women. I am the only one in my Department (L1).</p> <p>It is a male culture, especially in committees as well as senior positions (L2)</p> <p>Aggressive culture (L3).</p> <p>Culture with regards to appointments and promotions is still old (not enlightened) there is no policy regulation for women (L4)</p> <p>A male culture of doing things (L5).</p>	<p>One has to work extra hard to prove that you can do what men can do. Because they believe that women cannot manage to lead (L6).</p> <p>There is a culture of leadership by men within the institution (L7).</p> <p>The institution is male dominated both at management and lectureship levels (L8).</p> <p>Male dominated in senior positions (L9)</p> <p>Male dominated in senior and lectureship positions (10)</p>	<p>The culture is not all that conducive for senior women academics. There are very few women. Very few of the men are accommodative to women. People are individualistic. (L11).</p> <p>There are no policies as such. It is taken for granted rather than the written policies. In practice women are not promoted as much as men do. From the past, men have had high positions and cannot move away. They have experience (L12)</p> <p>We are supposed to be researching and publishing and yet there are limited facilities and funds (13)</p> <p>Committees are male dominated (L14).</p> <p>Men are in positions of leadership (L15).</p>	<p>Women in institutional positions. There are few women in leadership positions. A culture of research. Women in positions. A culture of professional development.</p>

8a. Feeling of inclusion/exclusion: Factors related to inclusion/exclusion of women within the institution

1	2	3	4
<p>I have been marginalized in terms of decisions on who represents the institutions at invited functions or decisions on how things should be run within the institutions in terms of the general planning and implementation of activities .(L1).</p> <p>Leaving out women in education and decision making positions. I have personally experienced it (L2).</p> <p>Yes, there is marginalization of females in this institution (L3).</p> <p>Yes, I have experienced being marginalized once in a while (L4).</p> <p>We are complaining about that in this institution (L5)</p>	<p>Marginalization of women is also taking place. Some departments are all staffed by men. I have experienced marginalization. I am the only lady in the department. I am kept doing a job; capturing of marks all the time. They claim that no one else can do that job (L6).</p> <p>Yes marginalization of women occurs at this place, for example in the allocation of duties and responsibility (L7).</p> <p>I don't think it happens as much as it used to (L8).</p> <p>Marginalization of females: "Yes I have experienced being marginalized, with men doing everything by themselves without involving you (L9)</p> <p>Marginalization of women is also taking place. I have experienced marginalization in this department (L10).</p>	<p>Isolated, not involved in decision making, treated like children and not consulted when decisions are made. We are complaining about that (L11).</p> <p>Marginalization of females: "They claim that no one else can do that job (L12).</p> <p>Females are being marginalized. Men are used to treating women like their property. Marginalization, discrimination and stereotyping are major challenges for example, stereotyping that, "women refuse posts of responsibility," even some women stereotype those that want posts of responsibility (L13).</p> <p>There is an element of that happening. Yes, I experienced marginalization (L14).</p> <p>Being left out of important activities such as decision making. I have personally experienced it (L15).</p>	<p>I have... whil... decis... relat... resor... reall... Som... most... done... Giv... want... (L17... Yes... affec... Mar... Yes... marg...</p>

8b. Prejudice/ Stereotyping: Factors related to treatment issues with respect to female academics

1	2	3	4
<p>There are some people who engage in female stereotyping once in a while. They hide under the guise of making jokes (L1). Yes stereotyping of females happens here. People do it without shame (L2). People making biased statements about women There are some people who are like that in this institution (L3). Yes I have come across stereotyping in this place. It does occur (L4). Yes I have experienced stereotyping here (L5).</p>	<p>Yes, there is female stereotyping in this place. There are a lot of biased statements about women being made (L6) Female stereotyping: “Men make dehumanizing comments about women, it sometimes happens here (L7). There is stereotyping of women by men in this institution (L8). This happens now and again (L9). Stereotyping is prevalent here (L10).</p>	<p>Attributing negative roles to females, even females stereotype females, for example, ‘females cannot do this and that’, statements coming from other females. I have experienced it (L11). Yes, I have come across stereotyping at this place (L12). If you look at ZOU, the VC is a lady. Women are also given a role. The Pro- VC Finance and the Finance Director are ladies. There are many ladies because the VC is a lady. Some people are now saying, “At ZOU, if you want promotion, just put on a skirt (L13). Attributing negative roles to women, seeing them as inferior. I have experienced it (L14). Abusing members of the other sex. Yes it occurs (L15).</p>	<p>That happens example, the refuse posts of some women posts of respect. Yes, there is place. There statements ab (L17). At times I felt stereotyped (Yes, I have c stereotyping Yes there are once in a while guise of mak</p>

8c. Experiences of senior women academics with respect to discrimination

1	2	3	4
<p>Yes it does happen across the board. People discriminate others in different ways, for example in terms of marital status or looking down upon single people (L1). I once experienced it, when I was discriminated against because of my tribe (L2). Any strategies get abused. They promote friends and relatives and people from their home regions (L3). Yes, I had to work as an Administrative Assistant for a long time although I could have been a lecturer. The Director preferred that I remain as an Administrator working under him, therefore he would not entertain my application for lectureship (L4). Yes I have experienced discrimination (L5).</p>	<p>You look down upon other people and you do not involve them in mainstream life and activities. I have experienced discrimination but, I don't know of any others who have suffered discrimination (L6). Yes, I have experienced discrimination by seeing it happen. I have acted upon it by writing to the Ministry and something was done. For example when going out on a student assessment trip to the rural areas, the men would often ask women, can you rough it up? in order to exclude them from the trip (L7).. Yes, I have been discriminated upon in terms of appointment to Head of Department (L8). Discrimination: If you are a woman, you have to do much more to be appointed to a position of responsibility (L9). I have been discriminated upon once in a while (L10)</p>	<p>Yes, most institutions take it for granted and are more inclined to put men in positions of authority. They talk about it but do not implement it. Even in introducing new curriculum, they do not consider the needs of girls (L11). Giving better treatment to a certain identified group. Yes, it does happen here and there. It is difficult to substantiate. For example three men and one woman with more experience and seniority than the men were interviewed for a senior post. Despite her seniority, the woman did not get the appointment, it went to a man (L12). As a woman, yes I have suffered discrimination at the workplace. If you are a woman you have to go an extra mile to be appointed to a position of responsibility. One cannot pin point it. It is not seen as discrimination if you are not appointed (L13). Yes people talk of discrimination, particularly those from Matebeleland (L14). No, I have not personally suffered from discrimination (L15).</p>	<p>A process of discrimination takes place (L16). Being barred from a position or role because of discrimination (L17). For example sex, you cannot be the only woman in a Department. I have experienced discrimination in this subject. It is not anyone but someone else who don't know how to handle it. I have personally experienced discrimination. Yes, I have been discriminated against once in a while. It is not the same as for other people. I have suffered from discrimination at the workplace. It is not the same as for other people (L20).</p>

8d. Experiences of female academics with respect to perceived harassment

1	2	3
<p>It depends really on what culture you come from. A lot of statements said by African men can be sexual harassment. Even in conversations, a lot of African men say a lot of raw statements which can be construed to be sexual harassment if you were in the USA, UK or Europe. It happens a lot. It's a struggle, particularly with the younger people. As you get older, it gets better. It is an uphill battle. You can be tough with sexual harassment and give back what you are getting (L1).</p> <p>Any form of treatment that you don't want, verbal or non verbal action. Yes it happens sometimes. People try their luck with you. You have to resist it by taking action against them (L2).</p> <p>I had experience with a student who had this sexual harassment. A student on teaching practice was being proposed to by the supervisor and she was refusing. She was suffering as he was making derogatory statements about her. We had to take action (L3).</p> <p>I have broken through sexual harassment, stereotyping and marginalization. I don't feel them. I have developed a thick skin to these (L4).</p> <p>Yes I have experienced sexual harassment (L5).</p>	<p>Those who have power usually as men intimidate those below them. Sometimes men ask for favours from women and it has happened here. If women don't respond correctly they can even lose jobs. Sometimes these are young women who do not quite understand their rights and what is happening to them (L6).</p> <p>Yes, I have experienced problems with sexual harassment. It depends on what culture you come from. Sexual harassment is found even in conversations between males and females. It is a daily battle (L7).</p> <p>I have experienced it once in a while and now I know how to handle such people (L8).</p> <p>Yes sexual harassment happens here (L9).</p> <p>Sexual harassment of women happens here and there, depending on who you are. It is bad for the young females (L10).</p>	<p>Yes it occurs at work places especially if you are new at the workplace. People try this and that. They only stop when they realize that you don't like it and may take action against them (L11).</p> <p>Abuse of members of the other sex, male abusing female or vice versa. It could be physical or verbal abuse. People in administration complain of these (L12).</p> <p>A person could be entitled to the job but conditions are given. People sometimes make vulgar comments without respect. Some of them are very bad comments and they make other people very uncomfortable (L13).</p> <p>It is culturally focused. I have experienced it (L14).</p> <p>Yes, sexual harassment is happening (L15).</p>

Appendix 3: Biographical Data Questionnaire for all Respondents

My name is Moffat Tarusikirwa. I am a Doctoral student with the University of the Western Cape. As I said in an earlier communication when I made the interview appointment, I need your help in answering the following questions. Your responses will be treated in a strictly confidential manner; hence your name will not be required to be written down. Please feel free to ask whenever you are not sure of what the question wants. Also feel free to say as much as possible in a clear and loud voice for recording purposes. You are also free to withdraw from this interview when you like. May you kindly help by supplying the following few details about yourself before we start the interview. Please tick or write in the appropriate box/space.

1. Age (years):	21-25	1
	26-30	2
	31-35	3
	36-40	4
	Above40	5
2. Marital Status:	Single	1
	Married	2
	Divorced	3
	Widow	4
	Other (Specify) Numberofchildren	5
3. Qualifications:	Masters Degree	1
	Doctorate Degree	2
	Other (specify)	3
4. Status:	Senior Lecturer	1
	Chairperson of Department	2
	Regional Director	3
	Faculty Dean	4
	Director	5
	Registrar	6
	Bursar	7
	Professor	8
	Pro-Vice Chancellor	9
	Vice Chancellor	10

Appendix 3

5. (a) Work Experience (years): Below 1	1
1-5	2
6-10	3
11-15	4
16-20	5
Over20	6
(b) Number of years at this institution	
6. Type of School attended: Primary; Rural Council School	1
Rural Government School	2
Urban Council School	3
Urban Government School	4
Private Mission School	5
Private Independent School	6
Other(specify)	7
7. Type of School: Secondary; Rural Council School	1
Rural Government School	2
Urban Council School	3
Urban Government School	4
Private Mission School	5
Private Independent School	6
Other(specify)	7
8 .Name of University attended: University of Zimbabwe	1
Zimbabwe Open University	2
National University of Science and Technology	3
Midlands State University	4
Masvingo State University	5
Africa University (Methodist)	6
Other(specify)	7
9. (a) Residential area:	1
High density	2
Medium density	3
Low density	4
yes	5
no	6
no	7
(b) Do you own the residence	1
yes	2
no	3
no	4
no	5
no	6
no	7

Appendix 3

(c) Are you renting the residence	yes	1
	no	21
10. Do you own a car?	(a) yes	1
	(b) no	2
	(c) owns 1 car	3
	(d) owns 2 cars	4
	(e) owns more than 2 cars	5
11. Salary range (\$millions):	25-50	1
	51-75	2
	76-100	3
	above100	4

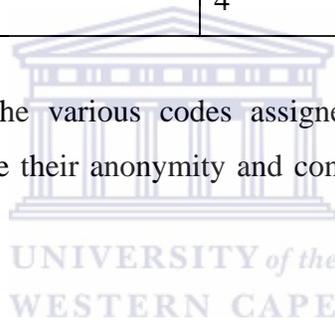


Appendix 4: Distribution of Respondents and Institutions by assigned code

Table 21: Distribution of respondents and institutions by assigned code

Status	Assigned Code	Institution	Number
Academic/ Lecturer	L1, L2, L3, L4, L5	1	5
Academic/ Lecturer	L6, L7, L8, L9, L10	2	5
Academic/ Lecturer	L11, L12, L13, L14, L15	3	5
Academic/ Lecturer	L16, L17, L18, L19, L20	4	5
Total	20	4	20

The above table 38 shows the various codes assigned to the key informants and institutions in order to preserve their anonymity and confidentiality in data presentation and analysis.



Appendix 5: Access Letter to Registrars

Re: Request for information on senior female academics in your institution

Dear Madam/ Sir

My name is Moffat Tarusikirwa and I am a doctoral student with the University of The Western Cape in South Africa. My research focus is on the social and institutional factors that impact on the appointment and promotion of women in Higher Education institutions, in particular universities.

I write to request for contact information with regard to senior female academics in your institution in the form of a list of names, e-mail addresses and contact phone numbers and departments or faculty details.

I would like to assure you strongly that staff identities will be treated in a strictly confidential manner and will not be divulged to any third parties. This information will be used strictly for research purposes by the researcher.

The success of this study is highly dependant upon the receipt of this information and I would like to thank you in advance for your cooperation and positive response to this request.

Yours sincerely

Moffat Tarusikirwa

Appendix 6: Informed consent form

Informed Consent

Title of Study: Understanding the Social and Institutional factors related to the Retention and Progression of Senior female academics in Four Institutions in Zimbabwe

Name of Researcher: Moffat Tarusikirwa

Participant's Agreement:

I have read the information provided above. I have asked all the questions I have at this time. I voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.

Signature of Research Participant

Date

Printed Name of Research Participant

Signature of Research Team Member Obtaining Consent

Date

Printed Name of Research Team Member Obtaining Consent

* The consent template was adapted from The Office of Human Research Ethics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Chapel Hill, NC, USA.

<http://research.unc.edu/ohre/forms.php>

(retrieved, 15/7/2009)

Appendix 7: Ethics Protocol



University of the Western Cape

Private Bag X17 Bellville 7535 South Africa
 Tel. 021-9593336
 Fax: 021-9593271

University of the Western Cape Consent to Participate in a Research Study Adult Participants

Title of Study: Understanding the Social and Institutional factors related to the Retention and Progression of Senior female academics in Four Institutions in Zimbabwe

Name of Researcher: Moffat Tarusikirwa

Address of Researcher: Room E15, Hector Peterson Residence, University of The Western Cape, P. Bag x17, Bellville 7535, Cape Town. South Africa.

Cell: +27711891025

e-mail: mctarusikirwa@justice.com or 2565965@uwc.ac.za

Introduction to my research study

This study seeks to understand some of the conditions under which female academics work in selected Higher Education institutions in Zimbabwe. The problem of gender equity seems to persist despite many pieces of legislation in the various countries and the supporting institutions in the form of courts and law enforcement agents. Women in Higher Education (HE) experience a wide range of barriers to appointment and advancement. In Zimbabwe and indeed globally, university workplace is still a male dominated space and women still experience difficult conditions such as: balancing work and marriage, sexual harassment, stereotyping, under representation in management ranks, lack of information on careers and career development, marginalization, imbalances in the work load, scrutiny of their professional abilities, the need to constantly prove themselves and being pigeonholed into restricted roles etc. (Perumal, 2003; Zulu, 2003; Mabokela, 2003; Subotzky, 2003; Kwesiga, 2002; Moorosi, 2007; Gaidzanwa, 2007). Women in Higher Education are also impeded by barriers to advancement such as: cultural barriers in the form of persistent sexism in particular strong patriarchy that is especially evident among men, division of labour along gender, ethnic, and class lines, institutional level formal policies and informal practices, strategies which often involve an assimilationist rather than a transformmatory approach to access and change, position of power in the organization, organizational structure, socialization in early childhood, exclusion of women from the old boy network, lack of female role models, lack of mentors and unavailability of funds for research and publications (Subotzky, 2003; Parumal, 2003; Zulu 2003; Mabokela, 2003; Kwesiga, 2003; Gaidzanwa, 2007).

Appendix 7

Some women have a problem in pursuing a double career, that is if a woman is married to a professional man, patriarchy demands that the husband's career comes first. Hence women spend time moving from place to place following the husband's career (Walby; 1998; Moorosi, 2007; Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988). Despite the growing numbers taking part in Higher Education, women are still under-represented in the majority of jobs with any claim to status and responsibility (Morley, Gunawardena, Kwesiga, Lihamba, Odejide, Shackleton and Sorhaindo, 2008). Women's equity in university higher management ranks has been viewed in many different ways by different people across the world. In this research project, equity is seen to imply a fair distribution of high management positions within a university set up between males and females. This issue has had a reasonable amount of attention in literature. Women's citizenship in Academia is by far still very low in high level management ranks in Higher Education institutions (Subotzky, 2003; Kwesiga, 2003; Mabokela, 2003; Brooks, 1991). The problem of gender equity is in fact a global issue as it has been and still is a problem in the U.K. and is a problem in Canada, Norway, the Netherlands as well as New-Zealand (Subotzky, 2003; Kwesiga, 2003; Mabokela, 2003; Brooks, 1991; Jacobs, 1996; Priola, 2007).

In Zimbabwe in particular, most Zimbabwean universities still have a culture of men leadership, the image of a leader is still that of a male and the prevailing culture is that of promotion by merit of a history of research, writing and publication (Ashby, 1964; Gaidzanwa, 2007; Maunde, 2003; Thomas, 1990). In this study, in order to understand the shape of gender relations in Higher Education institutions, I am particularly interested in identifying the extent to which the conditions in Higher Education creates the optimum environment and climate for advancement and retention of female academics in Higher Education institutions in Zimbabwe.

I am interested in the conditions faced by female academics in Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions? What are the factors that women experience in terms of appointments and promotions to higher occupational levels and are the conditions conducive to advancement. I am interested to probe the kinds of factors that reproduce the patriarchal structure and the associated cultural forces that harness the phenomena of patriarchy in certain institutions. In other words, I want to unpack the meanings associated with the phenomena of a glass ceiling.

I will be collecting data for this study and therefore ask for your permission to participate in the study.

What are some general things you should know about research studies?

You are being asked to take part in a research study. To join the study is voluntary. You may refuse to join, or you may withdraw your consent to be in the study, for any reason, without penalty. Research studies are designed to obtain new knowledge. This new information may help people in the future. You may not receive any direct benefit from being in the research study. There also may be risks to being in research studies.

Appendix 7

Details about this study are discussed below. It is important that you understand this information so that you can make an informed choice about being in this research study. You will be given a copy of this consent form. You should ask the researchers named above, or staff who may assist them, any questions you may have about this study at any time.

What is the purpose of this study?

To understand the conditions faced by female academics in Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions, such as the factors that women experience in terms of appointments and promotions to higher occupational levels and to find out whether the conditions are conducive to advancement. The study's purpose is also to probe the kinds of factors that reproduce the patriarchal structure and the associated cultural forces that harness the phenomena of patriarchy in certain institutions.

You are being asked to take part in this study because you are currently one of the female academics in Zimbabwean Higher Education institutions and have direct experience of the conditions in the institutions as they pertain to female academics .

How long will your part in this study last?

The researcher will ask you to be involved in an initial interview which may last one hour to one and half hours. Additionally, the researcher may ask you for a follow up interview to verify your transcript. However, it is still your choice to take part in this further activity.

What will happen if you take part in the Study?

- You will be contacted to set up an interview with the researcher
- You may be asked to take part in a follow up discussion with the researcher
- If you are comfortable with being recorded, the interview will be recorded.

What are the possible benefits from being in this study?

The research is designed to benefit female academics in general as well as society at large through the creation of new knowledge. You may not benefit personally by being in this research study.

What are the possible risks or discomforts involved from being in this study?

There are no known risks to participation in this study. However, should you have any concerns, you are invited to contact the research coordinator.

How will your privacy be protected?

- All research material and your privacy will be protected, as such your name will not be written down and only codes will be used in any written material.
- All conversations will be treated in a strictly confidential manner and your name will not be used in the recordings.
- Any reference to your name shall remain the private knowledge of the researcher alone.

Appendix 7

Participants will not be identified in any report or publication about this study. In some cases, your information in this research study could be reviewed by representatives of the University of the Western Cape, particularly, the coordinator's research supervisor and thesis paper examiners.

What if you want to stop before your part in the study is complete?

You can withdraw from this study at any time, without penalty. The investigators also have the right to stop your participation at any time. This could be because you have had an unexpected reaction, or have failed to follow instructions, or because the entire study has been stopped.

Will you receive anything for being in this study?

You will not receive anything for taking part in this study. The results of the study will be available when the research is completed.

Will it cost you anything to be in this study?

There will be no costs for being in the study.

What if you have questions about this study?

You have the right to ask, and have answers to any questions you may have about this research. If you have questions, complaints, concerns, you should contact the researchers listed on the first page of this form.

What if you have questions about your rights as a research participant?

Research ethics are a high priority, as such, the higher degrees committee gives particular attention to ethical considerations. If you have questions or concerns about your rights as a research subject, or if you would like to obtain information or offer input, you may contact the researcher at +27711891025.

Appendix 8: The Data collection Process

Table 22: The Data Collection Process

Research Focus-Aim	Period 2004-2008	Techniques	Specific Sources
EXTERNAL (Global, African-Regional and Zimbabwean-National socio-cultural, political, economic, gender, race and class phenomena- Higher Education)		Document Analysis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Books, Journal articles(gender-H.Ed. etc)- Global-Africa) 2. Seminar& Policy papers (gender equity-H.Ed.) 3. International Conference papers 4. Commission Reports etc.
INTERNAL (Selected female academics in Higher Education institutions and gender equity practices e.g. conditions/factors/barriers (structures, culture etc), strategies and evolution over time period.	Universities C1 UZ C2 NUST C3 ZOU C4 MSU	1.Interviews (Semi-structured)	Professors and Senior Lecturers Total Interviews =20

Appendix 8

A total of 20 interviews were conducted in all the universities as shown by table 11 above. For ethical reasons, the names of the interviewees were turned into codes (see Appendix 5).



Appendix 9: Defining concepts

The following terms in this study are defined from the perspective of the Republic of Zimbabwe National Gender Policy 2004; section 8:11-12.

Sex: refers to biological differences on the basis of which people are categorized by others as male or female at birth.

Gender: Refers to classification of socially, politically, culturally and religiously constructed identities of women and men that are not necessarily static as they react to social environmental changes; as such women and men's roles and responsibilities change in response to social environmental changes.

Equity: Proportionate access and control over power resources and benefits between women and men.

Equality: The legal, social and political capacity of women and men to mobilize and manage resources at household, community, national, regional and international levels on an equal basis.

Administration: One of the key result areas for academics within the institutions of Higher Education. Administration is important for the maintenance of the academic community as an environment of learning (Millet, 1962:179-180). Administration involves the provision of educational leadership and the allocation of organizational resources for the effective achievement of institutional goals (see Millet, 1962).

Administrator: One who works through others to achieve organizational goals, an organizational leader (see Kasambara).

Higher Education: In the views of Millett (1962:33), Higher Education is a unique institution in society whose functions are teaching, research and public service.

Furthermore, Millett (1662) argues that Higher Education seeks to preserve, transmit and advance knowledge.

Female academics: refers to women in the universities or the academy whose work involves teaching, research, among other duties.

Senior female academics: in this study, this category includes female academics from the academic rank of senior lecturer to professor

Babamukuru: A senior male/ senior husband/ senior father in the extended Shona family relationship. Ranking is by age with older males being more senior than their younger counterparts. Culturally his young brothers' wives have to respect him like their husbands as he is symbolically a husband to them in terms of culture (see the Big man, Holland, 2005). Other males of the same totem in the larger society can claim relationship to the family through the same totem and thus rank themselves within the extended family depending on their ages. If older than the husband of the woman in question, they are babamukuru, if younger than the husband, they are babamunini (see below)

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Babamunini: A junior male/ junior husband/ junior father in the extended Shona family relationship. Symbolically he is a husband to his siblings' wives and has to be respected by them like they do to their husbands because as a man he has a higher family rank than the women in the extended family (Holland, 2005).

Lobola: a token of appreciation paid to the parents of the bride by the son- in- law (It is often referred to as the bride prize).

Maiguru: Shona term used to refer to a senior wife or senior mother in extended family relations or polygamous relationship. It refers to the rank of the individual woman in the family or relationship hierarchy.

Mainini: Shona term used to refer to a junior wife or junior mother in extended family relations or polygamous relationship. It refers to the rank of the individual woman in the family or relationship hierarchy.

Mutupo/ Isibongo (singular), Mitupo/ Izibongo (plural): Totem; most black African people in Zimbabwe have a totem identity which links them together as one people. Totems are based on animals which are usually respected and adored by a particular group of people. The group of people would normally not eat such animals for food and this has a beneficial effect in animal conservation terms as such animals are then protected and not killed for food or any other purpose. Totems form a strong relationship bonding, even among strangers. Usually people of the same totem do not marry each other since it is assumed that they are related. Most totems have an accompanying poem whose lyrics when recited chronicle the history of such people as well as praises of bravery and invincibility of men. Totems play a big part in the making of male identity. In particular, the wife is supposed to recite these lyrics and ululate when the husband does something successful or comes back from a successful venture or hunting trip such as in the olden days.



Regionalism: A form of discrimination in which people favour each other in resources allocation in terms of being people from the same geographical region of the country. Such people are sometimes referred to as home boys/girls. It could be jobs appointments, promotions, scholarships and so forth which are given to the so-called home boys/ girls at the expense of other people who may be better qualified than the appointee.

Sexual harassment has been defined as “unwanted sexual attention” (Walby, 1988:91).

Tribalism (ethnicity): A form of discrimination based on one’s tribe or ethnic grouping. Such discrimination involves members of the same tribal group favouring each other in resources such as jobs and promotions at the expense of others belonging to different social groups than the latter.



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