

# THE GENDER GAP IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN ZANZIBAR

*Nature, Extent and the Way Forward*

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## Abstract

The purpose of this study was to investigate the nature and extent of the gender gap in higher education institutions in Zanzibar focusing on the students, faculty and administration. The study examined in detail the reasons for the gender gap in these institutions. It also explored the sexual dynamics within higher education institutions. As the way forward the study looked at the ways the gender gap could be bridged.

The study involved a number of theoretical frameworks including pedagogy of difference, environmental (social) perspective, sexual harassment related paradigms and other concepts as background to the discussion of the findings. All theoretical frameworks used are gender-focused and have been used for the purpose of explaining reasons for the gender disparities.

A case study design was employed involving both qualitative (more emphasised) and quantitative methods. Data were collected through personal and focus group interviews (in two universities) and documentary analysis (in all three universities). Thirty four respondents were purposefully selected in order to get a deeper understanding of the cases. Both qualitative and quantitative data analysis were utilised in the study. Validity and reliability measures were considered in this study. This was made possible through a case study approach which involved an empirical inquiry which investigates contemporary phenomenon of gender gap in higher education within its real life context.

The results showed a gender gap exists in all three universities. Female students and female faculty are outnumbered by their male counterparts in enrolment and in employment as well in the science related fields. It was shown that it is in the only one university that female students outnumber males in 2007 intake. Women are extremely under-represented as teaching staff than as students. Majority of the women are concentrated in the education, arts and humanities as students and academic staff. The study revealed that women possess lower academic qualifications which lead to their concentration in the lower academic ranks as compared to male academic staff. Women are seriously under-represented as administrators in all three universities to the extent that in some posts they are invisible. The scarcity of women in higher education has also been found in other countries.

The study identifies various reasons for the gender disparities. These can be summarised into: socio-cultural, educational and attitudinal factors. Altogether have been said to have strong influence on the paucity of women in higher education. Hence, family (parents), schools (teachers and peers and facilities) and women themselves (internal or self-imposed restraints) tend to perpetuate gender disparity. As a response to those factors, the study therefore suggested various strategies as a restructuring plan. These strategies should focus on three levels: (1) the social level; (2) the institutional level; and (3) the individual level.

The findings of this study are significant because they will offer a framework of the understanding of the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar and will also serve a source of information for education stakeholders and policy-makers.

*Keywords: Gender Gap, Higher Education, Higher Education Institutions.*

## Dedication

*I would like to dedicate this study to my dearest mother (Muna Sayyah Amour) for raising me, for her love and support and more importantly inspiring me to continue with my studies, especially the day she told me 'if you do not want to go back to boarding school, leave my house and be a ducks keeper'. Thank you mother, your encouragement and support has paid off!*

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## List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AAU	Association of African Universities
AKF	Aga Khan Foundation
ACSEE	Advanced Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
A-level	Advanced level
CSEE	Certificate of Secondary Education Examination
CREATE	Completion, Retention, Access for Tanzanians to Education
DAPHEA	Declaration and Action Plan on Higher Education in Africa
EFA	Education for All
EMIS	Education Management Information System
EP06	Education Policy 2006
ESA07	Education Situation Analysis 2007
FAWE	Forum for African Women Educationalists
FEMSA	Female Education in Mathematics and Science in Africa
GRE	Gross Rate of Enrolment
HE	Higher Education
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
HESLB	Higher Education Student's Loan Board
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
IUA	International University of Sudan
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MKUZA	Kiswahili name for ZSGRP
MoE	Ministry of Education
MoEVT	Ministry of Education and Vocational Training
MSTHE	Ministry of Science, Technology and Higher Education
MYEWCD	Ministry of Youth, Employment, Women and Children Development
NECTA	National Examinations Council of Tanzania
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
O-level	Ordinary level
PUH	Peace be Upon Him
RGZ	Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar
SES	Socio-Economic Status
SMT	Science, Mathematics and Technology

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SOS	SOS HERMAN GMEINER SCHOOL
SUZA	State University of Zanzibar
S&T	Science and Technology
TCU	Tanzania Commission for Universities
TEA	Tanzania Education Authority
UCEZ	University College of Education Zanzibar
UDSM	University of Dar es Salaam
UIS	UNESCO Institute for Statistics
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USD	United States Dollar
WDHE	World Declaration on Higher Education
ZHELB	Zanzibar Higher Education Loan Board
ZPRP	Zanzibar Poverty Reduction Plan
ZSGRP	Zanzibar Strategy for Growth and the Reduction of Poverty
ZU	Zanzibar University

Figure 1: Map of the United Republic of Tanzania



Map No. 3667 Rev. 5 UNITED NATIONS  
January 2005

Department of Peacekeeping Operations  
Cartographic Section

Source: United Nations, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, Cartographic Section, 2005.

# 1. Introduction

This chapter will introduce the basis of this study, the reasons why more empirical research in this area is still needed, the research questions supporting the study and an overview of how the thesis is structured.

## 1.1 Rationale for the study

Human rights law has had only partial success in delivering equality in education (Colclough, 2004). Despite the considerable increment in enrolment ratios in primary education over the past twenty years, gender gap remains relatively high in some parts of the world and it is more pronounced in higher education (UNESCO, 2000). Malik and Lie point out:

*One of the most widely reported findings of the post-war era has been the ubiquitous presence of gender stratification. Although its occurrence is almost universally recognised, fundamental questions about its causes and development remain unanswered... Gender-based inequalities are marked in capitalist, socialist and formerly socialist societies, in rich and poor ones, in religious societies and in secular ones and in cultures where values of equality are cherished as well as in those committed to inequality (Malik and Lie, 1994: 3).*

Various scholars, feminists and international organisations have viewed the 'gender inequality' in higher education as an obstacle to development and they therefore urged that measures should be taken to fight it. The problem has been described to have long historical background and deeply embedded within the social structure of societies. In Africa, gender disparity has not been taken as a serious obstacle to development. The debate that followed the Association of African Universities (AAU) 8th General Conference and 25th Anniversary Celebration in January 1993, in Accra Ghana, showed that majority of the leaders of African universities, most of them males, were not even aware that gender disparity was one of the major problems of African universities (Ajayi *et al.*, 1996). Emphasis to address gender disparity has been mainly directed to lower education levels. Today, the problem seems to have been recognised. Gender issues are however regarded with fear and trepidation and there is a demonisation of gender activists and dismissal of gender issues as western, donor-inspired and un-African (AAU, 2006). Mama (2003) insists that gender equality agenda should be included within the consensual understanding of African higher education institutions (HEIs) as they continue to be key sites for the production of intellectual capacity that is both socially responsible and relevant to regional

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development agendas. Teferra and Altbach (2003: 9) argue that ‘gender issues in African higher education are complex and require and deserve further study’.

It has been observed that gender inequality affects women more than men in African higher learning institutions (Zezeza, 2003). This has been due to various factors, Kwesiga (2002) classified them as: (1) family factors( parental attitudes, socio-economic status of the family, family labour); (2) societal factors (family structures, kinship and lineage, custom and culture, the institution of marriage, religion, historical barriers, urban-rural disparities, link between education and employment economic conditions, and the role of the state); and (3) institutional factors (school facilities, curriculum and subject options, pedagogical materials, influence of teachers, types of educational institutions, and careers guidance and counselling). In order to redress the gender equality in education in Africa as a whole, major and consistent efforts must be made at lower levels to identify and eliminate the bottle-necks that keep women from gaining admission to universities (Assie-Lumumba, 1993; Eholie, 1993 cited in Ajayi *et al.*, 1996: 184). Therefore, understanding of the socialisation process at family and societal levels is so important for us to understand the gender dynamics in the society and proposing the strategies for overcoming those obstacles right from the root to all levels of education. This study aims at determining factors contributing to the gender gap in higher education as only few studies have so far explored this theme in depth.

Some development has occurred in a given country when its poverty, unemployment and inequality have declined (Domatob, 1998). The United Nations (UN) has long recognised women’s central role in development and the importance of understanding the gender-differentiated effects on development planning. The right of women to equal access to advancement and empowerment has been a central theme in the United Nations. The issue can be traced back to the 1945’s UN Charter of Rights; the Vienna Conference on Human Rights; the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992; the World Conference on Human Rights (1993); the International Conference on Population and Development (1994); the World Summit for Social Development (1995); and finally, the Platform of Action of the Fourth UN World Conference on Women (1995) which stated that: women’s empowerment and their full social participation are prerequisites for the achievement of development, equality and peace (Huyer and Westholm, 2007).



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Women play a central role in socioeconomic development through Gender Division of Labour (GDOL)-defined triple role of *productive, reproductive* and *community management* responsibilities (Huyer and Westholm, 2007). In the developing countries, women make a major contribution to the production of food and the provision of energy, water, health-care and family income. Women produce 80% of food crops in sub-Saharan Africa (ibid). Their reproductive responsibilities also include the gathering and processing of medicinal plants and oils. Women make up the majority of informal sector actors in most developing country economies. As part of the formal sector, women make up 50% of the labour force for cash-crop production (Huyer and Westholm, 2007). Due to the above fact, it has been found that women's participation in development tends to be too narrowly defined, and hence, underestimated (ibid). Due to multiple roles, women's education has a multiplier effect. It is being said that when you educate a man you educate an individual, but when you educate a woman you educate a whole nation. Therefore, the education of women will determine the pace of the development process of the African continent (Ajayi *et al.*, 1996).

Higher education (HE) has vital importance for socio-cultural and economic development, and for building the future, for which the younger generations will need to be equipped with new skills, knowledge and ideals (UNESCO, 1998). Women's equal participation in higher education was declared by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, article 26 which affirms that, 'Everyone has the right to education'... and that 'higher education shall be accessible to all, on the basis of merit'. The Convention Against Discrimination in the field of Education, adopted by UNESCO in 1960 called upon Member States to 'make higher education accessible to all, based on individual abilities' (UNESCO, 1998). The Declaration and Action Plan on Higher Education in Africa (DAPHEA) urged international organisations, member states and higher education institutions to develop well-articulated policies, and remove gender inequity in education and to double the number of women (students, teachers and decision-makers) in higher education. The World Declaration on Higher Education (WDHE) states that measures must be reinforced to ensure the equal participation of women in higher education, in particular at the decision-making level and in all disciplines in which they are underrepresented. Further efforts are required to eliminate all gender stereotyping in higher education. To overcome obstacles and to enhance the access of women to higher education remains an urgent priority in the renewal process of systems and institutions (ibid).

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Science, engineering and technology and United Nations MDGs are critical to national sustainable socio-economic development and poverty reduction. Women are needed in science and engineering to help maintain and promote our knowledge societies and economies, and not simply on grounds of equity alone (Huyer and Westholm, 2007). The 1979's Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development stated that the equitable distribution and creation of science and technology is a necessary prerequisite for development and improving human well being. The UNCED declared that 'the availability of scientific and technological information and access to and transfer of environmentally sound technology are essential requirements for sustainable development' (Huyer and Westholm, 2007). The 1999 World Conference on Science (Budapest) emphasised the need to eliminate the effects of gender bias in all aspects, including the bias that exist in science education. Science Agenda-Framework for Action, paragraph 43 requested, among other, that 'new curricula, teaching methodologies and resources taking into account gender and cultural diversity should be developed by national education systems in response to the changing educational needs of societies'(ibid)..

DAPHEA recommends that women in Africa should be oriented towards scientific and technological disciplines (UNESCO, 1998). Today, many of society's problems are best solved by the application of technology, therefore increased participation of African women in this field can bring important knowledge in areas of food security, health care and community needs in general (Hoffmann-Barthes *et al.*, 1999). There is a 'leaky pipeline'-steady attrition of girls and women throughout the formal Science and Technology (S&T) system, from primary education to S&T decision making. There is little information on women's participation in S&T education in developing countries (Huyer and Westholm, 2007). More and better quantitative and qualitative information is needed to shed light on the gendered implications of S&T policy, and in this way to serve as tools for policy makers (ibid). Having realised that, this study is set to examine the possible factors resulting in small number of females in science-related fields of study in an African country.

Significant but not quite remarkable progress has been made by African higher education institutions to address the gender parity issue. The DAPHEA points out that, challenges facing Africa and the extensive changes in society make the structural problems of HEIs all the more critical. Two of those challenges were: (1) imbalance in student enrolments between science and technology based programmes and the humanities; and (2) gender

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inequity at all levels: within the student body, within academic staff, and within the decision-making cadre (UNESCO, 1998). This thesis is also aimed at looking at the relative positions of women and men in enrolment, employment, fields of study, in educational levels and in higher administrative ranks.

UNESCO has addressed the problem of violence against women and sexual harassment as an obstacle to women's progress. Firm action against sexual harassment within UNESCO as an organisation was initiated in 1999 by the Director-General following the proposals made by the Ad Hoc Working Group on Equal Opportunities for Women in UNESCO's Secretariat. A preliminary proposal of the procedure to be followed in cases of sexual harassment-the victims of which may be women as well as men-was announced in the Administrative Circular No. 2089 of 29 October 1999 (UNESCO, 2000). The WDHE states that institutions of higher learning and their personnel and students should preserve and develop their crucial functions, through the exercise of ethics and scientific and intellectual rigour in their various activities. They should enjoy full academic autonomy and freedom, while being fully responsible and accountable to society (UNESCO, 1998). 'Sexual harassment and gender violence may render higher education institutions less attractive as workplaces for people, particularly women, who may feel unsafe and violated in these institutions' (AAU, 2006: 101). 'The prevailing sexual culture in African HEIs has not been comprehensively researched or analysed from a gender perspective' (Mama, 2003: 177). As a response to that, this study will also address the gender disparity focusing on the sexual cultures experienced by both men and women in higher education institutions.

Examining gender gap in higher education is significant because academia is one of the agencies in the socialisation process where gender differences are produced and reproduced, therefore doing so might yield some practical suggestions for improving the situation at that particular level and below that level. Translating theory into practice has been slow if not invisible accompanied with rarity of initiatives at national level and at university level to address the problem or else to improve the situation. Research is an important function of all universities worldwide and hence universities have a significant role to play in fighting against gender inequality in a country.

The case study design was chosen in order to expose how particular universities create and perpetuate gender differences among students and employees and how this can be overcome.

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Quantitatively, statistical information was used in order to show the clear picture of the relative positions of men and women at higher education institutions. Qualitatively, views and experiences from female students and faculty and administrators were taken in to present a broader, more holistic and realistic view of the situation.

## 1.2 The research questions

This study aims at examining the relative position of male and female students, faculty and administrators in Zanzibar universities, focusing on the enrolment, employment and distribution in the fields of study. The study is also set to explore the reasons behind the gender gap and investigate the sexual dynamics within these institutions.

The primary research questions were:

- 1. What is the nature and extent of the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar?*
- 2. What factors contribute to the existence of the gender gap in Zanzibar universities?*
- 3. Are there national or university policies or interventions which aim at gender equality in higher education in the isles?*
- 4. What can be done to reduce the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar?*

## 1.3 Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter one has introduced the study with the study rationale and provided primary research questions. Chapter two contextualises factors surrounding the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar and provides applicable background information relevant to the study. Chapter three provides the theoretical framework which acts as a guideline to the presentation of the findings. Chapter four discusses the research methodology utilised in the study. Chapter five presents the quantitative part of the findings whereby the relative position of women and men in Zanzibar universities is thoroughly scrutinized. Chapter six presents the qualitative part of the study wherein interview results are analysed and discussed in detail. Chapter seven summarises the major findings and provides suggestions for action and suggestions for further research.

In Chapter 2, contextual analysis is presented.

## 2. Contextual analysis

This chapter will provide the background information about Zanzibar, its education system and situation of women in Zanzibar society. The Zanzibar's higher education and situation of the gender gap in higher education will also be given. An overview of the responses by the Zanzibar government, NGOs and higher education institutions in addressing the problem of gender inequality will be presented. The relevant background information on the issue of 'gender stratification' in higher education in Africa will also be provided.

### 2.1 Brief presentation of Zanzibar

Zanzibar comprises two main islands, Unguja and Pemba and a number of smaller islets. The islands lie about 40 km off the east coast of Mainland Tanzania. The islands are about 50 km apart and their total area is 2,332 sq. km. According to the 2002 census, Zanzibar has 981,754 inhabitants, 51% females (MoEVT, 2006). Total Zanzibar population is an estimation of 3% of total Tanzania population. Zanzibar is a cosmopolitan society wherein African, Arab, Indian-Pakistani and Islamic cultures provide the definition of Zanzibar culture, however the dominant culture is Islamic. Majority of Zanzibaris are Muslims (over 95%), and a few are Christians and Hindus.

In 1964, Zanzibar merged with Tanganyika to form the United Republic of Tanzania. However, Zanzibar retains considerable autonomy over her internal affairs and has her own legislature (House of Representatives), judiciary (Chief Justice and Attorney General) and an executive (The President) that is streamlined into various ministries. According to the Constitution, both primary and secondary education are the responsibility of the Zanzibar Government whereas higher education is a 'union matter'.

Administratively, Zanzibar has five regions, each with two districts. Three regions are in Unguja and two regions in Pemba. This study was conducted in Unguja Island where all three universities are located. Zanzibar follows a multiparty democracy and the president, members of parliament and House of Representatives and local governments are elected through popular vote every five years.

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## 2.2 The Zanzibar education system

Since independence, Zanzibar education system has undergone a number of reformations as a response to weaknesses and to a number of unmet needs and new challenges which the education system had faced, especially in the wake of the on-going liberalisation, globalisation and privatisation process and the macro-economic policies being pursued by the government. The changes were necessary in order to incorporate a number of goals pronounced in important international conventions and declarations (MoEVT, 2006). The structure of the Zanzibar Education system has undergone a total of five changes since independence in 1964 (MoE, 1999).

The current education system in Zanzibar is guided by the Vision 2020 and MoEVT's Education Policy 2006 (EP06). The current education structure is 7-3-2-2 (regular schools) or 7-4-2 (biased schools). Seven years of primary education, 3 years of lower secondary education and 2 years of O-level (regular schools) or 4 years O-level (biased schools) and 2 years of A-level. Biased schools are schools which purposefully enrol students who are high achievers after primary school examinations. Biased students are gifted students and outstanding students derived from quota system who are selected from schools in all 10 districts of Zanzibar by proportional representation. Students from this programme do not sit for lower secondary examination like their counterparts in regular schools. The EP06 provides a new statement on the structure of education system and proposes new education structure due to some weaknesses of the existing education structure. It states that the existing structure is confusing and makes analysis and classification of schools and teachers difficult, it gives no attention to pre-primary education and higher education, and one extra year of orientation class at lower secondary increases length of schooling (MoEVT, 2006).

### 2.2.1 Examination Structure

In Zanzibar, students are assessed at different education levels. Examinations at the end of primary level (standard VII) and junior secondary level (form II) are monitored by the Zanzibar MoEVT. The national examinations to finish secondary levels i.e. Ordinary level (O-level/form IV/CSEE) and Advanced level (A-level/form VI/ACSEE) are monitored by the MoEVT of the United Republic. Tanzanian students (from Zanzibar and Mainland) sit for the same examination at both O-level and A-level. Before 1997 there was no university

in Zanzibar, therefore all A-level graduates pursued university education in either Mainland Tanzania or abroad.

### 2.2.1.1 Female participation in A-level

Mama (2003) notes that it is worth considering whether the tertiary gender stratification, does in fact arise because the number of women with sufficient secondary qualifications is still too small to allow for equity in higher education institutions, as so much research seems to show. The A-level is the determinant of who enters university and studies what. Zanzibar has 15 secondary schools that offer advanced level studies, 12 of which are public and three are private. Six out of 15 schools offer science subjects. In order for female students to directly join universities, it is important to attain divisions I and II (see section 2.6).

**Table 1: Form VI National Examination Results, 2006 and 2007**

Division	2006				2007			
	Female	Male	Total	% F	Female	Male	Total	% F
I	42	76	118	<b>35.5</b>	10	16	26	<b>38.4</b>
II	112	141	253	<b>44.2</b>	30	85	115	<b>26.0</b>
III	212	275	487	<b>43.5</b>	246	316	562	<b>43.7</b>
IV	46	66	112	<b>41.0</b>	245	301	546	<b>44.8</b>
Fail	13	22	35	<b>37.1</b>	135	182	317	<b>42.5</b>

Source: Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT, 2007b) Zanzibar.

Table 1 shows that proportion of female students with divisions I and II have not exceeded that of males and also have not exceeded 44 percent neither in 2006 nor 2007.

**Table 2: Number of females who pursued science subjects at A-level, 2007**

Number of Students	Secondary Schools					
	Public				Private	
	Ben Bella	Hamamni	Lumumba	Fidel Castro	Sunni Madressa	SOS
M/F Total	68	101	192	61	19	28
F Total	27	39	76	18	4	13
% F	<b>39.7</b>	<b>38.6</b>	<b>39.5</b>	<b>29.5</b>	<b>21.0</b>	<b>46.4</b>

Source: National Examination Council of Tanzania (NECTA), 30th April 2007.

Figures in Table 2 reveal that in all six A-level schools that offer science subjects in Zanzibar, female students were less represented in those subjects. With an exception of SOS

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in which percentage of female students reached 46.4, proportions of female students in other schools ranged from a low of 21 per cent to a high of 39.7 per cent in 2007.

### 2.3 Women's place in Zanzibar society

As a result of the gender equality awareness since Beijing Conference in 1995, globalisation, science and technology development, democracy and more importantly hardship of life, women in Zanzibar found themselves change their status in order to face challenges of the dynamic world. Employment policy of 1997 put forward the need for protection for all employees and put forward rules for equal employment between men and women. 'Women are under represented and almost invisible in all decision-making forums, although they constitute over 51% of the total population' (RGZ, 2004: 57).

Education is a very important factor for the development of women (MYEWCD, 2001). Education is now regarded as an important factor in the changing world and it is also considered a necessary tool to combat unemployment facing women in the isles. Education is considered part of being modern, as it is justified for women by Islam. The modern man should have a modern, educated wife (Fuglesang, 1992 cited in Vatne, 1999: 31). In 2006, there were 130 literacy centres in Zanzibar with an enrolment of 7,890 of which 77.3% were women (MoEVT, 2007a). Secondary education and above is a pre-requisite for sound and rapid economic growth. For women, secondary education and above have a positive impact on equality, women's empowerment, family planning and enhancement of children's intellectual achievement (MoEVT/WB, 2007 cited in MoEVT, 2007a: 65). Women in Zanzibar have shown great interest in pursuing higher education since the establishment of three universities in Zanzibar since 1997.

Lack of education and poor qualifications at secondary and higher education are the contributing factors for under-representation of women in all ranks of leadership in public sectors and in politics. Number of female students continues to decrease from primary level, secondary level, and higher education, especially university level. Various socio-cultural beliefs, values and practises are the major reasons for women's poor performance in schools and also their under-representation (MYEWCD, 2001). Number of women in teaching profession at lower levels exceeds number of male teachers. Education Situation Analysis 2007 reveals that majority (70%) of primary teachers are female. This is reversed at



secondary level, where nearly two-thirds are males (64%) and 83% of the teachers with university degrees are males (MoEVT, 2007a).

Women have very low representation as regional commissioners, district commissioners and other local government positions to the extent that they are almost invisible in many leadership posts. Despite the representation of women in the House of Representatives and Parliament since 1970s, and efforts by both governments to increase women parliamentarians to not less than 30%, their number still lag behind men in both the legislative bodies. Tables 3 and 4 below show the relative positions of women and men in various decision making positions. Since 1964, no woman has ever been appointed a speaker, assistant speaker of House of Representatives, chief justice, attorney general or their assistants in Zanzibar. For the first time a woman was appointed as an assistant speaker of the Parliament of the United Republic of Tanzania after 2005 election.

**Table 3: Women in decision making positions in the civil service**

Position	Women	Men	Total	% Female
Ministers	3	9	12	<b>25</b>
Deputy Ministers	1	4	5	<b>20</b>
Principal Secretaries	1	14	15	<b>6.6</b>
Regional Commissioners	0	5	5	<b>0</b>
District Commissioners	1	9	10	<b>10</b>

Source: Civil Service Department, Zanzibar, August, 2007.

**Table 4: Women in legislative and judicial positions**

Position	Women	Men	Total	% Female
Members of House of Representatives	18	61	79	<b>22.2</b>
Speaker of House of Representatives	0	1	1	<b>0</b>
Assistant Speaker	0	1	1	<b>0</b>
Members of Parliament	96	227	323	<b>29.7</b>
Speaker of Parliament	0	1	1	<b>0</b>
Assistant Speaker	1	0	1	<b>100</b>
Chief Justice	0	1	1	<b>0</b>
Assistant Chief Justice	0	1	1	<b>0</b>
Attorney General	0	1	1	<b>0</b>
Assistant Attorney General	0	1	1	<b>0</b>

Source: House of Representatives, Parliament members and Zanzibar High Court staff statistics, August, 2007.

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Women are under-represented in employment in formal sectors but they are over-represented in non-formal sectors. Majority of women are found in private sectors rather than public sectors. They are under-represented in public sectors, national corporations and in political parties. Majority of women are found in low paid jobs and unskilled labour. The Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar's statistics shows that women concentrate in feminine jobs (clerical and secretarial works, nursing and teaching). It is in only two ministries i.e. Ministry of Education and Vocational Training and Ministry of Youth, Employment, Women and Children Development that number of women workers exceeds that of men (MYEWCD, 2001). The under-representation of women in various sectors is the result of gender discriminatory practices in the employment sectors. Women account for 71.1% in non-formal sectors. Majority of women engage themselves in arts and crafts, knitting and sewing, hence they make up 90% of all producers. Women make up 76% of all food producers. More than 46.5% of petty businesses are done by women. Women in Zanzibar are important labours in agricultural and fishing and they work more than men. About 70% of people working in agriculture are women (ibid).

## 2.4 Higher education in Zanzibar

The Government of Zanzibar through its policies and strategies acknowledges the role of higher education in equipping the country with the necessary cadre of professionals with a wide spectrum of knowledge and skills needed for national development and eradication of poverty (MoEVT, 2007a). Although higher education is a 'union issue', the liberalisation policies introduced in Tanzania in the mid 1980s provided considerable opportunities for the RGZ to promote higher education in Zanzibar. Zanzibar has since 1997 two privately owned institutions namely Zanzibar University and University College of Education and one public institution, the State University of Zanzibar of higher learning. The two private universities are established and financed by religious NGOs. All three higher education institutions provide undergraduate programmes only. Higher education in Zanzibar has been guided by the National Higher Education Policy 1999, the Vision 2020, the Zanzibar Poverty Reduction Plan (ZPRP) and the newly revised plan MKUZA, the former Zanzibar Education Master Plan (1996-2006) and the current Zanzibar Education and Training Policy (EP06). In addition to MSTHE, higher education in Zanzibar is also monitored by MoEVT through its Department for Higher Education (MoEVT, 2007a).

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The Higher Education Student's Loan Board (HESLB) is the main funding organ for Tanzanian students pursuing Advanced Diploma and Degree studies. The HESLB prioritises fund for females (for further discussion see section 2.6), however from 2007 the board decided to adopt 'means testing' in which socio-economic status (SES) would be considered and 'the needy' would be first prioritised. The HESLB has been criticised by both students and parents for the reason that it does not provide enough fund for students. Zanzibar has also established the Zanzibar Higher Education Loan Board (ZHELB), specifically for Zanzibari students. In many respect, ZHELB is very similar to HESLB. The only difference is that unlike the HESLB, under the ZHELB anyone who is admitted at the University qualifies for the loan. In addition, ZHELB offers loan to all courses from ordinary Diploma to post-graduate courses.

Education Situation Analysis 2007 mentioned 16 critical issues facing HE in Zanzibar. Two among those included: *management of higher education* and *gender parity*. Because of the fact that higher education is a 'union matter', there is no ministry of higher education under the Zanzibar Government. This complicates the whole system of organization and management of higher education in Zanzibar since both MSTHE and MoEVT have a stake in the higher education in Zanzibar. Marked gender differences still characterize tertiary and higher education levels. Very few female compared to male are receiving tertiary and higher education in Zanzibar. The gender imbalance is even more pronounced in the technical subjects, engineering sciences and mathematics (MoEVT, 2007a).

## 2.5 The gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar

Zanzibar has achieved almost gender parity at primary and secondary education level, marked gender differences still characterise tertiary and higher education level (MoEVT, 2007a). The national Higher Education Policy (1999) listed six major problems facing higher education in Tanzania, three of which were: (1) appallingly low student enrolment; (2) gross imbalance in science relative to liberal arts; and (3) gender imbalance (Mkude *et al.*, 2003). Zanzibar Education Policy 2006 (EP06) states that HE still remains inaccessible to the majority of learners, especially female students as the first weakness of HE sector in Zanzibar (MoEVT, 2006). Zanzibar Education Situation Analysis of 2007 (ESA07) listed 'gender' as one of the critical issues facing tertiary and higher education in Zanzibar. It

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points out that there is a gender gap in higher education institutions, relevant statistics was however lacking. As it states:

*Very few female (---) compared to male (---) are receiving tertiary and higher education in Zanzibar. The gender imbalance is even more pronounced in the technical subjects, engineering sciences and mathematics where female only constitutes less than (---) of the total enrolment. (Unfortunately EMIS does not provide relevant statistics in this context (MoEVT, 2007a: 102).*

The Zanzibar Poverty Reduction Plan (ZPRP) Progressive Report of 2003 listed nine *Lesson Learnt* and *challenges* under its 'gender promotion' aspect, three of which were: (1) gender bias in various sectors of development; (2) low number of representation of women in various institutions; and (3) gender policy not yet in place (RGZ, 2004).

Majority of the books and research studies available worldwide hardly focus on Zanzibar HEIs or other HEIs located on the Mainland Tanzania but exclusively on the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM). For example a book like *Higher Education in Tanzania* provides data for UDSM only. Gender-disaggregated data for Zanzibar universities are hard to come by, those available data are either incomplete or representing only one university or hardly two. For example, data available for students' enrolment in *African Higher Education: An International Reference Handbook* was only for Zanzibar University (ZU). In 2004/2005, proportion of female students enrolled in Zanzibar HEIs was 35.1% while proportion of female teaching staff was 16.8% (MSTHE, 2005). As at June 2005, proportions of women in decision making positions in Zanzibar HEIs were 10% and 29% in University College of Education Zanzibar (UCEZ) and the State University of Zanzibar (SUZA) respectively (MSTHE, 2005). Data for the ZU was unavailable. Considering teaching staff by rank for Zanzibar HEIs, there were one female lecturer, four assistant lecturers and five tutorial assistants. There was no female professor, no female associate professor and no female senior lecturer at SUZA (MSTHE, 2005). The Ministry for Science Technology and Higher Education (MSTHE) statistical information did not provide data for each academic rank for private institutions as it did to public institutions.

Despite various efforts undertaken to address the problem of gender inequality in education and in other sectors in Zanzibar, sensitisation seems to base on the lower education levels. Also in some government documents gender equality issue seems to be overlooked. Strand (2007) argues that Zanzibar Education Sector Country Status Report (ZESCSR) of 2003

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identified four major challenges facing secondary levels but surprisingly, gender disparities were not a major issue.

## 2.6 Interventions aim at gender equality in education in Zanzibar

‘Gender promotion’ was listed by the ZPRP Progressive Report of 2003 as one of the cross-cutting areas for implementation. The Report has taken into account the promotion of gender issues in terms of access to the opportunities that improve socio-economic status. In promoting gender issues, several plans were made which include: (1) Integration of gender concerns in development policies and plans; (2) Increasing female access to secondary and tertiary education and improving their performance; (3) Increasing women’s access to basic social services; (4) Increasing women participation in key posts in the administration and in political representation (RGZ, 2004). The RGZ has Policy for Protection and Women Development (*Sera ya Hifadhi na Maendeleo ya Wanawake*) of 2001. A Gender Action Plan developed and adopted by Management Council of the Ministry of Youth, Employment, Women and Children Development (MYEWCD). The Plan was reviewed by member of House of Representatives, senior government officers and NGOs. A document was signed for a new program of *gender and women advancement* with UNDP. USD 300,000 was contributed by UNDP (RGZ, 2004). One of the MKUZA’s education policies aimed at *increasing proportion of graduates of tertiary education institutions* (MoEVT, 2007a).

Zanzibar Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) has a special focal person for promoting gender issues in the education system. However, there is no specific technical committee on gender within the ministry (MoEVT, 2007a). The goal of gender equality is strongly articulated in Zanzibar’s Education Policy of 2005. Also two among the EP06’s policy objectives were *to expand access and equity and to expand tertiary education* (MoEVT, 2006). MoEVT is working in partnership with several international organizations to promote gender equality e.g. UNICEF, UNFPA, AKF. FAWE has, together with MoEVT, initiated several pilot activities addressing girls’ education. Focus has been on addressing the gender specific gaps in mathematics and science at secondary schools, specific training of female teachers who teach science as a subject, and Science Camps for Girls have been among the prioritised areas (MoEVT, 2007a).

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There are about 14 registered gender/women organisations in Zanzibar. Few of them are however considered to be active. Majority of them focus on the problems facing girls and women in the isles (Registrar General Office, 2007). FAWE Zanzibar is the most active NGO working with other NGOs like CREATE and also MoEVT through various projects. Its mission is *to ensure that girls and women in Zanzibar acquire better education for development*. Two of its tasks are to help needy girls to join universities and to improve female science teachers and female science students. Zanzibar Female Lawyers Association (ZAFELA) has recently taken initiative to review Zanzibar Education Act since it believes that it perpetuates oppression of females (schooling of married and pregnant girls).

Women are favoured by the Higher Education Student's Loan Board (HESLB). Admitted female students with divisions I and II are directly entitled to the loan (males must have division I) and those with division III are admitted in priority courses (male with division II and III). Priority courses including: (1) medical based courses; (2) physical sciences, engineering and technology courses; and (3) Economics, accountancy, commerce, finance, law and education.

None of the three higher education institutions in Zanzibar has its own written gender policy. Some few measures have reported to be undertaken to reduce the gender gap in some institutions. For example, SUZA has a pre-entry programme in which only female students who are ineligible to direct entry are enrolled in science programmes. It is three-month programme with the aim of helping young scientists. It used to be funded by Tanzania Education Authority (TEA) from 2004-2006. A few male students who were able to sponsor themselves were also admitted. Due to lack of fund from TEA, from 2007 all students sponsor themselves. No affirmative actions favouring female faculty members. Female students are also enrolled through Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU) programme in which students sit for exam and when their results approved by TCU they join the university. UCEZ has female students outreach programme in which female students take Arabic and Islamic courses and if they qualify, they join the university. Also female students are selected with lower cut off points compared with male students. There are no marked affirmative actions for female faculty members. There is no affirmative action in favour of females at the ZU. Gender disparity in higher education in Zanzibar has not yet gained much attention from the Government of Zanzibar, NGOs nor from donor agencies.

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## 2.7 The gender gap in higher education in Africa

Several African countries had managed to attain gender parity at the primary and secondary levels by 2000, but very few had managed to do so at the tertiary level. The exceptions were Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Namibia, and South Africa (Zezeza, 2003). Gender disparities are common trends across Africa's higher education institutions. The disparity increases in size as one climbs the educational ladder (Teferra and Altbach, 2003). Women remain largely under-represented in higher education institutions in Africa (Zezeza, 2003). The African continent still has the lowest regional GRE in the world (Mama, 2003). In 2000, GRE of the entire age-cohort for Sub-Saharan Africa was 5.1% male and 2.8% female (3.9% for both) at higher education level (Zezeza, 2003). Gender discrimination in higher education institutions seems to be in-built and accepted as normal (AAU, 2006).

There is a scarcity of gender-disaggregated data in almost all African higher education institutions (Mama, 2003; AAU, 2006). The available data are largely incomplete and even harder to trust (Mama, 2003). There is evidence however, that there are large gender disparities between women and men in higher education institutions (AAU, 2006). Women's entry into HEIs-as students and as employees-has remained slow and unequal (Mama, 2003; Zezeza, 2003). Women made up only 25% of those enrolled in African universities (Ajayi *et al.*, 1996 cited in Mama, 2003: 109). Females made up only 12% of tertiary level students in the whole region (Meena, 2001 cited in Zezeza, 2003: 179).

Women are excluded and marginalised in African higher education institutions as both faculty and administrators, but the situation is more serious for senior academic, leadership and research positions (Mama, 2003; Otunga and Ojwang, 2002 cited in Zezeza, 2003: 179; Bunyi, 2004 for Kenya; Ankoma, 2001 for Ghana; Traore, 2004 for Mali; AAU, 2006). Proportion of female faculty is even lower than that of female students (Zezeza, 2003; Teferra and Altbach, 2003). Women are under-represented as academics and administrative staff even in countries that have achieved enrolment gender parity (Zezeza, 2003). The available statistics for the proportion of employed women academicians range from as low as 6% in Ethiopia to as high as 19% in Uganda (Teferra and Altbach, 2003).

The under-representation of women in higher ranks and qualification levels is particularly severe (Teferra and Altbach, 2003; Mama, 2003; AAU, 2006). Women are concentrated at lower ranks of lecturer and below but they are vastly outnumbered by men from senior

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lecturer to full professor (Balintulo, 2000 for South Africa cited in Zeleza, 2003: 179). Many women do not have doctorates (AAU, 2006), and only 3% of Africa's professoriate are women (Ajayi *et al.*, 1996 cited in Mama, 2003: 109). Few women make it into senior administrative and or academic/managerial positions (Mama, 2003; AAU, 2006). Senior positions are dominated by men, even in institutions where 50% of the staff are women, such as in Lesotho (AAU, 2006). The majority of the women in African higher education institutions are ghettoised in clerical and secretarial, cleaning, catering, student welfare, and other administrative positions or non-academic hierarchy and supportive services; and also in untenured, part-time and temporary academic positions (Mama, 2003; AAU, 2006).

The gender gap in higher education in Africa has also manifested itself in fields of study and faculty distribution (Zeleza, 2003). Women are better represented in low status fields of arts and humanities, and 'soft' social sciences but less represented in natural sciences and professional fields as well as in competitive faculties and departments (Mama, 2003; Zeleza, 2003; AAU, 2006; Ankoma, 2001; Traore, 2004; Masanja, 2004 for Tanzania; Teferra and Altbach, 2003). Between 1994 and 1997, proportion of female enrolment in sciences at tertiary level ranged from low 6.5% in Chad to high 36.8% in South Africa (UNDP, 2000 cited in Zeleza, 2003: 179).

African women who have been able to enter African universities meet a series of unforeseen and sometimes traumatising challenges within the HEIs (Sall, 2000; Bennet, 2002 cited in Mama, 2003: 117; Zeleza, 2003; Bunyi, 2004). Higher education institutions are significant sites for the production of contemporary gender identities (masculinity and femininity) and sexual practices wherein both female students and faculty face various forms of sexual harassment and violence (Mama, 2003; Zeleza, 2003; Bunyi, 2004). These practices perpetuate skewed gender figures in many African HEIs (AAU, 2006). Other challenges (political and cultural) including opposition to gender-related research, gender studies and women's academic freedom from within the academia and outside (Zeleza, 2003).

Variety of initiatives have been made in some countries in Africa to combat the problem of gender disparity in higher education institutions, however few of them have been productive and others yet to achieve any real change. Those initiatives continue to be plagued by subtle resistance, implicit and explicit oversight, a lack of serious recognition, and ignorance (Teferra and Altbach, 2003). In addition, many higher education institutions in Africa do not



have gender policies which make it difficult to develop and institutionalised gender-sensitive human resource practices (AAU, 2006).

Gender disparities in higher education are often attributed to external social, familial and institutional factors (Mama, 2003; Kwesiga, 2002; Nawe, 2002 for Tanzania). In other words, they are fostered by cultural, sociological, ecological, psychological, historical, and political factors (Teferra and Altbach, 2003). Ajayi *et al.* (1996) argue that cultural, social, legal and educational institutions were supposed to promote gender parity.

In Chapter 3, theoretical framework is presented.

### 3. Theoretical framework

#### Introduction

In this chapter I present various theories, paradigms and concepts in understanding the gender gap in higher education. The *pedagogy of difference* in African perspective will be discussed in order to understand the contributing factors to the gender gap in higher education in Africa. Since biological science perspective is no longer the major concern in understanding of gender differences, the environmental or social perspective will be entirely discussed in this chapter. The environmental perspective will cover the socio-cultural, educational and attitudinal factors which are believed to be the reasons for the gender differences. These factors will be analysed in order to examine and understand the reasons for unequal accessibility of women to higher education, concentration of women in certain fields and the way females experience academic life as compared to their male counterparts.

#### 3.1 The pedagogy of difference: an African perspective

The African educational philosopher, Benaars defines the pedagogy of difference as ‘a way of educating that stresses the differences... rather than the similarities’ (1994 cited in Wamahiu, 1996: 47), between genders (Wamahiu, 1996). It propagates the view that males and females are not only radically different, but that females are physically, and more significantly, intellectually inferior to males. It is argued that within African context, the pedagogy of difference reflecting a social theory of silencing, domination and subjugation, is used to rationalise the continued disadvantage of women and girls in both the informal and formal education systems. It is believed that pedagogy of difference is rooted in the pre-colonial era, it has been reinforced in the subsequent colonial and post-independence periods of African history. ‘From a feminist perspective, the pedagogy of difference is discriminative, inequitable and therefore totally undesirable’ (Wamahiu, 1996: 47).

The pedagogy of difference, incorporating pedagogy of oppression, found in the classroom originates outside the school (ibid). The authoritarian climate of African classroom provides the perfect breeding ground for it. The pedagogy of difference legitimises the subordinate position of female vis-à-vis that of males, both through, and in, the education system. It

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creates a vicious cycle of powerlessness and desperation for both boys and girls-the oppressors and the oppressed respectively. Through this an African male have greater opportunities for employment and economic empowerment.

Female participation in formal education is influenced by a complex interplay between macro-level policy (both international and national) and micro-level practices, beliefs and attitudes (Wamahiu and Njau, 1995 cited in Wamahiu, 1996: 46). Policy environment, whether at the international or national level, is in turn influenced by dominant ideologies, including gender ideologies (ibid). Gender ideology is a crucial causative factor in female disadvantage in formal education in sub-Saharan Africa (Wamahiu, 1996). It traces the source of this disadvantage to a dominant patriarchal ideology perpetuated through the *pedagogy of difference*, operational both at home and in school. Despite the socio-cultural and historical diversity of the region, the pedagogy of difference characterises all countries, influencing differential treatment and exposure of boys and girls in the education systems of Africa even when all other factors are seemingly equal. 'It is argued that unless we are able to replace the *pedagogy of difference* with *pedagogy of empowerment*, the gender gap in African education will continue to widen' (Wamahiu, 1996: 46).

### 3.2 Environmental Perspective

Equal participation of women in education is believed by many scholars to be affected by environmental or social factors that surround women's daily lives (see Keller, 1985, Giddens, 2001 and Schmuck, 1980). Environmental reasons have been categorised into: socio-cultural, attitudinal and educational factors. Socio-cultural factors including issue of female's societal roles and society stereotyping. Attitudinal factors including internal or self-imposed restraints in learning in women. Educational factors including general concern of teaching and learning, curriculum, lack of teaching materials and equipment, and inadequate student teacher interaction as well nature of academic institutions.

Gender differences in this aspect are viewed through socialisation and the learning of gender roles (Giddens, 2001). He argues that gender differences are not biologically determined, but they are culturally produced. Based on that view, it is believed that gender inequalities result because men and women are socialised into different roles. Giddens holds that boys and girls learn 'sex roles' and the male and female identities-masculinity and femininity. Social

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agencies including family, academic institutions and media play a greater role in reinforcing gender differences in the society.

### 3.2.1 Masculinity/femininity as a dimension of culture

Masculinity/femininity dimension is one of the five empirically derived dimensions of national cultures (dominant mental programmes) which can be observed at the level of general norms, the family, the school, the workplace, politics, and ideas (Hofstede *et al.*, 1998). Masculinity/ femininity differences have deep historical roots and are unlikely to disappear in the future (ibid). Masculinity is related to males and femininity to females. Masculinity in that sense is characterised as assertive, tough and focused on material success while femininity has something to do with modest, tender, and concerned with quality life.

Masculine and feminine characteristics are mutually reinforced by the interplay of agencies and social institutions within which socialisation takes place-parents in early infancy, family setting, school and teachers, peers and friends (Safilios-Rothschild, 1986). She holds that 'feminine' characteristics made girls to have more co-operative behaviour, and become greater conformer to rules and expectations. Hofstede *et al.* (1998) argue that one aspect of the role of division between women and men is gender stereotypes, that is, characteristics believed to belong to one gender rather than the other. Women are perceived to be 'feminine', hence they are weak, gentle, emotional, affectionate, talkative and patient while male are regarded as 'masculine' hence they are strong, forceful, ambitious, decisive, lively, and with more courage (ibid).

Women are said to be incapable of doing science because they lack the strength, rigour and clarity of mind for an occupation that properly belongs to men (Keller, 1985). People believe that hard is masculine and soft is feminine and that woman thinking scientifically or objectively is thinking like a man and a man pursuing non-rational, non-scientific argument is arguing like a woman (ibid).

Management position is regarded as masculine. Hofstede *et al.* (1998: 89) point out that etymologically, the word 'manage' is linked with the French words *manege* (place where horses are drilled) and *ménage* (household). *Manege* therefore is the masculine element and *ménage* is the feminine element in the management process. Executive women had become an accepted phenomenon, but the women who entered still face resistance to their progress

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and also are paid less than men in similar positions (Sutton & Moore, 1985 cited in Hofstede *et al.*, 1998: 90).

### 3.2.2 Patriarchy

Patriarchy as a concept explains the subordination of women, or put more boldly, man's domination over women. As a system it penetrates through many aspects of life and is so deeply embedded in the social fabric that is difficult to alter (Kwesiga, 2002). Patriarchy has an undeniable impact on the value placed on women's education (*ibid*). All known societies are patriarchal, although there are variations in the degree and nature of the power men exercise, as compared with women (Giddens, 2001). In patriarchal societies, men may regard young women as 'prey' and their practices may involve some oppression, exclusion from social and political activities, disparaging of vocal or activist women on campuses (AAU, 2006). African universities tend to be male dominated and women from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds have a very low presence in these institutions (*ibid*). African higher education institutions were established and organised to meet the needs of male students (Rathgeber, 2002 cited in Bunyi, 2004: 12). 'Consequently, in their culture and even in the infrastructure, many of them are unresponsive to the needs of female students' (Bunyi, 2004: 12).

### 3.3 Socialisation process and cultural practices

Socialisation process is the acquiring of culture whereby through it people learn the culture they are born into as well as the roles they are to play in life. At home, girls are socialised into ethics of work and discipline by their mother and other female relatives. From an early age, they learn by taking on some of the responsibilities of their mothers (Wamahiu, 1996). In this respect, home learning reflects continuity with African traditional education (Wamahiu, 1988 cited in Wamahiu, 1996: 54). Social responsibility in girls however is not accompanied with empowerment. It is argued that situation is different for boys who are given more freedom without accompanying checks and balances. Boys thus play and/or study for school as their sisters work and wait upon them. In this regard, Wamahiu argues that boys start to believe that world owes them a living.

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By the time children enter school, boys and girls have already begun to internalise different values and concepts of self-worth. Boys have feelings of superiority and girls have feelings of inferiority. Biological determinism is sometimes used to justify gender roles and status. There is a marginalisation of girls and women in African textbooks, and they are portrayed as passive, weak, fragile, and even mindless, engaged in non-remunerative, low prestige occupations are borne out in research conducted in many African countries (Wamahiu, 1996). Women and girls are invisible from mathematics, science and technologically oriented textbooks.

Wamahiu holds that teacher's worldview, in the majority of cases, an essentially patriarchal worldview, arising from many years of exposure to the pedagogy of difference in both formal and informal educational settings, also influences the content of the messages that are transmitted. Research portrays girls in co-educational classrooms, especially in science classrooms, as displaying passive, quiet, subservient behaviour (Tsayang *et al.*, 1989; Mbilinyi and Mbughumi, 1991; Obura, personal communication, 1994 cited in Wamahiu, 1996: 55). It is noted that there is tendency of silencing and subjugation of girls through deliberate discriminative behaviour in mathematics classrooms.

It has been observed that teachers not only denigrate female capability in academic achievement in general, and mathematics and the sciences in particular, but also transmit their perceptions of what constitute the correct behaviour and lifestyle of educated girls. Girls who deviate from the 'correct behaviour' risk being labelled 'abnormal' (Obonyo, personal communication cited in Wamahiu, 1996: 55). Teachers encourage girls to internalise the view that men have authority over women both at home and the workplace (Masemann, 1974 cited in Wamahiu, 1996: 56). It is noted that it is no wonder then that many girls drop out of school to get married or because of pre-marital pregnancy (Wamahiu, 1996).

### 3.4 Environmental factors affecting women participation in higher education

Environmental factors as it is well documented have strong influence on female's participation in higher education. Those factors are socio-cultural, educational (institutional),

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and attitudinal factors. 'Women, men and science are created, together, out of a complex dynamic of interwoven cognitive, emotional, and social forces' (Keller, 1985: 4).

### **3.4.1 Socio-cultural factors**

All communities have socio-cultural values, beliefs and practices which have been explained to have greater consequences on women participation in education from lower levels to higher levels. Women's choice of study, careers and aspirations are also affected by the interplay of various socio-cultural factors. The problem of gender discrimination stems from deep-rooted cultural factors (Mkude and Cooksey, 2003).

'Family influence' is one among factors affecting equal participation of females in education (Hyde, 1993). The socio-economic background of parents and their attitudes about educating girls contribute to shaping decisions about schooling of daughters. Girls who come from socio-economically advantaged families are much more likely to enter and remain in schools than girls from disadvantaged families (ibid). Many girls drop out of schools due to lack of fees; however the true reason for this is that parents prioritising their finances to educate boys more than girls (Kwesiga, 2002; Bendera, 1999). Kwesiga notes that the main explanation for this male-child preference seems to lie in the way parents view education, either as consumption or an investment. Parents background (Bendera, 1999; Kwesiga, 2002), location and religious beliefs (Bendera, 1999), are important factors in girl's schooling. Movement is more often restricted for Muslim girls than for those of other faiths (Bendera, 1999). Hyde highlights that overall economic development is also another reason, with richer countries having higher levels of female enrolment than poorer countries.

The welfare of the family through labour is particularly vital in developing countries (Kwesiga, 2002). In Africa, working on the farm, collecting wood and water and other household chores such as cooking, looking after younger siblings to enable the mother to do more work, fall more on girls than boys (Kwesiga, 2002; MYEWCD, 2001; Bendera, 1999). Kwesiga argues that girls are expected to do more tasks and at early age than boys. Work at home becomes an obstacle to girl's schooling. It is argued that girls may therefore not be enrolled at all, their schooling may be interrupted all the time, or they may be withdrawn from school permanently. Work for the family or in the labour market often keeps older girls out of school (Hyde, 1993). Continued sexual and reproductive responsibilities make it very

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hard for women to compete on equal terms with men, whose success continues to rely on the exploitative positioning of women on the home front (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000 cited in Mama, 2003: 119).

Another factor that militates against women equal participation in education is 'societal influence'. All societies carry within them cultural traditions, values, norms and attitudes which are appropriate for them as males and females. Kwesiga argues that images and values about men and women vary from one country to another, however they all point to the idea that women are inferior to men. The conviction of women's inferiority may be conceived in physical, psychological or intellectual terms and is used to justify or explain the restrictions placed on women. It is argued that a society's views about women reflect the values of that society and shape the attitudes, values and self-images of its girls. 'Family structures-which also reflect societal values-then determine women's roles, responsibilities and degree of independence, their general status, and their employment chances' (Kwesiga, 2002: 55). All these factors combine to produce stereotyped roles appropriate for each sex. Unconsciously, children assimilate society's values and norms, which help to shape their attitudes, preferences and behaviour and engender certain expectations and beliefs about school subjects compatible with their perceived roles (ibid).

In patrilineal societies male is being regarded as the most important member of the kin unit (Kwesiga, 2002). Husbands control women as wives and mothers. Boys are regarded as more valuable than girls (ibid), and boys are regarded as future heads of households (Okeke-Ihejirika, 2005). Kwesiga explains that if social customs place more responsibility on sons than daughters and if sons are expected to look after their parents in old age, then parents have stronger incentives to educate their sons, even if the net returns from education are the same for boys and girls. The earnings of an educated girl are enjoyed by her husband and his family which reduces a woman's potential to assist her parents.

'In African communities, it is out of the norm for any mature person to remain unmarried because marriage gives one social identity' (Kwesiga, 2002: 58). The centrality of marriage and childbearing is internalised very early in life by girls (Bendera, 1994; Meena, 1994; Peasgood *et al.*, 1997 cited in Bendera, 1999: 123). Kwesiga claims that boys and girls grow up knowing that marriage is an ultimate duty, particularly for girls. It is argued that this influence girl's schooling in several ways. Society expects girls to get married and be looked



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after by their husbands, therefore their education is not taken as seriously as that of their brothers (Kwesiga, 2002). The logic is women become part of their husband's family on marriage and therefore income gained from their education will not be available to their families (Bunyi, 2004). High value is placed on marriage and motherhood and their accompanying gender specific roles make it very difficult for women to pursue academic careers and develop professionally (Kanake, 1997 cited in Bunyi, 2004: 15). Girls tend to engage themselves in secretarial work and their aspiration tends to be directed to marriage rather than towards working careers (Kwesiga, 2002). The approved role for women is that of wife and mother and school is deemed unnecessary (Csapo, 1981 for Nigeria; Wrzesinska 1980 cited in Hyde, 1993: 120).

Kwesiga contends that early marriage is one of the major causes of schoolgirl drop-out. Hyde holds that early marriage is an important reason why women do not enter secondary or higher institutions or, having entered, leave before completing the cycle. Parents are encouraged to withdraw their daughters from school once they reach puberty out of fear that they would become pregnant (Kwesiga, 2002), therefore parents view early marriage as a solution to problems that girls might encounter in adolescence (Bendera, 1999). Pregnant pupils usually expelled from school and others leave school before their pregnancies are recognised (Kwesiga, 1999). Hyde argues that the wish to protect daughters from undesirable influences appears strongest in areas that are still very traditional. She argues that marriage and child bearing compete with school for older girl's time. After marriage women lives are quickly dominated by the needs of their children (Bendera, 1999). Kwesiga notes that in higher education academic women find that they cannot easily combine marriage and paid work.

Religion can be barrier to girls' education, depending on its teachings and practices (ibid). She highlights that school is interfered with early Islamic marriages, subordinate role of a wife to her husband in Hindu religion, and glorification of a woman's role as wife and mother in the Roman Catholic tradition. She argues however that, religion alone cannot explain low enrolment rates for girls in a region, unless in its extreme form.

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### 3.4.2 Educational factors

Schools have a positive socialising effect on pupils but they can also be places where gender inequalities are perpetuated (Kwesiga, 2002). It is argued that school facilities determine the quality of the school, which in turn influences the achievements of its pupils. It is also asserted that availability of textbooks, reading material, good classrooms and laboratories, school furniture, etc. and numbers of qualified teachers are important indicators of quality. Kwesiga highlight that lack of adequate teaching facilities for science is a strong explanation of why girls are under-represented in higher education in these subjects. School-related factors can be an important determinant of whether girls enter and remain in schools (Hyde, 1993). Quality of schools, courses offered, messages about sex roles conveyed by educational materials and by teachers influence how parents and students, make schooling decisions (ibid).

Type of school may also hinder the participation of girls in education and what they study (Hyde, 1993, Kwesiga, 2002). Boarding schools are expensive to run and are therefore accessible to fewer students, although girls' parents sometimes prefer (Kwesiga, 2002). It is believed that day schools do not always provide effective learning environment. Male dominate co-educational schools as students, teachers and administrators, as in real life (ibid). It is argued that female teachers are marginalised and kept at lower levels whether in administration or teaching, and they therefore cannot serve as positive role models to girls. Schools are often not safe places for learning: sexist humour, sexual harassment and violence against female pupils and teachers reflect the real life but do not make learning easier and hence perpetuate the gender gap in education (Colclough, 2004; Kwesiga, 2002).

There is attributed reluctance in part of societies' response to a perceived lack of fit between the vocations for which schooling is supposed to prepare students and the vocations that are regarded as suitable for girls (Hyde, 1993). Sex differences have been observed in the type of curriculum and option arrangements offered: stereotypes within society have helped to create 'male' or 'female' subjects so that even when option are offered pupils are likely to choose subjects which are identified with their own sex (Kwesiga, 2002). Girls tend to take the arts and humanities (ibid), domestic science, handicrafts, and biology, whereas boys study chemistry and mathematics, vocational studies (Eshiwani, 1982 for Kenya; Harding, 1985 cited in Hyde, 1993: 120). Science and mathematics are unattractive fields for females.

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Kwesiga gives reasons for girls poor performance in science and mathematics: (1) society's assumptions about men and women; including parental expectations; (2) absence of suitable role models; (3) differential treatment by teachers: girls are ignored or not encouraged; (4) masculine image of science; (5) home and peer environment; (6) selection procedures/regulations to higher education institutions and professions.

Kwesiga believes that one of the persistent explanations of lower achievement by girls is lack of encouragement by teachers. It is argued that both male and female teachers have sometimes been found to have a negative impact on girls in the classroom. Male teachers may be impatient with girls, especially during science and mathematics lessons and their attitudes have proved to be biased in favour of boys. It is stated that influence of female teachers is an important motivating factor. As role models, female teachers motivate girls to enrol and to increase their attendance and persistence rates. Bandura's observational learning studies indicate that people identify more readily with and learn faster from people who are similar to them (1969 cited in Antonucci, 1980: 188). Rothstein (1985 cited in Jacobs, 1996: 172) found that women students with female advisors are more likely to continue their education after college. Female 'role models' are important because they facilitate female students' learning by providing examples of similar people who are doing well (Antonucci, 1980).

### **3.4.3 Attitudinal factors**

Mednick *et al.* (1975 cited in Gross, 1992: 515) describes attitude, as 'a predisposition to act in a certain way towards some aspects of one's environment, including other people'. It is one of the strong determinants that shape individual or community actions and behaviour in a particular society. Socialisation process accounts for eventual attitude and behavioural patterns towards various aspects in a society. Schenkel argues:

*Sex role stereotypes get instilled early in life. They form the content of the rules we use to judge social behaviour. These rules become part of our daily thinking habits, and our judgements become so automatic we hardly notice them (Schenkel, 1991: 5).*

The stereotype thinking creates internal or self-imposed and psychological restraints that hinder women's progress. Biklen (1980) describes these restraints as the internal consequences of the external situations in women's lives. She outlines the women's attitude and behaviour as the responses to the social definition of femininity that labels women as

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helpers and not leaders, as warm and supportive, not as ambitious or initiating. Literatures that has discussed this aspect, has examined women's aspirations, women's levels of self-confidence and ability to be risk-taker, and the need for role models (ibid). It is argued that most popular images for framing women's internal or self-imposed issues are 'fear of success' and 'fear of failure'. The problem of gender discrimination stems from not only deep-rooted cultural and but also psychological factors (Mkude and Cooksey, 2003).

The social definition of female and male's roles shape people's aspirations, self-perceptions and life patterns in a particular society. Studies have shown that female student's aspirations and self-perceptions are affected by their experience (Antonucci, 1980). Men and women with similar grades and general intelligence scores showed significant difference in aspirations levels. Women generally set lower educational goals for themselves and were much less likely to pursue a graduate education (ibid). It noted that women are encouraged to follow traditional rather than non-traditional careers. Women who choose to follow traditional careers get more support they need compared with those who go for different pathways. It is argued that female students appear to have accepted this double standard of aspiration by choosing an 'appropriate' female career goal.

Women lack confidence because they have doubts and fears among them (Schenkel, 1991). They normally question their intelligence, talent, and skill. They wonder about the value of their ideas and actions. Women have trouble taking themselves seriously, finding it hard to believe their talents warrant full expression and recognition. Women have tendency to minimize their accomplishments. The major reason for women to lack confidence is that they, as women learn to view their abilities in the same way that society views them (ibid).

Traditional sex role stereotypes portray women as emotional, helpless, and intuitive; whereas men are portrayed as rational, competent, and smart. Being brainy is absolute unfeminine. Achievement, assertion, and aggression belong squarely in the male domain (ibid). It is stated that many women are not socialised to speak up, toot their own horns, and defend themselves; they were brought up to be docile and modest, especially when relating to men. Areas that typically cause women's difficulty are: (1) presenting oneself positively, (2) participating in groups, (3) asking and demanding, (4) saying no, (5) confronting, and (6) asserting authority (Schenkel, 1991: 77). She believes that society's prejudices against women's competence lead to many women become prejudiced against their competence.

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They learn to judge themselves according to rules that reflect a negative bias against their abilities. The logic that women lack ability hence they can not succeed further becomes embedded in women's thinking and expresses itself in women's evaluations of their actions (ibid).

Women have a tendency toward negative self-evaluation (Schenkel, 1991). It is argued that bright, talented, ambitious women normally violate one of the cardinal rules of success: accentuate the positive, eliminate the negative. Women sell themselves short by discrediting, minimising, belittling, and devaluating their abilities and accomplishments. Women have a tendency of focusing the negative and ignoring the positive. It is claimed that women have tendency to freeze when they are given opportunity to volunteer or hold a certain position in which they have capability, knowledge and experience to perform it. When women transform mixed reviews into negative ones, and focusing entirely on their weaknesses, they get an inaccurate picture of themselves. They develop an unfavourable self-image that keeps them from taking action (ibid). It is argued that, many women never get past the negative self-evaluation, therefore they never get going.

Women's attributions are self-defeating, but women are just doing what they have been taught to do (Schenkel, 1991). Society makes attributions on the basis of sex role stereotypes and women learn this 'reasoning' process. They apply to their own behaviour as well as to the behaviour of others. It is noted that when people are told to account for success of both males and females, the responses are men have skills or ability while women have luck, easy courses, and even cheating. Schenkel holds that people judge women in the same way that women judge themselves. Ability, skill, competence, and achievement belong to the male preserve and do not fit the traditional image of women (ibid).

Schenkel asserts that women have tendency to look elsewhere for validation, approval and recognition, and hence they are playing to an audience (family and friends, and a fantasy in their heads). She believes that women are uncertain to take risks, make the sacrifices, and work very hard or doing intensive jobs. Women get wrapped up in pleasing because of their dependence on positive feedback but they are anxious about negative responses from others. It is argued that women worry excessively about hisses and boos and fear to be abandoned, humiliated, laughed, and also to be exposed as frauds.

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Women have learned helplessness (Schenkel, 1991). They experience helplessness when they think there is little or nothing they can do to influence events. It is a psychological state in which we may feel some degree of emotional distress and think thoughts such as ‘what’s the point?’ ‘It is useless to try’. Schenkel claims that all these thoughts have a common theme: ‘I can’t do it’. Helpless thoughts are always followed by helpless behaviour. The essence is non-involvement, in either of two basic forms. First, premature withdrawal: stopping, quitting, or escaping before making exhaustive attempts to solve existing problems. Second form is avoidance. Women have learned to avoid and withdraw, either as a response to specific career challenges or as general response to life’s stresses. It is argued that women’s helplessness is not an innately and uniquely feminine characteristic; it is a predictable response to social conditions.

Schenkel points out that learned helplessness have devastating effects on behaviour: (1) it destroys motivation, (2) it interferes with the ability to learn, and (3) it creates emotional distress. It is noted that motivational problems appear all over the landscape of women’s lives. Lack of initiative and persistence can be spotted in so-called laziness, work inhibitions, apathy dilettantism, and hasty retreats into marriage and motherhood. Learned helplessness blunts women’s determination and makes them afraid to try. It is mentioned that when women encounter real obstacles, they get discouraged easily and give up too soon. Schenkel claims that, typically, women describe themselves as people who do not follow through or who drop out and whose lives are full of incomplete projects. The feminine discounting habit is both a cause and an effect of the inability to perceive success in women (ibid).

Emotional distress hits women who struggle to achieve (Schenkel, 1991). Anxiety, fear, apprehension, and lack of confidence are women’s experiences as they approach various aspects of their work. Since traditional femininity taught women that they lack ability and the power to control, they venture forth uncertainly, particularly in non-traditional realms. It is noted that women are plagued not only with feelings of personal inadequacy but with the suspicion that –as women–they know less about the ways of the world than do their male counterparts. It is argued that some women feel anxious every time they approach major-and even not-so-major-challenges.

Women with helpless response make mistakes to occur in their daily lives (Schenkel, 1991). When some women choose certain activity or course and then find it difficult they respond to difficulty with helplessness. They might stop paying attention to it, their mind start wandering, they think they do not have heads for certain courses. They tend to doubt whether they could make it to another level, what would happen to their future, whether failure is their destination. They also pay attention to irrelevant matters, they lack ability and discounting about their future achievement.

Females appear to experience more fear of failure than do males (Schenkel, 199; Stein and Bailey, 1973 cited in Schenkel, 1991: 61). Schenkel maintains that girls have more fear of failure than boys because girls are less likely to learn ways to handle failure. Survivors of failure take failure as a part of learning process that will allow them to do better the next time around. 'Those who respond to failure helplessly are more devastated by it and consequently more afraid of it' (Schenkel, 1991: 62). Girls carry over the effects of failure, such as lowered expectations of success, into new situations. Once the experience of failure brought them down, girls had trouble making a comeback. And even when girls express confidence about future performance, the confidence is fragile and easily dissipated.

Schenkel argues that women often feel inhibited about talking positively about themselves. They often neglect to claim recognition that is rightfully theirs. When women acknowledge their assets, they frequently feel anxious, awkward, and uncomfortable. It is believed that this anxiety is caused by a sense that they are violating social rules. They have a vague feeling that they are behaving inappropriately. She argues that if women do not assert themselves by sharing their information, ideas, and opinions with fluency and conviction, they will have little power and status in groups.

Women in the work force have difficulty giving orders (Schenkel, 1991). She believes that authority is regarded as a masculine concept because in our societies most authority figures have been males. The lack of sufficient female authoritative figures in numerous communities leave the concept stays unchanged. As a result, many women have a gap in their concept of authority, their-image, and their behavioural repertoire. Schenkel argues that many women have trouble believing that they are expected to direct others because men are supposed to lead and direct while women are supposed to follow and submit. This results in some women feeling that there is a conflict between authority and femininity. Some women

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are so unassertive that they have difficulty asserting authority over men. She holds that women regard asserting authority over men as inappropriate and a threat to their sense of femininity.

### 3.5 Conceptualising sexual harassment in higher education

The productivity and quality of teaching and learning in higher education institutions is affected by the gender climate that is created in these institutions as people from different social, economic, age, gender, class and religious backgrounds interact frequently (AAU, 2006). Mostly, students in higher education institutions are between 18 and 25 years of age and are in their youth. Therefore this age range affects their expectations, knowledge, behaviours, attitudes, learning patterns, emotional and social intelligence. 'Many students are raised in patriarchal cultures where their gender expectations may be in direct contradiction to that encouraged in colleges and universities' (AAU, 2006: 100). In patriarchal societies, men may regard young women as 'prey' and the rituals of courtship may involve some coercion, exclusion from social and political activities, disparaging of vocal or activist women on campuses and criticizing the disciplining of violent staff and student men. Campuses tend to be male-dominated, creating male-tolerant cultures and environments, which sometimes tolerate, encourage and/or condone gender violence and sexual harassment. The male-dominated environments in higher education encourage transactional sex between dominant men and subordinate men and women (ibid).

Sexual harassment has been defined in terms of the subjective experience of the person targeted by the behaviour and by the degree to which the behaviour was unwelcome and unwanted by that person. It covers a broad spectrum of sexual violations and its usage may vary to include various forms of violence which are many recognised by laws (AAU, 2006).

Types of behaviour demonstrate 'sexual harassment' and 'gender violence' in institutions of higher education including: (1) demanding sex in exchange for good grades, a job or promotion to a higher grade; (2) sexual assault of students or staff during academic consultation; (3) sexual bullying by attacking the dress and commenting on the bodies of staff and students; (4) sexualising the work or classroom environment by referring to students as 'wives', using specific students as examples on sexual issues, expressing wishes to perpetuate sexual acts on colleagues; (5) scratching students' or colleagues' palms, patting



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their bottoms or grazing their breasts in classrooms or corridors; (6) collecting messages or humiliating students during induction, orientation or lectures with sexual talk or jokes; (7) placing sexually abusive messages, pictures and comments about students, staff and others without their consent through Information Technology (IT) facilities within and outside the institution; and (8) coercion of women to seek protection from male predation by cults, brotherhoods and other bodies on campuses (AAU, 2006).

All members of the academic community are potential victims of unwelcome sexual behaviour, but the majority of complaints are female students, faculty, and staff (Riggs *et al.*, 1993). It is reported that harassment occur to young and attractive but also occur to older adults. Because of power structures and cultural biases within the academy, women are overwhelmingly the targets of sexual harassment and, although a profile has not been empirically established, nearly all harassers are male (Paludi and Barickman, 1991 cited in Riggs *et al.*, 1993: iv). Graduate women in typically male-populated academic disciplines may be at an uneven risk of being victimised (Till, 1980 cited in Riggs *et al.*, 1993: 19).

In many African higher education institutions, male staff propositioning vulnerable female students, threatening to fail them, and or else alluring them with the promise of higher grades. Lecturers are in a position of authority with the power to pass or fail students. 'Utilising this power position for sexual favours is clearly unprofessional, and goes against the code of ethics governing the teaching profession' (AAU, 2006: 104). Other forms of harassment female students experience from their professors including being touched or pinched, patted to the point of personal discomfort. Also verbal sexual advances, sexual invitations subjected to physical advances and offered direct sexual bribes or they are directly assaulted. It is noted that other female students drop courses because of harassment. Female students also experience unwanted sexual attention from male faculty (Riggs *et al.*, 1993).

Peer sexual harassment describes the sexual harassment of women by their male colleagues-women students by male students; women faculty by male faculty; gay and lesbian students by other students (Paludi and Barickman, 1991 cited in Riggs *et al.*, 1993: 19). Women occupying middle level administrative posts appear to be more vulnerable to sexual harassment both from male staff and students. They may be threatened with loss of their jobs by their immediate supervisors if they fail to respond to demands for sexual favours. Young

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women academics may also face sexual harassment and demands of sexual favours from senior male academics. The sexual harassment of students by students is fairly rampant in many higher education institutions, partly because baiting women students is seen as acceptable young male behaviour. Women students who compete for office in student politics suffer severe sexual harassment, while women students who compete in beauty pageants may escape such treatment (AAU, 2006). Riggs *et al.* demonstrate that undergraduate females experience sexist remarks, comments and unwelcome attentions and more serious forms of unwanted sexual attention. Most of these experiences involve individual 'men'. Women are also said to receive emotional and psychological harassment which are often invasive and disrespectful from young men.

### **3.5.1 The sexual desire-dominance paradigm**

This prevailing paradigm defines unwanted heterosexual sexual advances as the core conduct that constitutes sex-based harassment. Schultz (2007) highlights that typical case of harassment involves a more powerful, typical older, male supervisor, who uses his superior organisational position to demand sexual favours from a less powerful, typically younger, female subordinate. It is described that sometimes, his motivation is sexual desire that he wants her and he uses his organisational position to get her. Sometimes, it is a desire to subordinate: he wants make sure she remains below him in the workplace hierarchy, and he uses sexuality to reinforce his position. In either way, his actions are said to be an abuse of his power and an abuse of her sex. Men use their dominant positions at work to extract sex from women, and extracting sex from women ensures their dominance. Schultz holds that sexual desire-dominance paradigm governs our understanding of harassment. Sexual desire and domination were inextricably linked in the institution of heterosexuality which was central to male superiority. It is believed that women subordinate to men and heterosexual relations were the primary mechanism of enforcing women's oppression.

### **3.5.2 Competence-centred paradigm**

'Harassment has the form and function of denigrating women's competence for the purpose of keeping them away from male-dominated jobs or incorporating them as inferior, less capable workers' (Schultz, 2007: 235). The competence-centred account deflects attention from the sexual content of workplace conduct and refocuses it on the link between hostile

work environment harassment and job segregation by sex. This account emphasises the role of sexual and non-sexual forms of harassment in maintaining favoured lines of work as male-dominated. Schultz claims that historically, women were excluded from many of the most highly rewarded forms of employment which gives male workers a sense of entitlement to such jobs. By criticising women as less competent to perform such work, hostile work environment harassment warns women away or incorporates them as inferiors. In doing so, harassment upholds the idealised masculine image of the work and those who do it. Schultz maintains that harassment is thus both a cause and a consequence of larger forms of gender-based stratification of work, such as job segregation by sex and the accompanying wage and status inequalities. The competence-centred paradigm is an alternative account of hostile work environment since it understands harassment as a means to reclaim favoured lines of work and work competence as masculine-identified turf-in the face of a threat posed by the presence of women ( or lesser men) who seek to claim these privileges as their own.

### 3.6 Chapter summary

The main purpose of this chapter was to present theoretical framework that attempt to justify and explain the contributing factors to the gender gap in higher education. The pedagogy of difference in an African perspective has been initially described in order to understand the nature of factors hindering women equal participation in tertiary education in Africa. As the nucleus of the theoretical framework, environmental perspective has been entirely discussed as responsible for existing gender differences as it has been agreed by many scholars and feminists. These factors are socio-cultural, educational, and attitudinal factors. Various concepts and paradigms have been used to explain these factors with the purpose of explaining reasons for the small number of women in higher education, the concentration of females in certain fields of study and the way females experience academic life as compared to their male counterparts.

In Chapter 4, research methodology is presented.

## 4. Methodology

### Introduction

In this chapter I present a description of the research design, research methods and data collection techniques used in the study in order to facilitate the attainment of the investigation of the study on the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar. A case study design was used as a basis for the study. Both qualitative and quantitative methods have been used to fulfil the needs of the research questions (however qualitative approach and methods have been more emphasised). Semi-structured interviews were conducted with students, faculty and university administrators. While personal interviews were conducted with the teaching staff and administrators, focus group interviews were conducted with groups of female students within two universities. Documents from all three universities were effectively utilised. I employed a *conceptually clustered matrix* for data analysis.

### 4.1 Research design

Three universities were selected as cases for allowing some cautious scientific generalisation which are less possible to make should I have concentrated on a single case. As commented by Bryman (2004) a case study involves the detailed and intensive analysis of a single case or sometimes extended to include the study of just two or three cases for comparative purposes. Stake (2006) reports that the important reason for doing multicase study is to examine how the programme or phenomenon performs in different environments. In this multicase study I will concentrate on describing the cases (universities) in sufficient details and then a reader might make comparisons if he or she wishes to do so. This is because multicase study is not a design for comparing cases. Most case researchers report each case as a case, knowing that this case will be compared to others, but not giving emphasis to attributes of comparison (Stake, 2006). Bryman (2004) further emphasises that the case study design often favours qualitative methods because qualitative methods are viewed as particularly helpful in the generation of an intensive, detailed examination of a case. Yin (2003) holds that a major strength of a case study data collection is the opportunity to utilise many different sources of evidence and hence a study increases its quality considerably.

Based on the above facts, document analysis was used for collecting data in all three universities while various interview methods were employed for the two universities. Yin (2003) adds that case study as a research strategy comprises an all-encompassing method-covering the logic of design, data collection techniques, and specific approaches to data analysis. This study made use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Patton (2002) points out that both methods involve differing strengths and weaknesses, they constitute alternative but not mutually exclusive strategies for research, hence both quantitative and qualitative data can be collected in the same study.

## 4.2 Quantitative methods

To explore the nature and extent of the gender gap in universities in Zanzibar, numerical data were collected and presented in tables. As a form of quantitative approach, tables are used as statistical models to classify features, count them and present their summation in attempt to explain what has been observed. The statistics that are presented focus on enrolment of students, employment of faculty members, fields of study, and ranks among administrators in gender comparative perspective. Three universities involved including Zanzibar University (ZU), University College of Education Zanzibar (UCEZ) and the State University of Zanzibar (SUZA).

However statistical data alone did not give enough insight into the cases, due to lack of uniformity in the fields of studies. All universities are also limited to specific areas of studies and academic levels. Also pure sciences and technology fields like medical, engineering, and agricultural studies were not available in either of the institutions. Undergraduates were the only students enrolled and there were neither Masters nor PhD students in any of the universities (further discussion on the limitations to the study is provided in section 4.11).

## 4.3 Qualitative methods

To gain insight into the reasons for the gender gap among students, and faculty and administrators of the universities studied, a variety of techniques from qualitative methods were utilised. Brock-Utne (1996:609) points out that ‘qualitative research is holistic, and attempts to provide a contextual understanding of the complex interrelationships of cause and consequences that affect human behaviour’. Qualitative methods are also considered by

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many feminists to be more appropriate to their research enquiries than the use of surveys and statistical analysis (Oakley, 1981; Stanley & Wise, 1983 cited in Vulliamy *et al.* 1990: 14).

Qualitative techniques used including semi-structured, personal and focus group interviews as well as document analysis. Using various qualitative procedures was appropriate for the study in order to find relevant responses to my research questions.

### **4.3.1 Interviews**

The most meaningful way of getting information concerning the causes for female under-representation in higher education in Zanzibar and getting ideas and experiences on sexual dynamics within the institutions was through interviewing. I used various interview methods to interview female students as well as male and female faculty and administrators. Bryman (2004) points out that qualitative interviewing is most preferred in feminist research since it brings much focus on interviewees. Going off at tangents is encouraged, interviewees may go beyond the schedule or guide and more flexibility is involved. In this way researchers get more detailed answers compared to structured interview.

#### ***4.3.1.1 Semi-structured interview***

I made use of semi-structured interviews comprising mostly of probing questions in order to get opportunity to discuss the issue in more details as they involve high level of flexibility and interactivity. Also respondents were able to give detailed reply with their own emphasis and in their own language of choice. In addition to that, this type of interview helped me to easily analyse my data since I was able to quickly locate and organise respondents' answers to the questions that I asked. Semi-structured interviews have a special place in feminist studies since they give much freedom for the interviewees to express their feelings. Bryman (2004) claims that unstructured and semi-structured interviewing have become extremely prominent methods of data gathering within a feminist research framework, and he further adds that there is a growing tendency of referring to them collectively as 'in-depth interviews' or 'qualitative interviews' as they both allow flexibility.

To facilitate the process, I prepared interview guides (Appendices 2-4), one for each group of students, one for male teaching staff and administrators and one for female teaching staff and administrators. The interview guides for the students were comprised of five open-ended

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questions. The interview guides for both male and female teaching staff and administrators contained seven open-ended questions each. The questions covered the issues of female under-representation, institutional experiences, impact of female under-representation, and views on bridging the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar. Interview guides are essential in conducting focus group interviews for they keep the interactions ‘focused’ while allowing individual perspectives and experiences to emerge, they also help to carefully decide how best to use the limited time available (Patton, 2002). I prepared interview guides in two languages i.e. Kiswahili and English to allow flexibility among the interviewees. Majority of the respondents preferred Kiswahili, however three of them selected English and one of these was unable to communicate in Kiswahili. Therefore majority of the responses presented in Chapter 6 are my translation.

I took notes rather than tape recording in my interviews so as to maintain anonymity. Interviews were conducted in two universities (ZU and UCEZ) with a total of 34 respondents including 18 female students and 16 male and female staff.

#### *4.3.1.2 Personal interview*

I conducted 16 personal interviews with male and female faculty and administrators from two universities (ZU and UCEZ). Three among all five administrators interviewed also had teaching positions within their respective universities. The interviews lasted for about 30 to 60 minutes. The face to face interviews provided me with rich information through the process of direct conversation/interaction between me and the respondents. The interviews provided me with opportunity of correcting misunderstandings of respondents about the questions being asked. Kelly *et al.* (1994 cited in Bryman, 2004: 336) emphasise that, not just qualitative methods, but the in-depth face-to-face interview has become the pragmatic ‘feminist method’.

#### *4.3.1.3 Focus group interview*

Focus group interview was used in this study in order to gather information from female students concerning the reasons for the gender disparities. As it is claimed by Patton (2002), focus group interviews involve interaction where participants get to hear each other’s responses and make additional comments beyond their own original responses as they hear what other people have to say.

As a male interviewer, I selected focus group interviews with female students since they felt comfortable and confident in answering questions and expressing their feelings as a team rather than one-on-one. Eighteen female students from the two universities were interviewed. Ten students were from the UCEZ and eight were from ZU. The number of respondents I selected based on the argument by Bryman (2004) that focus group interview should involve at least four people. My choice on the number of interviewees was also affected by the availability of interviewees (see limitations to the study in section 4.11). All the interviews lasted from 30 to 60 minutes.

### **4.3.2 Document analysis**

I made use of documents for searching relevant information for the study. Documents as a rich source of information helped me not only to find answers that I could not find through interviews but also assisted me to verify results I got from the informants. Yin (2003) emphasises that documentary evidence is an important source of data collection that can be used to fill out and confirm evidence from other sources. Also Weiss (1998) stresses that documents provide positive check on data collected through interviews. She further adds that when other techniques fail to resolve a question documentary evidence can provide a realistic answer. I made use of various documents from all three universities.

My study also used a number of official documents from the Ministry of Education and Vocational Education, Ministry of Youth, Employment, Women and Children Development, Office of the Registrar General, House of Representatives, Parliament of United Republic of Tanzania, Civil Service Department, Zanzibar High Court and National Examinations Council of Tanzania. I also made use of various records including formal studies, and documents from gender-related NGOs as well as internet sources.

## **4.4 Triangulation**

In this study, I used methodological triangulation as well as data triangulation. These types of triangulation were used in the sense that both quantitative and qualitative approaches, various data collection techniques, and several sources of data were utilised. Patton (2002) emphasises that triangulation strengthens a study by combining methods. Triangulation involves several kinds of research methods or data, including quantitative and qualitative



approaches. Reinharz (1992) points out that, an emerging postulate for feminist research is using variety of methods in order to generate comprehensive information. Using multiple methods in a single study has been labelled 'triangulation'. She further adds that triangulation increases the possibility to enlighten previously unexamined or misunderstood experiences, and it increases the likelihood of obtaining scientific credibility and research utility. I used various methods and data from people and settings which include interviews, documents analysis and literature review so as to gather as much realistic data as possible. In this way, triangulation helped me to certify the validity and reliability of my data.

#### 4.5 Location of the study

The study was conducted in Zanzibar islands and it involved three universities; namely Zanzibar University, University College of Education Zanzibar, and The State University of Zanzibar. All the three universities (which are the only universities in Zanzibar) are located in Unguja Island. The State University of Zanzibar is located in Zanzibar City which is the capital of Zanzibar and the two other universities are located outside town.

#### 4.6 Delimitations of the Study

I restricted my study to three universities because they are the only universities available on the isles. I chose all three universities in order to make sound generalisation of the findings and also to allow comparisons to be made if one wishes to do so. Comparisons can be made by looking at the variation between data collected from the two privately sponsored universities (ZU and UCEZ) and the public owned university (SUZA). Having no university providing engineering, medicine or agricultural studies, I had to limit my study to the fields of education, sciences, and arts and humanities. My study of these three universities employed different data collection procedures. While interviews were conducted in only two universities, documents were collected from all the three universities.

#### 4.7 Purposeful sampling

Purposeful sampling was used in order to study a small number of selected female students and faculty and administrators in some depth. Patton (2002) emphasises that the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. He

also adds that using purposeful sampling one might be able to get a deeper understanding of an issue rather than making empirical generalisations.

#### 4.7.1 Selection of interviewees

The information-rich cases selected in my study are female students, male and female teaching staff and administrators. The study of these informants illuminated the question under study. Selection of respondents was done from two universities based on gender and field of study. A total of 18 female students (four focus groups) and 16 male and female faculty and administrators were purposefully selected so as to provide the in-depth information required. Table 5 below presents the number of female students with their specialisations interviewed from the two universities. The number, gender and specialisations of the interviewed faculty and administrators from the two universities are presented in table 6 below.

**Table 5: Number of interviewed female students with their specialisations**

Name of the University	Zanzibar University	University College of Education
No. of students and their specialisations	Law: 4	Science with Education: 5
	Economics: 4	Arts with Education: 5

*Source: Fieldwork, July-August 2007.*

**Table 6: Number, gender and specialisations of the interviewed faculty members and administrators**

Name of the University	Zanzibar University	University College of Education
Female teaching staff	Law: 2	Arts: 1
	Research Methods: 1	Science: 2
Male teaching staff	Business Administration: 2	Arts: 2
		Research Methods: 1
Female administrators	1	1
Male administrators	2	1

*Source: Fieldwork, July-August 2007.*

As tables 5 and 6 above show, there is lack of uniformity in some cases due to the unavailability of students and faculty in some specialisations and also scarcity of ‘native’ respondents. Based on the nature of the topic, the interviews were aimed at native informants (Zanzibaris). This will further be discussed in the limitations to the study in section 4.11.

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The information collected from the sample of students, faculty and administrators from the two universities will be combined to form more generalised findings.

## 4.8 Data analysis

I employed a qualitative approach known as *conceptually clustered matrix* to data analysis. I started data analysis as early as the data collection began and the process continued during the whole period of data collection as well as after the data collection period. Erlandson *et al.* (1993) argue that analysis of qualitative data is best described as a chain and not a stage, it is an ongoing process and not a one-time event. They further assert that analysis of data gathered in qualitative research begins the first day the researcher arrives at the setting.

During the whole period of fieldwork, data collected through interviews were recorded and other data were taken since they were readily available. In both cases meaningful data were selected, focused, simplified, abstracted and transformed into manageable way as referred to as 'data reduction' by Miles and Huberman (1984). Subsequently, I categorised all the data from written texts and then reorganised them based on the participants (students, teaching staff and administrators).

Miles and Huberman suggest using a 'conceptually clustered matrix' because it avoids tiring of both analyst and a reader due to long list of responses and along separate analysis by clustering a few or even several research questions, so that meaning can be easily generated. Conceptually clustered matrix was appropriate format for analysis, whereby sheet format that included all informants and all their responses was used. I decided to have seven columns each one represented a research question and this was advantageous since I asked respondents from both universities the similar questions. I also presented all responses from informants in 20 rows (16 faculty and administrators and four focus groups) of the matrix. This helped me to set up comparisons between informants by clustering their responses and also those responses showing relationship were later clustered to present a general theme. Based on the nature of the coded segment and research questions the responses were typed and rated from one column to another and then responses were summarised into a phrase or a sentence. Miles and Huberman (1984) stress that ratings and labels set up comparisons between informants, and later between cases in the cross-site analysis. Conceptually clustered matrix consider conceptual coherence since it brings together items that 'belong

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together'; informants responses that have some similarity were tied up together and also those giving similar responses (ibid). Reading down the rows enabled me to see the initial relationship between informant's responses to the different questions while reading down the columns showed the comparisons between first question of different respondents and also comparison between these groups and as well as comparisons between responses to other questions. Having all data in one readily surveyable place allowed me to move quickly and rightfully from matrix to my writing. In this case my data are well organised in such way that conclusion can be more easily drawn.

As it has been described earlier in this chapter both qualitative and quantitative approaches were used, therefore quantitative data analysis was also employed in this study. Bryman (2004) argues that it is not case that there is total absence of quantification in qualitative studies. The quantitative data collected were organised in tables, counts, sums, and percentages basically to make the data meaningful but also to make identification of errors and inconsistencies easier and for further verification of the findings.

## 4.9 Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are two important concepts that are used to judge the quality of an empirical research. They have special concerns in my study as they address the issue of quality of my data and the appropriateness of the methods I used to collect those data. Validity and reliability measures tell how data collected suit the research problem. Yin (2003) identifies four relevant criteria or tests for judging the quality of a case study research as: construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability.

### 4.9.1 Construct validity

Establishing correct operational measures for the concepts being studied is referred to as construct validity (Yin, 2003). When there is substantial evidence that the theoretical paradigm rightly corresponds to observations this situation will be explained as construct, theoretical or argumentative validity as noted by Jerome and Miller (1986 cited in Brock-Utne, 1996:614). Yin claims that construct validity is a problematic test, he therefore proposes three tactics to increase construct validity in doing case studies.

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First, the use of *multiple sources of evidence*- a process of triangulation. The advantage of this is that, any finding or conclusion is likely to be more convincing and accurate if it is based on different sources of information. To achieve this, I have made use of qualitative and quantitative research approaches, interviews, and several documents in this study.

Second, establishment of a *chain of evidence*- to allow an external observer or a reader of the study to follow the derivation of any evidence, ranging from initial research questions to ultimate case study conclusions. In order to meet this purpose, I made sure that my thesis has made sufficient and relevant citations by citing specific documents I have collected. I also made sure that the evidences that I use are real by pointing out in my study the periods when and place where I collected my data. Moreover, the research questions and procedures I have chosen for my study were made specific and consistent. In this sense, my study shows clearly the link between the content and initial study questions. Thus, a reader will be able to move from one part of the study to another, with clear cross-referencing to methodological procedures and to the resulting evidence. This is what Yin (2003) called ‘the ultimate *chain of evidence* desired’.

The third measure is to have *key informants review draft case study report*. Since I did not use tape recorder it was difficult for me to give the draft to the informants to give feedback. What I did was to read the notes that I have just taken in front of respondents at the end of each interview so that they could either add or review their statements for accuracy.

#### **4.9.2 Internal validity**

Brock-Utne (1996) defines internal validity as how correct the research portrays the phenomenon it is supposed to portray. Bryman (2004) terms internal validity as to whether there is a good match between researchers’ observations and the theoretical ideas they develop. Other authors regard internal validity as either classical statement, quantitative or traditional positivistic criterion, therefore it should be replaced with the term ‘credibility’ as qualitative research needs different criteria for evaluation. On credibility, Erlandson *et al.* suggest that:

*Because the major concern in establishing credibility is interpreting the constructed realities that exist in the context being studied and because these realities exist in the minds of the people in the context, attention must be directed to gaining a comprehensive intensive interpretation of these realities that will be affirmed by the people in the context (Erlandson et al., 1993: 30).*

To ensure internal validity and credibility of my study I have spent two months in field work in my own society. In so doing, I got opportunity to observe respondents daily activities at campuses and then during interviewing I was able to compare the relationship between their actions and words. As I mentioned in section 4.4, I used a triangulation method whereby data from informants with different points of view and documents were used to make comparison of the findings. Using a good number of respondents and materials enabled me to get holistic views of the context. This also helped me to avoid personal bias.

### **4.9.3 External validity**

The extent to which findings can be generalised to other environments that are similar to the environments where the research was first carried out is known as external validity (Brock-Utne, 1996). To increase external validity I chose appropriate sampling strategies to make sure that sample of informants I selected are representative of wider academic population to which generalisation is desired. I purposefully selected 34 information-rich cases among students and members of staff from two universities. In-depth study of the informants was employed so that their behaviours could be generalised to other universities in other contexts with similar characteristics.

### **4.9.4 Ecological validity**

This refers to the question of whether social scientific findings are applicable to people's everyday, natural social settings (Bryman, 2004). He further quoted Cicourel (1992) as he questions: 'do our instruments capture the daily life conditions, opinions, values, attitudes, and knowledge base of those we study as expressed in their natural habitat? Bryman claims that social research sometimes produces findings that may be technically valid but have little to do with what happens in people's everyday lives. Brock-Utne (1996) proposes that in order to assure high ecological validity it is necessary to involve as many characteristics as possible about the research area in question. To achieve this goal, I investigated a good number of respondents with differing characteristics. I also looked upon their gender compositions and subject combinations since my study is examining the gap in enrolment, employment and distribution in fields of study of students and faculty and administrators.

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Additionally, doing research in my own society by being in the field work, interviewing people including my former school mates, class mates and my students increase the probability of high ecological validity. This is because I have enough experience about the environment, people I worked with, with their attitudes in their daily lives hence avoiding 'culture blindness'. Brock-Utne (1996) highly encourages researching on one owns society:

*The African researcher knows his/her environment better than any expatriate knows it and will be more likely to ask the right questions provided that s/he is allowed to ask them and not forced to work with questions of concern to western donors and provided that s/he trusts her/his experiences and uses those to form concepts instead of merely transferring concepts formed in the West and based on experiences in the northern hemisphere (Brock-Utne, 1996: 605).*

#### **4.9.5 Reliability**

Yin (2003) holds that reliability must demonstrate that the operations of a study such as data collection procedures can be repeated, with the same results. Kleven (1995 cited in Brock-Utne, 1996:612) cautions that high reliability does not guarantee that a new investigation of the same phenomenon is going to give approximately the same conclusion. Yin (2003) suggests three principles to deal with the problems of construct validity and reliability. These are (a) using multiple sources of evidence (b) maintaining a chain of evidence (c) creating a case study database. The principles (a) and (b) have already been discussed in section 4.9.1. Creating a case study database is the way of organising and documenting the data for the case study. A study needs to contain enough data so that the reader of the study can draw independent conclusions about the study. A database is developed from notes, documents, tabular materials, and narratives. In this study, I took notes in an organised handwritten form as responses from informants in interviews that I conducted. I also collected a lot of documents relevant to my study during the field work (see section 4.3.2). I will make use of them and provide them in the reference list for further retrieval or for other investigators' inspection. My study made use of tabular materials that is statistical data I obtained from various government ministries and departments and offices and universities concerning the members of staff, civil servants, and academic enrolment and employment. I organised these quantitative data in tables and I stored them for easy retrieval (see section 4.7.1, chapter 2 and chapter 5).

To increase reliability of my study I used the appropriate data collection procedures which included the use of several documents and extensive interviews. These techniques were

appropriately used so that later investigators conducting the same case study and following the same procedures should arrive at the same findings and conclusions. I also considered reliability since its goal is to minimize errors and biases in a study as pointed out by Yin (2003).

#### 4.10 Ethical concerns

In this study, I made every effort to make sure that ethical issues were not violated in relation to the people I was working with. To achieve this I followed the four ethical principles suggested by Diener and Crandall (1978 cited in Bryman, 2004: 509). First, I made sure that I did not harm any participant that was involved in my study in any way by conducting friendly interviewing with insensitive questions. Secondly, I deployed an informed consent by informing my informants beforehand about myself and the research so that they could decide whether to take part in the study. Those who took part I gave a sample of questions that I would ask them during interview. The third principle that I put into consideration was not to invade respondents' privacy. Issues that informants thought to be in their private realms and therefore they did not want to make public I did not push. Finally, I avoided deceiving my respondents by asking just the questions my study proposed.

Moreover, I was extra careful probing into religious beliefs, sexual related activities or political issues. This is due to my experience on the political situation of Zanzibar and the dominant Islamic culture. Interestingly, two universities in which I conducted interviews are sponsored by religious bodies and all 34 respondents interviewed were Muslims except one foreign lecturer. My study put into consideration the issue of anonymity by not mentioning names of participants, but relevant and realistic information from respondents are well elaborated so that ecological validity may not be affected. As a major ethical concern I also ensured interviewees that their responses will be kept confidential.

#### 4.11 Limitations to the study

The study has been exciting and informative, however it encountered some constraints. I was unable to conduct interview at the State University of Zanzibar (SUZA) due to the examinations that were going on and also some students have already left the campus for vacation and field work, therefore interviews were only conducted in two universities. There



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was a limited number of students who were taking some specific courses of my study interest (as shown in Table 5, focus groups for Zanzibar University (ZU) were made up of four students each while for University College of Education Zanzibar (UCEZ) comprised of five students each). There was a lack of uniformity in the fields of specialisations whereby some universities offer only education programmes (UCEZ), whereas others provide education programmes and computer science (SUZA) and ZU provides completely different programmes of law and shariah, business administration and arts and social sciences. There was no statistical data for one university (UCEZ) in one year and also absence of data in some programmes in some universities (UCEZ and SUZA) in some years (see Table 9 and 13).

There was insufficient full-time teaching staff that I intended to interview, therefore part-time academic staff was also involved in the interviews. There were also lack of sufficient female administrators and teaching staff especially in science specialisations who are Zanzibari, therefore the study also involved one foreign faculty, one lecturer from the Mainland and one female laboratory assistant. Also there was no uniformity in the names of the senior administrative titles governing the universities. The first university had Chancellor, Vice Chancellor and two Deputy Vice Chancellors (Academic and Administration), the second university had Chancellor, Vice Chancellor and one Deputy Vice Chancellor whereas the third university had Chairman, Vice Chairman and Principal (see section 5.10 in Chapter 5). All in all, findings from this study can be generalised from the statistical data collected from all three universities and interviews data from two universities, but one has to bear in mind that views and experiences from female students, male and female faculty and administrators from one university (SUZA) are lacking.

## 4.12 Chapter summary

This chapter has given a presentation of the methodology part of the study. The chapter has shown that a case study design, with the use of both quantitative and qualitative approaches have been used as guidelines for data collection and analysis. The study has gone further to explain data collection techniques used. These were interviews (in-depth personal interviews and focus group interviews) which were in the semi-structured interview format. Another data collection technique utilised was document analysis. Both methodological triangulation

and data triangulation were utilised. Three universities were involved in the study. Documents were collected from all three universities, though interviews were conducted in two universities only. Sampling procedure employed was purposeful sampling which involved 34 informants including 18 female students and 16 male and female faculty and administrators. Both qualitative (conceptually clustered matrix) and quantitative data analysis procedures were employed in the study. Validity and reliability as significant criteria for judging the quality of research were also discussed. Limitations to the study were also mentioned. Finally, the chapter touched upon the main ethical issues that were considered in the study.

In Chapter 5, statistical situation of women in Zanzibar universities is discussed.

## 5. Statistical situation of women in zanzibar universities

### Introduction

In this chapter I examine the relative position of women and men as students, teaching staff, and administrators in three Zanzibar universities. I will also compare the position of women in higher education in Zanzibar with that of other women in higher education in some countries. The gender segregation among students and faculty members and administrators in this chapter is represented in the vertical and horizontal dimensions.

### 5.1 Students enrolment in universities in Zanzibar

In this section I will examine student enrolments by gender for each university in Zanzibar. Using various tables, enrolment for each individual university will be addressed and hence nature and extent of the gender gap will be assessed. Since all universities in Zanzibar provide only bachelor degrees, the student enrolment level under consideration is level 5A as noted by the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED1997) paragraph 98. ISCED was designed by UNESCO in early 1970's to serve as an instrument suitable for assembling, compiling and presenting statistics of education both within individual countries and internationally (UNESCO, 2006).

**Table 7: Undergraduate Enrolment by Gender 2002-2007, Zanzibar University**

Year	Male	Female	Total	% Male	%Female
2002/2003	100	45	145	68.9	31.0
2003/2004	57	34	91	62.6	37.3
2004/2005	84	54	138	60.8	39.1
2005/2006	238	122	360	66.1	33.8
2006/2007	837	495	1332	62.8	37.1

*Source: Derived from Zanzibar University student basic enrolment statistics, 2002/2003-2006/2007.*

Enrolments in Zanzibar University show a little difference between 2002/2003 and 2006/2007. Female students enrolment increased by 6.1%. Despite the increase of females in

those particular years, there is still a gender gap between male and female students which shows some fluctuations between years. For example in 2002/2003 proportion was 31.0%, next year increased to 37.3% then increased again the following year to 39.1%, but the following year there was a fall to 33.8% and the year after enrolment rose again to 37.1%. The data reveals that gender gap exists and females lag behind male students. The gap is there in the sense that male students make up 60% and above within five years while females do not exceed even 40%.

**Table 8: Undergraduate Enrolment by Gender 2002-2007, The State University of Zanzibar**

Year	Male	Female	Total	% Male	% Female
2002/2003	34	19	53	64.1	35.8
2003/2004	24	22	46	52.1	47.8
2004/2005	66	45	111	59.4	40.5
2005/2006	56	50	106	52.8	47.1
2006/2007	115	133	248	46.3	53.6

*Source: Derived from The State University of Zanzibar basic statistics of students by sex 2002/2003-2006/2007.*

Data collected from The State University of Zanzibar (Table 8) shows that female students are not equally balanced when compared to their male counterparts from 2002/2003 to 2005/2006. The proportion of females is lowest (35.8%) in 2002/2003. There had been a considerably increase between 2003/2004 to 2005/2006 however the year in between the female enrolment fell for about 7.3 percentage points. In 2006/2007 number of female students is 133 while males are 115, these figures imply that number of female students have exceeded that of male students. Therefore females make up 53.6% while males remain with 46.3% of total students enrolled in that particular year. In that case female students have increased by 17.8% between 2002 and 2007.

Female students have not been segregated for the first time at the State University of Zanzibar and males are at disadvantage. As it is explained in Chapter 6, reasons behind this success might be: (1) it is public university where staff's job security is ensured compared to private university; (2) it is more secular than the private universities, therefore more females prefer this particular university which allow more flexibility; (3) the provision of 'education courses' since teaching is believed to be one among females' favourite professions. It is explained in Chapter 3 that socialisation process entertains masculinity/femininity dimension

and gender stereotypes which affect female's choice of study as well as occupational choices where more females prefer education courses and caring jobs such as teaching. Adler *et al.* (1993) comment that teaching profession is regarded as acceptable job for women, and one that fits with women's other roles.

**Table 9: Undergraduate Enrolment by Gender 2002-2007, University College of Education**

Year	Male	Female	Total	% Male	% Female
2002/2003	-	-	-	-	-
2003/2004	91	73	164	55.4	44.5
2004/2005	83	56	139	59.7	40.2
2005/2006	93	53	146	63.6	36.3
2006/2007	109	46	155	70.3	29.6

*Source: Derived from University College of Education statistics for registered students, 2002/2003-2006/2007.*

In year 2002/2003 data are not presented because there were no female students enrolled in that particular year and before that. There were only 24 male students enrolled in some but not all fields that are now offered at the University College of Education.

The figures in Table 9 demonstrate that, despite the good start in enrolment of female students in 2003/2004, the gender differences are so persistent that they might not self-correct in the foreseeable future as the female student enrolments considerably drop each year from 44.5% in 2003/2004 to 29.6% in 2006/2007. This means that enrolment of females decreased by 14.9% between 2002 and 2007. Female enrolment in this particular university shows no or less sign of improvement because it proves a widest gender gap between male and female students when compared with other two universities in 2006/2007.

As above mentioned, it is fact that females are socialised to choose fields which are appropriate to their gender and hence their selection of education field of study. As it is argued by Davies (1992) that women prefer teaching profession to the extent that some sociologists classify teaching as 'semi-profession' because it has large number of females, hence apparently lowering its status. University College of Education provides only education programmes, either Science with Education or Arts with Education. If education is regarded as one among females' favourite, why then few females are enrolled at this particular university? The answer to this question referring to the respondents in Chapter 6, might either be: (1) science courses offered with education (Science with Education) that

attract few females; and (2) the religious academic environment of the university which was said by respondents to discourage female students to apply.

**Table 10: Zanzibar universities total undergraduate enrolments, 2002-2007**

Year	Male	Female	Total	% Male	% Female
2002/2003	134	64	198	67.6	32.3
2003/2004	172	129	301	57.1	42.8
2004/2005	233	155	388	60	39.9
2005/2006	387	225	612	63.2	36.7
2006/2007	1061	674	1735	61.1	38.8

*Source: Derived from Tables 5.1, 5.2 and 5.3.*

The total number of students shown on the Table 10 in the year 2002/2003 comprise of only two universities since University College of Education started enrolling female students in 2003/2004 year of study (see Table 9).

The figures in Table 10 show that enrolment of female students increased from 32.3% in 2002/2003 to 38.8% in 2006/2007, this means enrolment rose by 6.5 percentage points. Figures however show some instability in increase from year to year towards 2007. In 2003/2004 proportion of female noticeably increased by 10.5% which is the outstanding increase of all the years presented. The following year there was a slight decrease in enrolment by 2.9%. Also in 2005/2006 there was another decrease in percentage by 3.2, however in 2006/2007 there was another slight increase by 2.1 percentage points. Above all, there is a gender gap in universities in Zanzibar from 2002 to 2007 as statistics show above where female students are outnumbered by male students in each consecutive year. The enrolments of female students have never exceeded 43% of total enrolments for five years in a row while male enrolments range from 57 to 68%.

While the SUZA has closed the gender gap in 2006/2007, UCEZ shows the largest gender gap in the same year. Interestingly, both universities offer the same programmes (excluding BSc Computer Science offered by SUZA). According to my respondents, it seems that whereas education programmes show a positive effect on the former university, the religious academic environment negatively affects the latter university. All in all, more males are observed to dominate all three universities and females are lagging behind. Factors militate against the few females in Zanzibar universities are many as discussed in Chapter 6. They

range from socioeconomic factors, cultural factors, religious factors, institutional factors, and individual factors.

## 5.2 The gender gap among female students in selected countries

In this section I will look at the gender gap among female students enrolled in universities in some countries in the world and then make some comparisons with the gender gap in student enrolment in Zanzibar universities.

According to the background information on education statistics in the UIS data centre, the data for Tanzania covers only the Mainland part of United Republic of Tanzania. For countries where the school year or the finance year is spread across two calendar years, the year is cited according to the latter year. For example, 2004/05 is presented as 2005. For the case of Zanzibar 2006/2007 is presented as 2007. Level 5A represents students' enrolments at bachelor (undergraduate) level according to the ISCED 1997.

**Table 11: University Enrolment at level 5A in Selected Countries and Selected Years**

Country	Year	MF Total	F Total	% Female
Australia	2005	822427	452936	55.0
Norway	2005	206913	124060	59.9
United Kingdom	2005	1678686	923878	55.0
United States	2005	13251603	7489296	56.5
South Africa	2005	454191	248354	54.6
Kuwait	2005	37844	26836	70.9
Cuba	2006	677500	481637	71.0
Botswana	2005	10317	5349	51.8
Ghana	2006	82354	28355	34.4
Ethiopia	2005	187561	46244	24.6
Tajikistan	2006	132405	35424	26.7
Tanzania (Mainland)	2005	39626	12934	32.6
Zanzibar	2007	1735	674	38.8

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), Education Report, November 2007.

*Figures for Zanzibar are transferred from Table 10.*

As shown from Table 11 countries like Cuba and Kuwait female students accounted for more than 70 per cent. This shows that male students in those countries are at the disadvantage. More than 50% proportion of females was attained in developed countries like

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Norway, United States, United Kingdom and Australia while in Africa about the same proportion is observed in South Africa and Botswana. Also in those countries females are at the advantage. The gender gap is observed in countries like Ghana and Tanzania (Mainland) where the percentages of females range from 30 to 35. In addition to that, the gender gap is seriously large in Tajikistan where proportion of females is 26.7% which was twice as low as Cuba, Kuwait, Norway, United States, United Kingdom, Australia and South Africa. The gap is largest in Ethiopia where the proportion of female students enrolled in 2005 was only 24.7% which was twice as low as all countries listed in the Table 11 except Zanzibar, Ghana, Tanzania (Mainland) and Tajikistan. Despite the gender gap Zanzibar is better over Ghana, Tanzania (Mainland), Tajikistan and Ethiopia as females' enrolment accounted for 38.8%.

The data in Table 11 shows that female enrolment in the developed countries is better than in the developing countries. Based on that fact, Hyde (1993) argues that overall economic development is also a reason for women under-representation, with richer countries having higher levels of female enrolment than poorer countries. It is noteworthy to examine what these women study and where they end up. In the following sections, I will examine the distribution of females in the fields of study and I will later look at women's academic ranks (professorial and senior administrative positions).

### 5.3 Horizontal stratification among students in Zanzibar universities

In this section I will present horizontal dimension of the gender gap among male and female students. The horizontal dimension to be discussed here is the distribution of males and females in various fields of study. Fields of specialisation that are offered by Zanzibar universities have slight difference from the ones to be presented further for the selected countries in Table 14. For the matter of clarification I have summarized all programmes that are provided by Zanzibar universities into six major fields and I have also listed the subjects that are involved in those main fields. Unfortunately, the data provided in Table 12 will only include limited fields of education, business administration, law, arts and social sciences and only one programme in science specialisation. This is because none of the three universities offer pure science programmes such as engineering and technology studies, agriculture or medical sciences.



**Table 12: Classified fields of study offered by universities in Zanzibar**

Field of Study	Corresponding area of specialisation
BSc with Education	Physics, Mathematics, Chemistry and Biology with Education courses
BA with Education	History, Geography, Arabic, Islamic, Kiswahili and English with Education courses
Science	Computer Science
Business Administration	Marketing, Accounting and Finance
Law and Shariah	Common Law and Islamic Law
Arts and Social Sciences	Economics and Public Administration

BA with Education and BSc with education programmes are offered in two universities which are the State University of Zanzibar and University College of Education, therefore computation in this study is a product of data from both universities. While Science is provided at SUZA, Business Administration, Law and Shariah, Arts and Social Sciences programmes are offered at Zanzibar University.

**Table 13: Proportion of females (undergraduate programmes) in Zanzibar universities**

Fields of Study	2002/2003	2003/2004	2004/2005	2005/2006	2006/2007
	% Female	% Female	% Female	% Female	% Female
Business Administration	23.6	33.3	33.3	34.6	36.7
Law and Shariah	32.8	37.5	41.1	33.6	34.2
Arts and Social Sciences	34.8	40.0	40.5	33.5	40.1
BA With Education	35.8	50.9	39.2	40.3	37.9
BSc with Education	-	27.4	44.0	42.2	47.1
BSc Computer Science	-	-	-	-	14.2

*Source: Derived from Zanzibar universities (ZU, UCEZ and SUZA) student enrolment statistics from 2002/2003-2006/2007.*

Proportion of female students in 2002/2003 was computed from statistics available from SUZA due to absence of female students enrolled at the UCEZ in that particular year. Also in the same year there was no BSc with Education programmes offered at SUZA. As noted above, in the same year at UCEZ the programmes were offered but there was no female student enrolled. BSc Computer Science is the newest programme started in 2006/2007 at SUZA and number of female students available for that year is two out of 14 students enrolled. As Table 13 reveals, in 2006/2007 the proportion of females in BSc with education

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is higher than in all other programmes but in reality the proportion is higher at only SUZA which is 59.2% while at UCEZ is only 27.6% when percentages are calculated individually.

When all years considered, the highest representation of females is observed in the fields of education (BA with Education, followed by BSc with Education), followed by Arts and Social Sciences. BA with Education is the female favourite study where in 2003/2004 women attained gender parity as they accounted for 50.9%. This reveals that female enrolment in that particular field rose by 15.1 percentage points from 35.8% in 2002/2003. However the proportion of females dropped to 13 percentage points in 2006/2007. BSc with Education shows a slight difference from BA with education. BSc with Education is one among the two programmes started with only a few females in it but it has shown a great positive change. This particular specialisation rose from 27.4% in 2003/2004 to 47.1% in 2006/2007 which is the outstanding figure for that year. This indicates that there was an increase of 19.7% in female enrolment.

Arts and Social Sciences is the third choice for female students whereby percentage was maintained at 40% in three years which are 2003/2004, 2004/2005 and 2006/2007 while in other years proportion ranges from 33 to 35%. Proportion of females in that field has increased by 5.3 percentage points from 2002/2003 to 2006/2007. Law and Shariah showed slight increase from 32.8% in 2002/2003 to 34.2% in 2006/2007 which gives the increment of 1.4 percentage point. In 2004/2005 there was considerable increase to 41.1% but in the following years the proportion declined again. This implies that, in this particular programme the proportion ranged from a low of 32.8% to a high of 41.1%. Business Administration is also another field started with only a small number of females but it is a programme that shows consistent increase each year. The female proportion increased from 23.6% in 2002/2003 to 36.7% in 2006/2007. There was an increase of 13.1 percentage points.

None of the three universities in Zanzibar offers fields of Engineering, Agriculture, Medical and Natural Sciences where women are seriously under-represented worldwide. Tracing back in 1998, the proportions of female students in some colleges in Zanzibar were: 55.9%, 33.7% and 18.5% at the College of Health Sciences, College of Agriculture and College of Hotel and Tourism respectively (MoEVT, 2007a). This also implies that more females concentrate in health-related courses such as Nursing. The figures in Table 13 show that

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females in Zanzibar are extremely under-represented in the field of Bachelor of Science in Computer Science as females accounted for only 14.2% of all undergraduate students enrolled in 2006/2007. That figure was thrice as low as that of female students in BSc with Education and twice as low as all other fields offered in Zanzibar Universities. This obviously shows that the field is dominated by males.

All in all, there is a gender gap between male and female students in the field of some specialisations offered by Zanzibar universities and females are disadvantaged. Male and female students have different choices as to what to study. Some subject areas are more often chosen by women than others. In Zanzibar, more women seem to concentrate in education programmes, which include BA with Education and BSc with Education where female proportion reached 50.9% in 2003/2004 for the former and 47.1% in 2006/2007 for the latter. The larger proportion of women is also observed in the field of Arts and Social Sciences where women accounted for 40.1% in 2006/2007.

It is elaborated in Chapters 3 by Kwesiga (2002) that women's preference to 'education' hence teaching profession is a result of stereotypes within societies which create 'male' or 'female' subjects so that even when options are offered pupils are likely to choose subjects which are identified with their own sex. She points out that females prefer arts and humanities. Women as children bearers and main actors in the field of domestic labour they feel that they should study and work in feminine fields. In that case, women prefer subjects that will prepare them to take 'caring jobs' or 'appropriate jobs'. Women are believed to relate education (as they do with nursing) with what they do in homes and with their children. There is marriage between stereotypical attitudes and the occupations that people are attracted to (Sachs *et al.*, 1992). Secondly, according to my respondents as discussed in Chapter 6, women prefer Arts and social Sciences because of the simplicity of the subjects and hence easy to pass examinations when compared with science and mathematics subjects. They also highlighted that these specialisations indeed prepare them for their appropriate future careers.

As women are seriously under-represented in BSc Computer Science, a reason given by respondents in Chapter 6 for the small number of females was that females regard sciences as 'masculine' fields. They are complex, intensive, and more demanding and hence they think it is difficult to perform well. Sciences were also said to require more time. Women

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have less time for studies due to dual responsibilities (academic tasks and domestic chores). It is fact that women view themselves as a society views them. People perceive women as 'feminine', hence they are weak, gentle, emotional, affectionate, talkative and patient while male are regarded as 'masculine' hence they are strong, forceful, ambitious, decisive, lively, and with more courage (Hofstede *et al.*, 1998). Keller (1985) notes that people believe hard is masculine and soft is feminine. Since sciences are hard therefore they are for men.

Apart from women themselves, families and peers were also said to influence women's choice of what to study as noted in Chapter 6. Female students are discouraged to take science subjects but encouraged to take arts and humanities. There is attributed reluctance in part of societies' response to a perceived lack of fit between the vocations for which schooling is supposed to prepare students and the vocations that are regarded as suitable for girls (Hyde, 1993). The interplay of various societal factors makes women to have limited choice of subjects, low aspiration and less career choices and goals. Since sciences are felt as 'non-traditional' and 'inappropriate' choices for women therefore they always choose education as an 'appropriate' field and teaching as female future career. Antonucci (1980) highlights that education, domestic housecleaning, nursing and the like was one of the earliest fields to become readily accessible to women. This might also be another reason why women prefer education since women are believed to learn what a society wishes them to learn or that women accept whatever a society offers them. Antonucci suggests that in order for women having more academic choices and becoming as career-oriented as males they need female role models and some degree of re-socialisation.

#### 5.4 Horizontal stratification of female students in selected countries

Because Zanzibar universities show a slight difference in the arrangement of fields of specialisations when compared with UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), I decided to combine figures in Table 14 for related faculties for Zanzibar in order to fit in the table provided by UIS. For more information see Table 12 and 13. I also selected some few programmes from UIS for comparison with those programmes offered in Zanzibar universities, therefore engineering, medical sciences, agriculture and other hard sciences programmes are not included. One will note in the Table 14 that fields of Humanities and Arts, Social Sciences, Business and law are observed separately while for Zanzibar all

named specialisations are combined together. This is because arrangement given by UIS is slight different from the one Zanzibar universities offer (see Table 12).

**Table 14: Percentage of females in selected fields of study and selected years**

Country	Year	Education	Humanities and Arts	Social Sciences, business and law	Science
		% Female	% Female	% Female	% Female
Bahrain	2005	57.3	86.5	67.8	75.0
Norway	2005	75.2	61.6	55.7	32.3
Australia	2005	73.7	63.7	54.7	34.1
United Kingdom	2005	70.7	61.1	55.4	36.2
United States	2005	79.3	57.6	56.1	38.4
Colombia	2006	65.7	45.1	56.6	49.2
Turkey	2005	49.1	55.8	45.7	40.2
Japan	2005	70.9	67.0	34.5	25.1
Bangladesh	2005	35.9	40.8	33.3	25.7
Ethiopia	2005	20.3	30.2	29.2	26.1
Tanzania (Mainland)	2005	37.5	55.8	41.4	24.4
Zanzibar	2007	46.0	37.1		14.2

Source: UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), Education Report, November 2007.

Tables 12 and 13 form the basis for Zanzibar figures.

The Table 14 shows that in many countries women are concentrated in Education, Humanities and Arts, followed by Social Sciences, Business and Law and fewer women are observed in Science fields. Female proportion in Education in all countries listed in the table exceeded 50% in considered years except Turkey, Bangladesh, Ethiopia, Tanzania (Mainland) and Zanzibar. While in the United States in 2005 females show the highest percentage in enrolment (79.3%), Ethiopian females accounted for the smallest proportion (20.3%) in the same year. Turkey with 49.1% and Zanzibar 46.0% climbed near parity. Female proportion in Education in Zanzibar is above Tanzania (Mainland) by 8.5 percentage points. Davies (1992) notes that women form the majority in the teaching profession because of its connotations with caring and nurturance.

In Humanities and Arts, countries in which their percentage of females did not go above 50% are Ethiopia, Bangladesh and Colombia. Bahrain shows the outstanding figure of 86.5% in enrolment while Ethiopia accounted for only 30.2%, making the smallest number of females enrolled in the same year. Social Sciences, Business and Law figures reveal that

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it is women's third choice. About six countries exceeded 50%, majority are however in their 50s compared to Education where majority of figures are in 70s and Humanities and Arts are in 60s. While women in Bahrain accounted for 67.8% which is excellent number, they only accounted for 29.2% in Ethiopia. In Zanzibar both Humanities and Arts and Social Sciences, Business and Law were combined to give 37.1% enrolment in 2006/2007 which shows the gender gap.

It is only in Bahrain that enrolment of females in Science reached 75.0% in 2005 which is indeed outstanding even exceeded the enrolment in Education and Social Sciences, Business and Law. Colombia has enrolment of 49.2% which is near parity while Turkey is 40.2% but in other countries enrolment ranges from 24 to 39%. In Zanzibar females are seriously under-represented in Science by only 14.2%.

The above information has proven that concentration of females in Education, Humanities Arts and Social Sciences, Business and Law is a universal problem. 'The overall tendency in most countries is for women to predominate both as students and faculty, in social science, humanities and education' as noted by Lie and Malik (1994: 208). Their book also shows that in the majority of the countries females were at the advantage in those fields, others were at near parity, women were however at disadvantage in some few countries. In Science the situation is opposite whereby the gender gap is very wide and women are disadvantaged. In all countries listed only Bahrain has achieved a percentage of 75 women and hence men constituted the minority group. Stromquist (2003) highlights that enrolment of women has been expanding but what remains difficult is to change the concentration of women in fields perceived as feminine and overrepresentation of men in fields perceived as masculine.

## 5.5 Participation of female faculty in Zanzibar universities

In this part I will discuss the gender gap among male and female academic staff in Zanzibar universities by focusing on the total number of women employed in all three universities. The number and percentage of academic staff presented in the Table 15 above is comprised of full-time/permanent academic staff only since statistics for part-time academic staff was unavailable in some universities. Also statistics for the past four years is not available. Due to scarcity of academic staff bachelor degree is the minimum qualification to apply for academic position in all three universities in Zanzibar (see Table 18).

**Table 15: Relative position of female academic staff in Zanzibar universities, 2006/2007**

University	Male	Female	Total	% Female
Zanzibar University	32	4	36	11.1
University College of Education Zanzibar	17	1	18	5.5
The State University of Zanzibar	25	11	36	30.5
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>17.7</b>

*Source: Derived from Zanzibar universities (ZU, UCEZ and SUZA) basic statistics for teaching staff, 2006/2007.*

Figures in Table 15 reveal that ZU has only four female academic staff out of 36 staff working at that particular university. This means women accounts for only 11.1%. Male teaching staff is 32 out of 36 which is eight times higher than that of female academic staff. UCEZ is the one with the lowest proportion of female academic staff as they accounted for only 5.5%. Among all 18 permanent staff employed at that particular institution there is only one female academic staff. The SUZA's women teaching staff for 2006/2007 accounted for 30.5%. Female academicians are 11 out of 36 while males are 25. This means that females are as twice as low as male staff.

The SUZA which is the newest university shows the highest proportion in enrolment of female teaching staff compared to the other two universities. The reasons given behind this big difference are similar to those given earlier in section 5.1. Females are however still under-represented. ZU becomes the second in employing more female academicians. It is one of the two earliest universities to be established in the isles. The reasons behind the low proportion of females is because it is private university, hence less job security and also specialisations it provides since more women prefer education, more teachers specialise in education hence join education offering institutions. ZU is the only university in Zanzibar that does not offer 'education' programmes. UCEZ is another earliest university to be established and offers only education programmes yet has the lowest proportion of female teaching staff. Reasons for this situation are similar to those discussed in section 5.1 (see also Chapter 6).

Generally, statistics show that all female academic staff in the isles makes up 17.7% of all teaching staff employed in all three universities in 2006/2007. This is very low proportion which is even lower than that of female students enrolled in the same year which is 38.8% as

it is evident in Table 10. In other words, women comprise a minority of universities faculty which implies that there is wider gap between male and female faculty in Zanzibar universities than that between male and female students.

## 5.6 The gender gap among faculty in some selected countries

The gender gap among female teaching staff in different countries will be analysed in this part and then some comparisons will be made with gender gap among female teaching staff from Zanzibar universities. Table 16 below comprises of public and private as well as full and part-time teaching staff. Zanzibar universities offer only bachelor degrees therefore teaching staff selected for comparison are the one teaching undergraduate level 5A in selected countries. This is based on the ISCED 1997 levels of education information where 5A level is bachelor degree for English-speaking countries (UNESCO, 2006).

**Table 16: Teaching staff in 5A level in selected countries and selected years**

Country	Year	MF Total	Female Total	% Female
Cuba	2006	115616	66577	57.5
Aruba	2006	117	50	42.7
Brunei	2005	377	128	33.9
Italy	2003	84870	27592	32.5
Cyprus	2003	288	82	28.4
Kuwait	2005	2045	559	27.3
Bangladesh	2005	40329	7449	18.4
Iran	2005	78173	13762	17.6
Mozambique	2005	3009	637	21.1
Ghana	2006	1724	98	5.6
Tanzania (Mainland)	2005	2735	476	17.4
Zanzibar	2007	90	16	17.7

*Source: Derived from UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS), Education Report, November 2007.*

*Table 15 forms the basis for Zanzibar figures (Note: full-time teaching staff only).*

Table 16 shows that men represent the great majority of university faculty worldwide. Cuba with 57.5% women faculty is the only country in which proportion of women is higher than that of men faculty. Aruba follows Cuba by women faculty having 42.7% followed by Brunei and Italy with 33.9% and 32.5% respectively. Cyprus, Kuwait and Mozambique enrolments of female staff accounted for 28.4%, 27.3% and 21.1% respectively. The



proportions of female staff in other countries listed in the Table 16 is very low compared to male's faculty proportions which do not even reach 20%. While the situation of women faculty is terribly bad in countries like Bangladesh with 18.4%, Zanzibar with 17.7%, Iran with 17.6%, Tanzania (Mainland) with 17.4%, the situation is worse in Ghana where women faculty accounted for only 5.6% of all teaching staff enrolled in 2006. In Zanzibar there is only 16 female staff out of 90 while males are 74 of all teaching staff employed in the whole region in 2007. This implies the wider gender gap among Zanzibari teaching staff.

## 5.7 Horizontal stratification of female faculty in Zanzibar universities

In this section I will investigate the relative position of faculty in relation to their choice of field of study in Zanzibar universities. The relative positions of female staff will dictate how women are horizontally segregated in the area of specialisations.

**Table 17: Participation of female faculty by field of study for Zanzibar, 2006/2007**

Fields of Study	Male	Female	Total	% Female
Business Administration	14	0	14	0
Law and Shariah	6	2	8	25.0
Arts and Social Sciences	12	2	14	14.2
BA with Education	24	7	31	22.5
BSc with Education	13	3	16	18.7
BSc Computer Science	5	2	7	28.5

*Source: Derived from Zanzibar universities (ZU, UCE and SUZA), basic statistics for academic staff, 2006/2007.*

Figures reveal that in one area of specialisation female faculty is invisible. This holds true for Business Administration programmes in which women accounted for zero per cent. None of the female faculty proportions shown in the Table 17 is above 29%. There are fields in which women faculty are seriously under-represented in which their proportion did not exceed 19%. For example in Arts and Social Sciences women are represented in 14.2% while in Bachelor of Science with Education they are only 18.7%. In addition to that, in other fields women are also under-represented from 22.5% in Bachelor of Arts with Education, 25% in Law and Shariah and 28.5% in Bachelor of Science Computer Science.

In general, Table 17 highlights the fact that there are marked gender differences in the choice of fields and also women are better represented as students (see Table 13) than teaching staff in Zanzibar universities. In comparison, it is evident in Table 13 and Table 17 that proportions of female students are better than proportions of female academic staff in 2006/2007. BSc Computer Science is exceptional since student's proportion was 14.2% which is the lowest proportion in 2006/2007, while female staff in the same year was 28.5% which is the highest proportion in enrolment when compared with other fields of study. The reason behind this remarkable finding in Computer Science is that it is a newest field established in 2006/2007 where none of those seven staff have PhD, they are either Masters or Bachelor degree holders and those two women available have Bachelor degrees which is the lowest qualification for a tutor (see Table 18 and Table 19). While sum of female staff in Computer Science is two and that of female staff in Education is 10, one can argue therefore that, more women faculty are observed in 'education' profession.

## 5.8 Vertical stratification of female faculty in Zanzibar universities

The vertical dimension of patterns of employment which is the relative distribution of women and men at the different levels of seniority within the employment hierarchy is crucially important. It is at the senior levels that decisions are made and leadership is exercised in defining and carrying forward the research agenda. In this section I will look at the seniority of female faculty in relation to their male counterparts in two aspects. First, I will examine the gender gap between women and men based on their academic qualifications. In this aspect, qualifications range from Bachelor degree to PhD. Second, I will observe relative position of female staff according to their academic ranks in Zanzibar universities. In this aspect titles range from professor, associate professor, assistant professor, senior lecturer, lecturer, assistant lecturer and tutorial assistant.

**Table 18: Female staff by academic qualification in Zanzibar universities, 2006/2007**

Academic Qualification	Male	Female	Total	% Female
PhD	20	1	21	4.7
Masters	49	12	61	19.6
Undergraduate/Bachelor	5	3	8	37.5

*Source: Derived from Zanzibar universities (ZU, UCEZ and SUZA) basic statistics for academic staff, 2006/2007.*

The Table 18 provides a proof of how wide the gender gap is among faculty members as to their academic qualifications. Apart from being fewer in number, female academic staff is more concentrated at lower levels of education. Many women are employed as tutors and are only bachelor degree holders, the least qualified personnel in Zanzibar universities in comparative terms. At this lowest level women accounted for 37.5%. At Master level there are 12 women out of 61 academic staff enrolled in all three universities at that level which accounts for 19.6%. PhD level which is the highest or senior level of education at university level there is only one female out of 21 in the whole of Zanzibar. At this particular level women accounted for only 4.7%. Figures show that as you move from lower level of qualification to upper level number of women decreases. This implies that there is a wider gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar between male and female faculty at their levels of qualification. University remains to be the male preserve and senior education levels are the men's stronghold. Probert *et al.* (1998 cited in Allen and Castleman, 2001: 153) found in their survey of university employees that there is a significant association between women's lower average level of qualifications and their lower status in the academic hierarchy. This seems to be a fact in Zanzibar as Table 19 shows.

**Table 19: Female staff by academic rank in Zanzibar universities, 2006/2007**

Rank/Title	Male	Female	Total	% Female
Professor	5	0	5	0
Associate Professor	3	0	3	0
Assistant Professor	8	0	8	0
Senior Lecturer	1	0	1	0
Lecturer	3	1	4	25.0
Assistant Lecturer	49	12	61	19.6
Tutorial Assistant	5	3	8	37.5

*Source: Derived from Zanzibar universities (ZU, UCE and SUZA) basic statistics for staff, 2006/2007.*

Table 19 provides a visual confirmation of how extreme the gender gap is among faculty members by their academic ranks at the more senior levels. The female staff was not distributed equally throughout all academic ranks. Women were such a small proportion that they were either very thinly scattered across the institutions, or were concentrated in particular academic positions, and absent. Vertical segregation is more evident as it is more pronounced in the four highest levels of seniority (Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant

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Professor and Senior Lecturer). When comparing the proportions of men and women by taking ranks as the hierarchical markers the four descending occupation categories of Professor, Associate Professor, Assistant Professor, and Senior Lecturer, women were absent in all of the three universities. Therefore all senior levels were dominated by males. There were five male Professors, three male Associate Professors, eight Assistant Professors and one Senior Lecturer. This pattern of presence (or absence) creates the impression of a male-norm for seniority, and the fact of male-dominated decision making and leadership, either or both of which may affect women's progress through the hierarchy.

Women are observed from the rank of lecturer and below. There is only one woman out of four lecturers employed in 2006/2007 which accounts for 25.0%. The percentage of females at this level seems to exceed that of assistant lecturers which is lower in rank. Lecturers are supposed to have PhD and as Table 18 reveals, there were 20 males with PhD and only one female with PhD. In Table 19, one sees that 17 males are in senior positions and only three are lecturers as well as one female PhD holder which results in the 25.0% female lecturers. AAU (2006) points out that many women in African higher education institutions have no doctorates due to family responsibilities which unable them to devote time for doctoral studies. There were 12 females out of 61 assistant lecturers employed in 2006/2007 which accounted for 19.6%. In percentage-wise this is the lowest proportion of females in all positions in which women are present but in number-wise more females are observed at this rank than at any other since they are 12 in total while there is only one lecturer and three tutorial assistants. Female tutorial assistants accounted for 37.5%. This proportion however did not exceed males'. The majority of women in Zanzibar universities are therefore employed in lower academic positions.

Males outnumber females at all levels of academic positions from bottom to the top. All top academic levels are dominated by males. This holds true worldwide. Lie and Malik (1994) highlight that proportions of women faculties in the 17 countries they have documented range from a high of 37.1% to a low 11.0%. They also found that the proportion of female faculty in most countries is positively related to the proportion of women having higher ranks. This holds true for Zanzibar since the total number of female academic staff is 16 out of 90 staff employed in 2006/2007 which accounts for only 17.7%. This automatically results in few women at higher academic levels. Having few female faculty members means having few female role models. Female role models motivate female students and help to

develop their own autonomy and career aspirations. Antonucci (1980) suggests that having few female faculty members at the senior levels will not inspire female students. She believes however that presence of one or two women is a great success and improvement, and it signifies a beginning and recognition that more women should be represented in the higher education system.

## 5.9 Women in management positions in Zanzibar universities

The relative distribution of men and women managers at the different levels of seniority within the employment hierarchy of the universities is significant, since it is at the management levels that decisions are made and leadership is exercised.

**Table 20: Percentage of women faculty in decision making positions in Zanzibar universities, 2006/2007**

Position	Male	Female	Total	% Female
Chancellor	3	0	3	0
Vice Chancellor	4	0	4	0
Deputy Vice Chancellor	1	0	1	0
Registrar	3	0	3	0
Assistant Registrar	1	0	1	0
Director	3	1	4	25.0
Dean of Faculty	3	1	4	25.0
Dean of Student	2	1	3	33.3
Head of department	8	5	13	38.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>22.2</b>

*Source: Derived from Zanzibar universities (ZU, UCE and SUZA) basic statistics for staff, 2006/2007.*

In Table 20 we can see that women account for 22.2% of all administrative appointments that are held. Female staff is not observed in any of the three universities' top most important administrative positions. There is no female Chancellor, Vice Chancellor, Deputy Vice Chancellor, Registrar and even Assistant Registrar. This female invisibility among university top decision makers indicates once again, the presence of a gender segregation of very high degree. Also there is only one female Director, one female Dean of Faculty and only one Dean of Students in all the three institutions. The figures show that all senior management positions are dominated by male staff while those few females observed are concentrated in low management positions. As one moves up the management ladder the

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number of women decreases. This implies that there is a gender gap between male and female administrators in Zanzibar universities. The majority of senior managers in HEIs in Africa are men, even in institutions where 50% of the staff are women (AAU, 2006).

Worldwide, management positions are unequally distributed among faculty members. Women who are in senior management positions are considerably outnumbered by their male counterparts and indeed they are concentrated in the lower levels of seniority. Figures worldwide indicate senior levels in universities are dominated by males (Asmar 1999; Castleman *et al.*, 1995; Moore & Sagiara 1991; Kyvik 1995; Brooks 1997 cited in Ruth, 2005: 60). Ozga (1993) holds that in all developed countries women form the majority of the workforce in education, however in higher education, especially in universities, women managers are such a small number that they are almost invisible. Higher education management is still regarded as a 'masculine arena', therefore women become education managers just by chance. Lie and Malik (1994) argue that women are under-represented in positions of prestige and power in all higher education systems. They further add that if a woman does achieve a top position, she appears as a 'miraculous exception'.

According to my respondents, various socio-cultural, individual and institutional factors have been identified as obstacles to women reaching top management positions (see Chapter 6). Dana and Bourisaw (2006) argues that 'glass walls and ceilings' have been systematically constructed as a result of our cultural attitudes, behaviours, and practices which make many women to experience equity and social justice at management positions as a dream and an illusion. Schmuck (1980) categorises factors that militate against women equal participation in academic management into three: *the individual perspective*-families, aspirations and behaviour; *the social perspective*-men's work and women's work; and *the organisational perspective*-sexual politics.

Women potentials should be considered in terms of 'production' rather than weakness in the name of 'reproduction'. Ozga (1993) suggests that much more need to be done to break down obstacles to women's advancement, and to combat discrimination against women. She further adds that the concepts of 'career' itself should be redefined to include women's experience and also concept of 'good management practice' to have their way of working to be accepted by males whose work seems to be valued and experienced. Antonucci (1980)

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concludes that if the commitment is being made in good faith and those few women at lower levels are supported, they will move forward to leadership positions in the academia.

## 5.10 Administrative structure of Zanzibar universities

Administration of each of the three universities in Zanzibar will be discussed in this section. While the two private universities are autonomous, the public university is semi-autonomous. Having three universities in Zanzibar, higher education is still a 'union matter'. Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU) is the main supervisory authority of all universities in Tanzania. The Ministry Science, Technology and Higher Education's conspicuous role is provision of loan for university students through its HESLB. Zanzibar department of higher education of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) in association with MoEVT (Union Government Ministry) provides loans for university students and also supervises other universities' matters.

### 5.10.1 Zanzibar University

It was established in April 1998 as a private higher learning institution. It is sponsored by an international NGO called Dar al-Iman Charitable Association that has headquarter in Jeddah Saudi Arabia. The principal officers of the university are Chancellor, Vice chancellor and Deputy Vice Chancellors in descending order. The Chancellor is appointed by Board of Trustee in Jeddah whose headquarter is also in Jeddah. Vice Chancellor is approved by the Board of Trustee after being recommended by the university council. Vice Chancellor is the top officer in charge of all university activities. There are Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic and Deputy Vice Chancellor Administration. The Deputy Vice Chancellor Academic acts on behalf of Vice Chancellor in his absence. University Council is a governing body which consists of members from the university, board of trustee, principal secretary of MoEVT and others. Appointment of all senior administrators is by recommendation of the University Council following the approval of the Board of Trustee. There is no female in any of the top administrative positions (see Table 20). There is no female member in the University Council. No woman has ever become a chairwoman of either Board of Trustee or University Council. The first female to participate in the University Council was deputy principal secretary of MoEVT representing principal secretary who was absent. In some tertiary

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education institutions in Africa, recruitment and promotion committees have no women representatives (AAU, 2006).

### **5.10.2 University College of Education**

It is a private institution, established in 1997. It is affiliated with the International University of Africa (IUA) in Sudan, and financed by charitable foundations mainly by the Direct Aid Agency (African Muslim Agency) in which its headquarter is in Kuwait. IUA acts as the awarding body for its degrees. The senior officers are Chairman of the Higher Council (chancellor), Vice Chairman (vice chancellor administration) of the higher council and Principal (vice chancellor academic) in descending order. The Chairman and Vice Chairman of higher council are appointed by the Higher Council which is headquartered in Kuwait. Both Chairman and Vice Chairman of the Higher Council are in the headquarter in Kuwait. The Principal (chief executive), Registrar and Assistant Registrars' positions are advertised and later approved by the higher council. Recommended head of department acts on behalf of the Principal in his/her absence under the name of 'acting principal'. University College Board is a governing body. Deans and Head of Departments are appointed through the University College Board and are later approved by the Higher Council. No female has ever been appointed as chairperson of the Higher Council or as chairperson of the University College Board. There is no female member in the University College Board. A woman has once been appointed as 'acting principal' in 2006/2007 when the principal was away. Females have never been appointed in any of the three positions of senior officers of the university (see Table 20). It is argued that there is sufficient research indicating that appointment committees, funding committees, research agendas and other organisational apparatus of African universities are dominated by males (Morley 1994; Glazer, Bensimon & Townsend 1993; Dines 1993; Lie & Malik 1994 cited in Ruth, 2005: 60).

### **5.10.3 The State University of Zanzibar**

It is a state owned university, started to operate in 2001 and hence it is under the supervisory authority of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MoEVT) Zanzibar. The principal officers are Chancellor, Vice Chancellor and Deputy Vice Chancellor. According to new charter which is not yet approved, there shall be two Deputy Vice Chancellors (academic and administration). The Chancellor is the President of Revolutionary



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Government of Zanzibar. The Vice Chancellor is officially appointed by the President of Zanzibar. He/She is the chief executive of the university council as well as overall in charge of academic and administration matters. Deputy Vice Chancellor is a principal assistant and responsible to the Vice Chancellor in all university matters. The Deputy Vice Chancellor is appointed by the President of Zanzibar with consultation with the University Council among the chief executives of the university. No woman has ever been appointed as Chancellor, Vice Chancellor or Deputy Vice Chancellor (see Table 20). The University Council is the governing body. Number of females in the University Council was unavailable because the Council has been dissolved. Females participated since the day the University Council was inaugurated in 2002. A woman has never been appointed as a chairperson of the Council.

Administrative posts (excluding appointments made by the President of Zanzibar) in all three universities were said to be advertised in the media including newspapers, internet, and radio and so on. According to university officials no qualified female has ever applied for those positions.

## 5.11 Chapter Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to look at the relative position of women in Zanzibar universities as students, academic staff and administrators. The figures have shown that there is a gender gap between males and females in enrolment and employment as well as in the fields of study. The data has shown that female students are less represented in all three universities in Zanzibar except in one university for the 2006/2007 intake only. The data has also revealed that women academic staff lags behind male staff as well as female students. Both female students and female academics are concentrated in the field of education and some in arts and social sciences. Finally, women possess low academic qualifications leading to their serious under-representation in higher academic positions. Women are also extremely under-represented in senior administrative positions in all three universities to the extent that they are invisible in some positions.

In Chapter 6, interview results are presented and discussed.

## **6. Discussion of the interview results**

### **Introduction**

In this chapter I discuss findings of my study collected through interviews. The chapter is divided into seven sections; each section explores the opinions of female students and male and female staff concerning the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar. The first section discusses the under-representation of female students in university education in Zanzibar. The second part deals with the under-representation of female students in certain fields of study. The third question is about institutional experiences among female students. The fourth section concerns itself with under-representation of female faculty in Zanzibar universities. The fifth part deals with the under-representation of female faculty in certain fields of study. In section six I deal with the institutional experiences among female faculty. The seventh part presented is about women in higher ranks in university administration. Finally, the summary of this chapter will be given. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, only three respondents selected English as language of interview and the rest responded in Kiswahili. Therefore majority of the responses discussed below are my translation.

### **6.1 The under-representation of female students in university education in Zanzibar**

All respondents including female students, male and female teaching staff and administrators were asked to give their opinions for the small number of female students in Zanzibar universities.

#### **6.1.1 Significant value given to marriage**

It was mentioned by the majority of respondents that value placed on marriage is a major factor that mitigate equal representation of women in Zanzibar universities. Early marriages had been cited as one among the causes of females drop-out in Zanzibar in schools. Some girls drop out of schools due to the pressure of their parents to get married regardless their performance in schools due to false perception that marriage will enable them to get a better life and treatment than the one they receive at their homes. Female dropouts due to marriage

in basic education (primary schools to form II) accounted for 86% of total marriage dropouts in 2006 (MoEVT, 2007a). This seems to be the result of traditional gender roles geared up by the socialisation process operating in Zanzibar society. Kwesiga (2002) claims that early marriage is one of the major causes of schoolgirl drop-out, and teenage pregnancies limit girl's access to education, particularly in developing countries where provisions for education in later years are limited. Zanzibar MoE (1999) notes that early marriages and pregnancies are significant factors negatively affecting school enrolments of girls, and hence their retention. It is argued by the Ministry that these factors are very sensitive as they are closely related to culture and religion. One male administrator mentioned that:

*Early marriages lead to few females in higher education. This is due to committed religious (Islam) belief that there are three urgent things to be done in life as soon as its time reaches. First is swala (pray)-that when it is praying time people should pray without delay. Second is a dead body- that when a person dies he/she should be buried right away and third is marriage- that once one is matured he/she should marry.*

Other marriages come as a result of either parent's agreement to a man who proposes to marry their daughter, a fiancée who has been waiting for a certain period of time or pregnancy which gives a girl the least possibility to continue with studies. It is argued that the centrality of marriage and childbearing is internalised very early in life by girls in Tanzania (Bendera, 1994; Meena, 1994; Peasgood *et al.*, 1997 cited in Bendera, 1999: 123). Hyde (1993) notes that young age at which females marry makes marriage an important reason why they do not enter secondary or higher institutions or, having entered, leave before completing the cycle.

One female administrator mentioned that parents preferred marriages since they believe that marriage protects girls from men's temptations. Parents view early marriage as a solution to problems that girls might encounter in adolescence. A girl might be married at lower education levels for fear of getting pregnant before marriage. Therefore, schooling does not seem to have altered the societal norms in Tanzania (Bendera, 1999). Hyde (1993) challenges the custom of protecting daughters from undesirable influences as strongest in areas that are still very traditional.

One female student said that parents take traditional advantage of girls' decency, loyalty, and how easily they agree with parents, especially male parent's decisions hence girls easily agree to marry earlier while boys may reject a parent's decisions. It is believed that 'feminine' characteristics made girls to have more co-operative behaviour, and become

greater conformer to rules and expectations (Safilios-Rothschild, 1986), while 'masculine' identity makes males disagree and disobey some rules of the society. Shenkel (1991: 77) believes that 'assertive behaviour has traditionally belonged to the male domain'. She adds that many women have problems with assertion and these interfere with their achievement. She holds that many women are not socialised to speak up, toot their own horns, and defend themselves; they were brought up to be docile and modest, especially when relating to men. She mentions six areas in Chapter 3 that typically cause women's difficulty and two of them are 'saying no' and 'confronting'.

### **6.1.2 Male-child preference**

Boy favouritism was also mentioned as a factor that denies females' access to higher education. Female students explained that parents believe boys to be future fathers while girls are future wives, hence boys must work to be fathers and heads of the households while girls become wives who may or may not use their education. This has also been noted by Kwesiga (2002) that patrilineal system prefers sons' education because sons are given more responsibilities and help their parents when they are old. When an educated woman is married her potential to assist her parents is reduced. One female student mentioned that parents had the tendency to give boys priority to education, especially higher education. Since the burden of tuition fee has now to be shouldered by parents or an individual, some parents reallocate resources for the education of males rather than sharing of resources in equitable manner. Therefore, they place more expectations and achievement on boys than girls. They believe that boys are their heirs and will help them in the future and also their younger siblings when they are employed. One male faculty commented that 'people believe that teaching a boy is a future asset in life'. Kwesiga holds that the main explanation for this male-child preference seems to lie in the way parents view education, either as consumption or an investment. Education of daughters is devalued and it is considered an unwise financial investment (Bunyi, 2004).

### **6.1.3 Limited mobility**

Female students were said to be less mobile than male students both at homes and in schools. This was mentioned to be an old rooted culture among Zanzibari parents and teachers to avoid challenges facing girls in the society. Bendera (1999) argues that

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movement is more often restricted for Muslim girls in Tanzania than for those of other faiths. The issue of restriction of girls has been agreed by many scholars that it is a common practice in African societies as well as in non-African societies rather than Muslim societies alone. As noted by Safilios-Rothschild (1986) that independence in girls is often more restricted and supervised, mainly out of fear that harm may come to them. She maintains that this vulnerable image is based partly on the stereotyped notion of 'feminine' fragility and partly it derives from the possibility that a girl might become pregnant. Boys are given more freedom without accompanying checks and balances (Wamahiu, 1996). Some Zanzibari parents are doubtful of the motives of their daughters who attend tuition classes in the evening. Some parents think that tuition classes provide opportunities for girls to have social interaction with boys rather than having seriousness on their studies. Some parents do not allow their daughters to attend the tuition classes in the evening out of fear that they could indulge in sexual activities that would ultimately cause them to get pregnancy.

Learning environment for girls was said by one female administrator not to be conducive because majority of schools in Zanzibar are day-schools. Boarding schools were said to give girls more time and freedom to study rather than in homes where they were normally occupied with domestic responsibilities. Malekela's research found that girls do better in boarding schools than in day-schools. This is because when they attend day-schools they shall have to do so much of domestic chores that they do not get enough time for their academic work (1983 cited in Brock-Utne, 1990: 19). In another study Malekela found that girls whether studying in boarding schools or in day-schools prefer boarding schools giving out the similar reason for their preferences (1984 cited in Brock-Utne, 2006: 98). It is argued that boarding schools is sometimes preferred by girls' parents (Kwesiga, 2002). She claims however that, schools do not always provide an effective learning environment.

Lack of permission from husbands to their wives prevents females from joining higher education, it was reported. One female faculty said that 'husbands sometimes do not allow their wives to further their studies because women can not make any decision without the consent of their husbands'. Another female faculty reported that:

*Some husbands also do not allow their wives to study or work, for example I have a friend whose husband does not allow her to work or study. Instead he tells her to stay at home to take care of household and children. This is because men have a notion that educated women might control or disrespect their husbands.*

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Similar opinion was noted in Ankoma (2001) study that men do not go in for highly educated women for fear that they cannot control them. In patrilineal societies husbands control women as wives and mothers (Kwesiga, 2002).

#### **6.1.4 Misconceptions about girls' education**

Various misconceptions about girl's education were also reported by the informants as hindrance to girl's enrolment in universities. The dominant fallacies among people that were mentioned by various respondents included 'girls are not to study because they become wives' and 'girls should not study more than boys'. It was also believed that men were unlikely to marry educated women because women become older after spending most of their time in studies hence preference is on younger wives. Some men were said to have a tendency of rejecting educated women to avoid disrespect. One male faculty said that:

*There is a traditional belief that women are not to study more than men and marriage is more emphasised for women rather than studies. Therefore a lower level of education is thought to be enough for a woman. Emphasis on higher education is unfairly put on males.*

Safilios-Rothschild (1986) highlights that there is a differential treatment of boys and girls by parents, boys are motivated toward higher achievement and daughters toward nurturance and femininity. Due to this girls tend to have low aspirations and achievement motivation.

Majority of Zanzibari (both males and females) who attained higher education delay to marry and have fewer children compared to those uneducated or those with lower education due to the high value placed on marriage. Spending more time in studies affect women more than men. Educated older men who are likely to be employed prefer to marry young women. Some young women prefer older men to young men believing that marriage needs seriousness, respect and life experience. Educated women in a society where marriage is highly valued are at disadvantage. Some men have tendency of rejecting educated women out of fear that the financial independence give women more control of her life than the traditional attitude of total dependence to the husband. A young man to marry an educated older woman is a miracle. Nowadays, due to the hardship of life facing the isles the attitude towards marrying educated women is changing. The educated men marry educated women for sharing the costs of living. However some men are still reluctant to marry educated women and they instead prefer young housewives.

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### **6.1.5 Lack of encouragement and support**

Lack of inspiration from male students and male teachers to girls was also another reason given for the gender gap in university education. Female students were said to be discouraged by some male teachers and male students when they approach them for academic support. One female administrator claimed that ‘some male students and teachers are trying to seduce female students when they request academic support from them’. This attitude is a result of the male perception that women are both academically and emotionally weak. One of the persistent explanations of lower achievement by girls is lack of encouragement by teachers (Kwesiga, 2002; Wamahiu, 1996). There is considerable evidence that women are not as likely to be encouraged into postgraduate study, that their experience of graduate study is not as favourable and that they tend to have less encouragement and professional assistance (Powles, 1987; Moses, 1989; Castleman and Poole, 1990; Collins, 1994 cited in Allen and Castleman, 2001:154).

### **6.1.6 Negative attitude toward schooling and work**

It was said that some women were satisfied with their common gender role of home maker resulting in some women to have a negative attitude toward schooling and work. One female faculty stated that ‘some women do not like to work. They just want to get married and get money from husbands’. The traditional division of labour where husband is a bread winner has also made some married women to be satisfied with their lower education as the husband are supposed to take care for their lives. Schenkel (1991) argues however that motivational problems as a result of learned helplessness appear all over the landscape of women’s lives. She adds that lack of initiative and persistence can be spotted in so-called laziness, work inhibitions, apathy dilettantism, and hasty retreats into marriage and motherhood. Schmuck (1980) also points out that many women have different career aspirations than men do. Some women set lower educational goals, therefore for them education has a substitute. She argues that women believe that failure in school is not a problem for them since marriage will take care of them. This has been a product after the society whereby women’s career choices are defined by the society. Hyde (1993) cautions that the belief that women need only to prepare be housewives and the assumption that girls are interested in becoming wives and mothers is an unrealistic generalisation about social or personal expectations of African girls.

### 6.1.7 Societal roles and stereotyping

Another reason given by respondents was gender roles and stereotyping that surround women's daily lives. Female students mentioned that due to societal and reproductive roles many girls believe that they have to do domestic tasks and bear children as their mothers and married friends do at home. Therefore education is considered of secondary importance to them. Those factors were said to result in females' school drop-outs and/or their decision to marry, hence they fail to join higher education. One male administrator said that:

*The major concern here is our norms and traditions in our society based on masculinity and femininity concepts. Females are not supposed to do tough jobs or working during nights. For example policewomen are allowed to work during night time just because there is no any other alternative for them.*

High value among girls and women is placed on marriage and motherhood and their accompanying gender specific roles make it very difficult for women to pursue academic careers and develop professionally (Kanake, 1997 cited in Bunyi, 2004: 15). Safilios-Rothschild (1986) asserts that from the moment a child is born, its gender stimulates the parents to start acting according to the projected future roles of the child on the basis of sex and the stereotypically appropriate attributes and skills associated with these roles.

One female faculty said that girls were occupied with more domestic chores that limit their time for revision while boys have ample time do so. Household tasks like washing, cleaning, cooking, and caring for younger siblings are still regarded as the duties and responsibilities of the girls within the family. The household tasks assigned to girls have caused many female students to lack enough time for revising their studies which lead to their poor performance. Another male administrator told a story about his two children:

*I have twins, one is a girl and the other is a boy and both are at upper secondary school. They used to perform equally at lower levels but now in A-level my daughter's performance is deteriorating. This is because when she comes back from school she eats and then cleans her utensils and her brother's and then does other domestic tasks, especially helping her mother while the boy goes to play football. During evenings the boy goes to tuition and when I tell him to study with his sister at home he replies that he has an appointment to discuss with his friends somewhere. The girl does not like to go out to study in the evenings and when I ask her mother to reduce the load of chores so that she can revise, she tells me 'if I was not a good wife, you would not have married me so let her learn how to cook to be a good wife and mother'.*

At home, girls are socialised into ethics of work and discipline by their mother and other female relatives (Wamahiu, 1996). From an early age, girls learn by taking on some of the responsibilities of the mothers, like the care of siblings and cooking, fetching firewood and



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water, harvesting the fields and so on. Kwesiga argues that work at home becomes an obstacle to girl's schooling. It is also argued that girls may therefore not be enrolled at all, their schooling may be interrupted all the time, or they may be withdrawn from school permanently. Fadhili (1996) had also found in his study that house-hold chores were a contributing factor to girl's poor participation in higher education for Zanzibari women. Sumra and Katunzi research found that Tanzanian girls spent three or four times as much time on house chores as their brothers did (1991 cited in Brock-Utne, 2006: 98). Wamahiu argues that social responsibility in African girls is not accompanied with empowerment.

### **6.1.8 Temptations**

Temptations from married friends, girls with boyfriends as well as boys discourage girls to continue with higher education. School girls were said to be persuaded by stories about their friends' relationships and marriages, outings, and also valuable things they receive from their men like money and mobile phones as it was mentioned by one female administrator. Girls were said to be deluded by boys into sexual activities which end in pregnancies and hence girls become the main school drop-outs. As noted by Holland and Eisenhart (1990 cited in Jacobs, 1996: 157) that a culture of romance leads young women away from a focus on their studies and careers.

### **6.1.9 Low qualifications**

Low qualifications among female students have been mentioned by many respondents as another reason leading to few female students being enrolled in Zanzibar universities. Respondents reported that this problem begins at secondary levels resulting in fewer applicants to the universities. One female administrator claimed that:

*Female pre-qualifications to join universities are lower compared to male pre-qualifications and this problem starts from lower levels. Females O-level and A-level performances are not good which result in small number of females in universities.*

One male faculty also said that:

*Low qualifications make the number of female students to be low in universities, for example here at our university a student must have 4.5 points in order to be enrolled, but many female students who apply have lower than those points.*

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Women's participation in tertiary education primarily depends on the numbers who enter primary education and make it to the secondary education as potential candidates (Court, 1991; Hayward, 1997 cited in Okeke-Ihejirika, 2005: 165). In Zanzibar education, access problems increased at the final two years of senior secondary school, statistics shows that number of students decreases as one climbs up the education ladder (Strand, 2007). A-level examination results are the determinants for university entrance in Zanzibar. As Table 1 shows, A-level examination results for 2007 from all 15 A-level schools shows that, females (as compared to males with the same grades) who attained division I accounted for 38.4%, 26.0% for division II, and 43.7% for those attained division III (MoEVT, 2007b). As it was explained in Chapter 2, women with divisions I, II and some with division III are likely to continue with HE. Bunyi (2004) study also reveals that-fewer girls who complete secondary school the smaller the pool of prospective higher education women entrants in Kenya. The problem of low qualification is due to various societal challenges facing women and therefore at the time they take final examinations their number has already been reduced.

### **6.1.10 High cost of higher education**

It was agreed by several respondents that high cost of education reduces the number of women in universities. It was mentioned that many parents in Zanzibar have low SES therefore they fail to support their children financially, especially for higher education. Hyde (1993) holds that girls who come from socio-economically advantaged families are much more likely to enter and remain in schools than girls from disadvantaged families. EP06 highlights that limited funding denies many students access to higher education in Zanzibar as one of the weaknesses of higher education in the isles (MoEVT, 2006).

Since the introduction of cost sharing policy in higher education only students with better grades are funded by the HESLB as described in Chapter 2. Female students with lower grades are supposed to be supported by their parents. In that regard, parents having more daughters whose education they can not support allow them to marry. Despite the HESLB's favour on female students, they still lag behind males in university enrolment in Zanzibar. In the whole region women's enrolment accounted for only 38.8% in 2006/2007 (see Table 10 in Chapter 5).

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Reintroduction of school fees in Tanzania affected girls more than boys, and girls from the middle and lower classes much more than girls from the upper classes (Sumra and Katunzi, 1991 cited in Brock-Utne, 2006: 27). Introduction of cost-sharing for social services has placed burden on women attempting to ensure the provision of education services for their families and themselves. Women find it even harder to pay for their children's schooling (Bendera, 1999). Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) has reduced access to higher education for the poor and increased the inequalities by class, gender and ethnicity (AAU, 2006). In addition to that, IMF and World Bank seem to be non-supportive to higher education in low income countries since their belief that: investment in primary education yields higher returns to society while investment in higher education yields higher returns to individual as noted by Psacharopoulos (1993 cited in Subbarao *et al.*, 1994 cited in Bunyi, 2004:1).

### **6.1.11 Female inferiority complex**

Female's inferiority complex, lack of confidence, and lack of awareness of the importance of education were also stated by a few respondents as other reasons restricting women from pursuing higher education. Female students were said to have negative self-concepts toward their abilities to pursue higher education. Fewer females were said to apply for universities and less effort is put into looking for opportunities to further education for them. Schenkel's (1991) demonstrates that women lack confidence because they have doubts and fears among them. They normally question their intelligence, talent, and skill. It is also argued that women have tendency to minimize their accomplishments. Boys acquire more confidence in their own ability than girls (Ekholm, 1971; Sysiharju, 1972; French and French, 1984 cited in Safilios-Rothschild, 1986: 40). It is agreed that women's attitudes and actions are manipulated rather in-born. Socialisation process accounts for an individual eventual attitude and behavioural patterns towards various aspects in a society. The stereotype thinking is the one creating internal or self-imposed and psychological restraints that hinder women equal participation in education. Biklen (1980) describes these restraints as the internal consequences of the external situations in women's lives.

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## 6.2 The under-representation of female students in science and mathematics

All respondents were interviewed in order to seek reasons for under-representation of female students in science and mathematics programmes.

### 6.2.1 Masculine image of science and mathematics

Almost all respondents mentioned intensity, complexity, time consuming nature of science and mathematics subjects cause many girls to drop science subjects and go for arts. Science fields were said to fit those people who are more mobile and those who can devote much of their time for studies and that science specialisations need a hardworking person. It is argued by Keller (1985) that women are believed to be incapable in doing science because they lack the strength, rigour and clarity of mind for an occupation that properly belongs to men. Schenkel (1991) also claims that being brainy is regarded as unfeminine. She adds that ability, skill, competence, achievement, assertion, and aggression belong to the male preserve and do not fit the traditional image of women. Pedagogy of difference propagates the view that males and females are not only radically different, but that females are physically, and more significantly, intellectually inferior to males (Wamahiu, 1996). It is fact that gender stereotypes are used as standard for evaluating categories of people which result in certain fields being reserved for certain group. AAU (2006) cautions that when stereotypes used in this way they lead to discrimination and prejudice.

One female student said that 'there is a notion among many of us that we can not do science subjects because we are women'. Schenkel (1991) holds that women have learned helplessness which is a major theme in the lives of many them. Learned helplessness has a common theme: 'I can't do it'. The essence is non-involvement, in either of two basic forms. First, premature withdrawal: stopping, quitting, or escaping before making exhaustive attempts to solve existing problems. Second form is avoidance. They have learned to avoid and withdraw, either as a response to specific career challenges or as general response to life's stresses. She believes however that women's helplessness is not an innately and uniquely feminine characteristic but rather a predictable response to social conditions. It is argued that the feminine discounting habit is both a cause and an effect of the inability to

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perceive success. Strand (2007) highlights the fact that in Zanzibar education, there are ongoing concerns about the interest of girls in mathematics and science.

Another female student complained that science becomes more difficult because they had less opportunity to search for additional materials, attend tuitions, practical for science subjects, and also to participate in other activities like study camping with fellow students as males do. Females have less time to revise by being occupied with multiple domestic tasks, hence they are left with no extra time for science subjects. Various studies including Hamad (2002; FEMSA 1998; Fox, 1977 in Fenema, 1988; Khalfan *et al.*, 1998; Hamad, 1994 cited in Hamad, 2002: 77) revealed that home environment have greater effect on girls performance toward science and mathematics.

### **6.2.2 Lack of motivation and role models**

Another reason given by a good number of the respondents concerning concentration of female students in arts and humanities specialisations was lack of motivation and female role models. Female students were said to lack good advice from parents, family members, and friends on which specialisation to take. They were also said to face discouragement when they decided to opt for the sciences. One female student said that ‘we are discouraged by our parents when we select science subjects, especially when we perform poorly. They tell us to drop science and take arts subjects instead which are simpler’. The learning environment women find themselves in, the curriculum content, and the quality of preparation they receive, especially for careers in the sciences, could often be traced back to existing constructions of gender roles and parental attitudes toward female education (Bloch, Beoku-Betts and Tabachnick, 1998; Rathgeber, 1991 cited in Okeke-Ihejirika, 2005: 166). Okeke-Ihejirika comments that these limitations shape women’s future prospects in higher education as well as strongly control their access and reinforce their segregation from men at the tertiary level. Another female student said that:

*Girls reject science subjects due to the past experiences, rumours, and hearsay from family members and friends that science subjects are difficult; and those who dared opting for sciences have experienced poor performance or complete failure.*

Apart from discouragement, female students’ tendency of depending on others or seeking approval from others, hence they are playing to an audience (family, friends, and a fantasy in their heads) (Schenkel, 1991), also influence their choice of studies. Schenkel also points out

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that some research has revealed that girls have more ‘fear of failure’ than boys because girls are less likely to learn ways to handle failure. She believes that girls carry over the effects of failure, such as lowered expectations of success, into new situations. This might also be a reason why they believe in other peoples’ past failures in sciences rather than their self-reliance.

Lack of female role models in science specialisations from the lower level in science fields was also said to discourage female students from specialising in science-related fields in higher education levels. African university students have few role models and mentors who would provide useful advice through shared experience (Okeke-Ihejirika, 2005). Influence of female teachers as role models is an important motivating factor because it increases girls’ attendance and persistence rates (Kwesiga, 2002). Bandura’s observational learning studies indicate that people identify more readily with and learn faster from people who are similar to them (1969 cited in Antonucci, 1980: 188). It is cautioned however that, same-sex role models can be beneficial, but it is important to understand the context of the student-faculty relationships in order to develop firm generalisations in this area (Jacobs, 1996).

### **6.2.3 Inadequate facilities and qualified teachers**

Respondents mentioned insufficient facilities, equipment, teachers and books for sciences as discouraging factors for girls to drop science specialisations. Laboratories were said to be poor with insufficient equipment, science teachers were incompetent, and also science books were scarce making environment for studying science unfavourable. Zanzibar schools lack conducive environment for science teaching/learning (MoEVT, 2006). One female student said that:

*Poor equipment for practical, scarcity of science books make female students find science difficult because extra energy and time is needed to search for additional material. Male students are advantageous since they are flexible to do follow-ups while girls fail to do so thus they finally lose interest in sciences.*

Kwesiga (2002) holds that lack of adequate teaching facilities for science is a strong explanation of why girls are under-represented in higher education in these subjects. Nassor (1997 cited in Hamad, 2002: 80; Hamad, 2002) had found in their studies that lack of teachers, laboratory and laboratory equipment, reference books and textbooks in Zanzibar secondary schools hinder equal participation of girls in science and mathematics and also teaching of those subjects. EFA Global Monitoring Report (2008) shows that poor quality of

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education facilities is a long-standing problem in low-income countries. MoEVT (2007a) reports that in practice, mathematics is often taught by teachers without a mathematics qualification. Only 16% of primary mathematics teachers have a qualification to teach mathematics and only 187 secondary teachers (8% of the total) are qualified to teach mathematics. The problem observed in higher education institutions seems to be a continuation of the already existing paucity of teachers in lower education levels in Zanzibar. Education Policy 2006 mentions serious shortage of teaching/learning materials in schools and inadequate stocks of books in libraries as among the poor quality of Zanzibar education (MoEVT, 2006). EP06 points out three weaknesses of Zanzibar school laboratories, two of which were-lack of science equipment, chemicals, safety measures and other necessary facilities, and most laboratories are inconducive to the teaching of science. Other weaknesses mentioned in the EP06 including: limited facilities that deny many students to access higher education and shortage of full-time qualified tutors (ibid).

#### **6.2.4 Poor performance at lower levels**

Several respondents mentioned poor performance in science at lower levels by females as another reason for the small number of female students in science specialisations. Female students were said to perform poorly in science subjects in A-level. Since graduates from this level are the ones to join universities few females are enrolled in universities, one female student reported. Bunyi (2004; Masanja, 2003; Masanja, 2004; Nawe, 2002) have found in their studies that low participation and poor performance in Science Technology and Mathematics (SMT) in secondary and A-levels is one among major constraints to women's equal participation in those subjects in universities. As noted in Table 2 in Chapter 2 that in all six A-levels schools that offer science subjects in Zanzibar, female students who sat for final examination in 2007 were less represented in science subjects. With an exception of SOS school in which percentage of female students reached 46.4, proportions of female students in five other schools ranged from a high of 39.7% to a low of 21%.

#### **6.2.5 High cost of studying sciences**

A few respondents stated that studying science is costly which makes few females to be enrolled in science specialisations in Zanzibar universities. One female student highlighted that:

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*Science specialisations in higher education institutions are expensive when compared with arts specialisations. For example tuition fee for studying science in our university is 700,000 Tanzanian shillings per year while for studying arts is only 500,000 Tanzanian shillings. In addition to that, science textbooks are expensive compared with textbooks for arts.*

Since the lack of sufficient science teachers, laboratories and laboratory equipment science evening tuitions are commonly used as an alternative to improve performance of students in Zanzibar. However tuition fee for science lessons is also more expensive than art and humanities lessons because of the use of laboratory apparatus and chemical reagents.

### 6.3 Institutional experiences among female students

More students than faculty members and administrators agreed that there were some cases of sexual harassment against female students in their institutions. The common sexual-related practices reported were between male academic staff and female students. There were also some cases reported between male students and female students.

The common practices that were said to be committed by male faculty along with sexual harassment were soliciting sex or sexual relationship in exchange for favours or better grades. Intimidation by lowering grades when a female student disagrees or rejects male lecturer's conditions or offers. Another familiar practice reported to be perpetrated by male lecturers was psychological sexual abuse based on verbal sexual remarks or behaviours against girls who disagree with their proposals.

Female students who were said to be the victims of sexual harassment and abuse were in most cases those who seek academic help from male teachers and those who are either beautiful or talkative in classes. AAU (2006) noted in Chapter 3 that types of behaviour that demonstrate sexual harassment in HEIs including demanding sex for good grades and also sexual assault of students during academic consultation. Paludi (1996) argues that gender harassment is designed not to elicit sexual cooperation but rather to convey insulting, degrading, or sexist attitudes about women. Male teachers misuse their positions of trust and take advantage of female students' academic needs to fulfil their bad intentions. In many African HEIs, male staff propositioning vulnerable female students, threatening to fail them, and or else alluring them with the promise of higher grades as noted by AAU. AAU notifies that lecturers in African HEIs are in a position of authority with the power to pass or fail students. AAU condemns that 'utilising this power position for sexual favours is clearly



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unprofessional, and goes against the code of ethics governing the teaching profession' (p. 104).

Various verbal sexual remarks were reported by respondents. One female student said that male faculty harassed them from time to time and commenting on them using a lot of sexual remarks such as *mumeo kafaidi kweli, naona kila siku unazidi kupendeza tu*-meaning that *you are becoming more and more beautiful each and everyday, your husband is a very lucky man*. AAU (2006) noted in Chapter 3 that sexual harassment includes sexual bullying by attacking the dress and commenting on the bodies of students. Adler *et al.* (1993) claim that males use derogatory jokes and comments as a way of excluding females and sexual innuendo and harassment as ways of controlling. Discouraging remarks that were reported by other female students included *wewe soma lakini mwisho wake utaishia jikoni* au *wewe soma lakini utaishia kuolewa na muuza samaki*, this means that- *lady, study very hard but you will end up in a kitchen or you will end up marrying a fishmonger*. Similar example was given by Kwesiga (2002) when she was writing her PhD thesis at the University of London and seeking help from a male professor from the University of Makerere. The professor's response was to wonder why she chose to put herself to such strain when the hard-won certificates would still end up in the kitchen. Schultz (2007) holds that harassment reinforces the idea that women are different and inferior who cannot meet the demands of a 'man's job', hence women are expected to be seen in their traditional jobs.

Male faculty members were said to have negative attitudes toward women who fail to respond to their demands for sexual favours. Unlike male students, females when they are late are obliged to explain in writing why they have come late or they are told to go out if a teacher was already in a class. Others are told to follow male teachers in their offices, one female student claimed. Another female student said that rejected male teachers also have tendency of either mentioning names of female students' boyfriends in classes or belittling them with remarks like 'hakuna mwanamke mzuri kama mke wangu katika darasa hili' meaning that 'there is no beautiful woman like my wife in this class'. AAU (2006) noted in chapter 3 that sexual harassment includes sexualising the work or classroom environment and humiliating students during lectures with sexual talk or jokes. Female students were said to be pushed into sexual activities with male faculty in exchange of better grades and if they deny they face lower grades. One male lecturer said that 'I remember there was one case reported by one female student who claimed to have been given poor grade by one male

lecturer who wanted to be in a relationship with her'. It was said that female students who took teacher's offer were favoured with better grades. One male administrator commented that 'other male faculty are also suspected to leak exams as favours to girls who accepted their offers'. Female students experience various forms of harassment from their professors, direct threats or bribes for sexual favours, verbal sexual advances, sexual invitations subjected to physical advances to the point of personal discomfort (Riggs *et al.*, 1993).

Male students were also reported to harass female students by verbal sexual remarks, especially when a female student does not want a male student or when she is no longer in a relationship with him. The reaction from males was said to be abusive language and stories about female students to their male friends. Female students mentioned common denigrating statements from male students including *unafikiri nakutaka au nani unafikiri anakutaka* which means that-*do you think I want you or who do you think wants you*. The situation was said to be even worse by a female student being more stigmatised by male students when she dates a person of opposite religion, one female student said. One of the problems encountered within African higher education institutions is the image amongst young, immature and frustrated male students of the sexual harasser 'hero' who dare authority through the disrespectful and sometimes violent treatment of fellow students (AAU, 2006). Undergraduate females experience emotional and psychological harassment, sexist remarks, comments and unwelcome attentions and more serious forms of unwanted sexual attention (Riggs *et al.*, 1993). Female students mentioned three cases concerning sexual harassment practices that they remember. First respondent told this story:

*There was a girl who applied for the university and after she realised that her name was not on the list of admitted students she followed the officer in charge to ask him why she was not admitted. The person in charge told her 'you do not want to join university, if you want you can'. The girl realised the man's intentions and she refused the offer and therefore she did not get admission while other female students who had similar passes joined the university.*

Following sexual harassment female students respond in different ways. As it is reported by Riggs *et al.* (1993: 21) that 'college students cut classes, change majors, relinquish careers, and drop out of school to avoid harassers'. Second respondent explained that:

*One male lecturer was harassing a female student in his class thinking that she was unmarried because she was very young. One day the man attended the seminar and he realised that one among the important people in that seminar who was also an important man in the government was a husband of the girl whom he was harassing at the university. Having realised that the girl was married, the teacher stopped harassing her.*

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Riggs *et al.* (1996) noted in Chapter 3 that mostly, young and attractive women are victims of sexual harassment in academic campuses. The third respondent had this to say:

*He was harassing me in the class and I was negative to his interests and I knew that my decision will cost me later in the exam results but fortunately for some reasons we did not take his examination. Having not done his paper was better for me. I was worried because there was one female student who also rejected the same lecturer's offers and she finally got a supplementary.*

In the academia, gender violence and sexual harassment take specific forms, which affect men and women's struggles and chances for attaining academic qualifications and jobs (AAU, 2006). Many scholars agreed that sexual harassment in education remains a 'forgotten secret,' or a 'hidden issue'. It is argued that educators and administrators refusing to admit the problem exists in their schools, or accept their legal and ethical responsibilities to deal with it whereas students tend not to mention sexual harassment term just by not being aware of the illegal incidence (Dziech and Hawkins, 1998; Paludi, 1996).

## 6.4 The under-representation of female faculty in Zanzibar universities

Both lecturers and administrators took part in the interviews asked to give reasons why there were few women faculty in Zanzibar universities. Here I wanted to see whether the reasons given for under-representation of female students vary from those of under-representation of the female faculty. Responses given by interviewees seemed to show some similarities. There were however some few variations.

### 6.4.1 Shortage of female graduates and low qualifications

The majority of respondents agreed that scarcity of female graduates and their low qualifications were major obstacles to equal participation of female staff in Zanzibar universities. Few female university graduates and few qualified female personnel, especially from Masters Level and above results in few women faculty. One female lecturer reported that 'all female students joining our university make up one-third of the total number of students enrolled per year and this will obviously produce few female lecturers'. One male lecturer had this to say:

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*A low qualification of female applicants is the main reason for low employment of female teaching staff. For example, 3.5 undergraduate GPA is required in order for a person to be employed as assistant lecturer but majority of female applicants have lower GPA than that.*

It was shown in Chapter 5 that all female academic staff employed in all three Zanzibar universities made up of only 17.7% which is even lower than the percentage of female students (38.8%) enrolled in 2006/2007 (see Table 15 and 10). There is scarcity of qualified women candidates for academic posts in many African countries and women tend to be less qualified compared with their male counterparts (AAU, 2006). It is true that qualification is the basic factor for one's employment in any university but in the case of females, employment procedure is sometimes said to be unfair. It is argued that, to be appointed women teachers are required to possess superior qualifications and skills (Fischel and Pottker, 1977 cited in Biklen, 1980: 11). I would argue that universities should create environment which is free of gender stereotypes wherein women potentials could be utilised. As noted in Chapter 2, there are no strategies within universities for promoting women lecturers due to obvious reasons of maintaining institutional and organisational power.

#### **6.4.2 Misconceptions about women's education and capability**

Respondents mentioned various misconceptions about female education and female capability to teach higher levels of education as reasons for the gender gap in the university teaching staff. Kwesiga (2002) argues that images and values about men and women vary from one country to another, but all point to the idea that women are inferior to men. She adds that the conviction of women's inferiority may be conceived in physical, psychological or intellectual terms and is used to justify or explain the restrictions placed on women. It is also argued that a society's views about women reflect the values of that society and shape the attitudes, values and self-images of its women. Schmuck (1980) holds that men are gatekeepers to the profession, hence some of them impede progress toward equity. Some husbands, especially with low education were said to be strict to allow their wives to join higher education thinking that women should not have more education than men or that women should not get better salary than men. Schmuck (1980) maintains that women's work has been regarded to have lower pay and lower social prestige and value than men's work. Schultz (2007) believes that women subordinate to men and heterosexual relations were the primary mechanism of enforcing women's oppression.

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### 6.4.3 Women's reluctance to apply for jobs in academia

Another reason given that prevents females from joining higher education was women's reluctance to apply for university jobs. Some women were said to ignore opportunities to become lecturers because they think that they will face more responsibilities. One female respondent said that:

*Some women are satisfied with marriage and the jobs they already have and hence they do not apply for higher education posts. They say that studying with children is difficult. It is better their children are educated rather than themselves because they have a lot to do as mothers.*

Bendera (1999) holds that soon after marriage women lives are quickly dominated by the needs of their children. Kwesiga (2002) argues that in higher education academic women find that they cannot easily combine marriage and paid work. Adler *et al.* (1993) found in their study that many mothers recognise anxiety and guilt in combining the role of carer with their career. This implies that reluctance of married women and mothers of young children to continue with studies or apply for demanding jobs is a result of difficulty they face due to domestic responsibilities and child care. Adler *et al.* argue that overwhelming responsibility placed on mothers and the lack of support with children represents a form of oppression. Schenkel (1991) argues however that, women are uncertain to take risks, make the sacrifices, and work very hard or doing intensive jobs which deny their pursuit of their talents.

### 6.4.4 Lack of confidence and caring jobs' preference

Respondents pointed out that women's lack of confidence and their preference for caring jobs leads them not to apply for teaching positions in higher education. Women were said to delay to apply for various posts available since they think that they are incapable and do not deserve those positions. Schenkel (1991) argues that women are plagued not only with feelings of personal inadequacy but with the suspicion that-as women-they know less about the ways of the world than do their male counterparts.

One female faculty said that 'women themselves have the tendency to look for caring jobs such as nursing and teaching, especially at lower education levels rather than challenging jobs'. Adler *et al.* (1993) study shows that most teachers are women, they predominate however in the area of teaching with lower status, where skills are perceived to be analogous to caring and mothering. This holds true in Zanzibar. Education Situation Analysis 2007

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reveals that majority (70%) of primary teachers are female. This is reversed at secondary level, where nearly two-thirds are males (64%) and 83% of the teachers with university degrees are males (MoEVT, 2007a). Another female faculty said that some women felt shy, and unconfident to stand in front of the class and teach mature people, especially males, therefore they regard teaching university level as ‘masculine’ profession. She further added that women were also weak in English language which lessens their confidence resulting in presentation of academic content to become difficult. One female administrator claimed that:

*There are few female teachers in our universities because women do not believe in themselves, for example it happened one time a woman applied for a teaching position but interestingly enough when we called her for an interview she did not show up.*

Schenkel (1991) argues that women have tendency to freeze when they are given opportunity to volunteer or hold a certain position in which they have capability, knowledge and experience to perform it. She maintains that learned helplessness blunts women’s determination and makes them afraid to try. Schenkel suggests that in order to perceive success, women have to unlearn-in gut as well in their minds-old messages about women’s abilities, roles, and limitations.

#### **6.4.5 Nature of the universities**

Novelty of the universities, specialisations that are provided, complexity of the university tasks, as well as the way universities are run were mentioned by several respondents as contributing factors to low enrolment of female faculty. Hyde (1993) argues that institution-related factors can be an important determinant of whether females enter and remain in schools. Some universities were reported to have more religious environment. More females prefer non-religious institutions which allow more flexibility. Kwesiga (2002) argues that religion can be barrier to girls’ education, depending on its teachings and practices. She argues however that religion alone cannot explain low enrolment rates for girls in a region, unless in its extreme form.

One male faculty highlighted that having no universities in Zanzibar before 1997 made few women to pursue higher education. This is because many parents would wish their daughters to study very close to home due to the attitude that girls need regular support and have to be watched. Studying in the Mainland was not well received by parents as they may not able to follow their daughters’ behaviours and also due to the notion that some universities in the

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Mainland do not provide women-friendly environment. One should note that, despite the novelty of Zanzibar universities, they are doing much better compared with the Mainland universities. The first university in the Mainland was established in 1961. In 2005, the proportion of female students enrolled in Zanzibar universities accounted for 39.9% while in the Mainland was 32.6% while the academic staff for Zanzibar was 17.7% in 2007 and for the Mainland was 17.4% in 2005 (see Tables 10, 11, 15 and 16 in Chapter 5). Women also regard teaching at university level as a new profession and they hesitate to take the new opportunities. It was mentioned that some universities when first established were men-only universities and thus females have only been recently enrolled. This holds true for the University College of Education which started to offer bachelor degree in 1998 but the first intake for females was in 2003/2004 (see Table 9). Concerning nature of the job at universities one male lecturer had this to say:

*Teaching at universities is more challenging, demanding, and it is more intense than teaching in primary schools where large number of female teachers is found. This makes females to have less confidence to apply for university teaching positions.*

AAU (2006) highlights that as a result of stereotyping certain jobs are reserved for a certain sex. Therefore, women behave in a certain way and take certain jobs in order to gain acceptance. Specialisations available in Zanzibar universities were also said to contribute to the small number of female staff since many females specialise in education and the related fields. For that reason universities that do not offer education programmes were said to suffer more from scarcity of female academicians. EP06 points out that one among weaknesses of Zanzibar higher education is limited number of faculties and programmes in the existing institutions (MoEVT, 2006). Both the SUZA and UCEZ offer education programmes. Proportion of the female academic staff for the former is 30.5% and for the latter is 5.5%. ZU does not offer Education programmes and women academicians accounted for 11.1% (Table 15).

Private universities were said by one male faculty to have low job security therefore women prefer public universities to private universities. This holds true for the State University of Zanzibar (the only public university) in which proportion of women academicians is better than other universities as noted above. Low job security, religious environment and women staff's preference to work at the University College of Education as part-time workers rather than full-time workers (as Table 15 shows only one full-time female academic staff) are

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possible reasons behind the small number of women teaching staff at University College of Education.

## 6.5 The under-representation of female faculty in science and mathematics

Male and female faculty and administrators involved in the study were asked to give their opinions concerning the small number of female teaching staff in science and mathematics fields.

### 6.5.1 Negative self-evaluation and lack of confidence

Most respondents replied that negative self-concept and lack of confidence among females were major constraints to equal presentation of female academics in science and mathematics fields. One female lecturer said that 'in the case of selecting science women lack self-confidence to select what is right for their future'. Schenkel (1991) argues that women have learned helplessness. She asserts that when some women choose certain activity or course and then find it difficult they respond to difficulty with helplessness. They might stop paying attention to it and they would think they do not have heads for certain courses. It is argued that women tend to doubt whether they could make it to another level, what would happen to their future, whether failure is their destination. She concludes that helplessness behaviour with mistakes, errors, snafus, screw-ups, difficulties, problems, and failures all become signals for women to stop doing an activity. Both Schenkel and Schmuck (1980) agree that internal or self-imposed restraints are the products of a society rather than in-born.

### 6.5.2 Misconceptions about the subjects

Misconceptions about science fields as a result of a socialisation process were also mentioned by many respondents to be reasons for under-representation of women science academics in Zanzibar universities. One male faculty explained that there was a belief among many people in the Zanzibari society that science and mathematics were difficult and 'masculine' subjects while arts and social sciences were 'feminine' hence they were simple. Stereotypes within society have helped to create 'male' or 'female' subjects so that even



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when option are offered pupils are likely to choose subjects which are identified with their own sex (Kwesiga, 2002). It is argued that masculinity/femininity differences have deep historical roots and are unlikely to disappear in the future (Hofstede *et al.*, 1998). One female faculty reported that male parents and husbands, being the major decision makers in households, were the major hindrance for female choices of becoming university science teachers since males prefer females to work for 'caring jobs' or in 'feminine' fields. This situation lead women conform to the societal system and continue to believe that arts and humanities are appropriate fields them.

### 6.5.3 Dual role

Dual responsibilities among females as a result of domestic and school tasks were also mentioned as another factor negatively affecting number of female science teachers in universities. In developing countries working on the farm, collecting wood and water and other household chores such as cooking, looking after younger siblings to enable the mother to do more work, have been found to fall more on girls than boys (Kwesiga, 2002; MYEWCD, 2001; Bendera, 1999). In Tanzania, girls are always burdened with *domestic and agricultural work* upon them and their mothers (Bendera, 1999). This implies that being responsible for domestic tasks provide no enough room for women to work hard and efficiently, especially for science specialisations which demand more time.

### 6.5.4 Complexity nature of the subjects

Complexity of science disciplines was mentioned as another reason for low concentration of female academic staff in science specialisations. One male faculty highlighted that science and mathematics fit people who have good brains and are hardworking because the subjects are intensive, difficult, time consuming, and they are very demanding. They also need more flexibility, especially at higher education level. More women were said to concentrate in arts and social sciences. One female faculty had this to say:

*More women specialise in arts and humanities because subjects like Arabic and Islamic are easy to pass examinations compared with science fields. Also females are affected by the past experiences on science examination results where many girls fail and therefore they are discouraged and lose interest in sciences.*

### **6.5.5 Lack of motivation**

Several respondents mentioned that low encouragement from members of the community in general for girls to study science hinder girls' interests in taking sciences and hence resulting in few science lecturers. One female faculty said that female students were not properly guided, that they did not know what is right for them to study. Therefore they just rely on parents, teachers, and friends to decide what they should study. One male faculty mentioned that 'there is no government policy that encourages females to take science subjects i.e. lack of motivation. This lead girls to drop science from lower levels and also no action is taken against drop-outs'. One female administrator said that 'women become science teachers just by chance but they do not intend to'. Adler *et al.* (1993) report that majority of the women responded in their study agreed that their entry to education as a career was either by 'drift' or 'luck' but not a 'plan'. 'Science teachers are incompetent and they are not conversant with learning aids which discourage many girls to continue with science fields of study', another female faculty claimed. Science was said to be less motivating because facilities like laboratories and instruments for practical are less in quantity and poor in quality thus making many females find science fields more difficult and unattractive.

### **6.5.6 Small number of females at lower levels**

Small number of female students who are studying sciences at senior secondary level and bachelor levels was also mentioned by some respondents to be a reason for fewer female teachers in science fields of study. Few female students were said to be enrolled and those few concentrate in arts and social sciences. It was said that this situation would automatically lead to few female science teachers at university level. Table 17 shows that women academics in Zanzibar universities are seriously under-represented in science and mathematics related fields to the extent that in Business Administration they are invisible. In BSc with Education they accounted for only 18.7% whereas in BSc in Computer Science they made up of 28.5%.

## **6.6 The institutional experiences among female staff**

Both male and female staff was asked to explain the way they experience institutional life in relation to sexual harassment in their universities. My interest was to see whether female

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faculty and administrators experience institutional life the same as was their male counterparts.

Most respondents said that they have never experienced any sexually-related bad practices from either students or faculty. They also said that they have never observed or heard of such practices in their institutions. Some of them agreed however that such bad practices might be there but they had no practical examples. Three reasons were given by one female administrator for having few cases of sexual harassment and in their institutions namely Islamic culture, age group (because majority of females enrolled are either matured or married), and a small number of student population. Riggs *et al.* (1993) believe that moral and ethical concerns motivate institutions to eliminate sexual harassment.

Some staff interviewees agreed that in their universities there were some few sexual harassment practices involving male lecturers and female students. They mentioned requesting sex in exchange of better grades and intimidation by lowering grades as the two common practices. They claimed that harassment occurs when a female student is in need of academic consultation from male lecturers. There was only one case reported that involved male and female administrators. One male administrator said that 'sexual harassment cases we have are between male lecturers and female students but I remember we had one case of harassment that involved a female administrator and a male head'. The *sexual desire-dominance paradigm* explains harassment as the one involves a more powerful male supervisor, who uses his superior organisational position to demand sexual favours from a less powerful, female subordinate. His motivation is either *sexual desire* that he wants her and he uses his organisational position to get her or a desire to *subordinate* that he wants make sure she remains below him in the workplace hierarchy (Schultz, 2007). The *competence-centred paradigm* states 'harassment has the form and function of denigrating women's competence for the purpose of keeping them away from male-dominated jobs or incorporating them as inferior, less capable workers' (p. 235).

## 6.7 Women in higher ranks in university administration

It was crucially important to examine the reasons for the small pool of women in senior administrative positions in universities as it is revealed in section 5.9 in Chapter 5. Therefore

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this knowledge might be used as basis for strategies to improve number of women in leadership and decision making positions in higher education. Both male and female teaching staff and administrators were asked to give their views on why there were few women in decision making positions in their universities.

### **6.7.1 Lower qualifications and shortage of qualified females**

Almost all respondents mentioned low qualifications and shortage of qualified female graduates as major reasons for under-representation of females in senior positions in the administration of Zanzibar universities. Few females enrolling at lower levels lead to few women in top administrative posts later on. One female administrator said that small number of female academic staff has resulted in few representatives in higher positions in their university. She gave an example of their university where only four female faculty members were present and only one of them was in top administrative position. Lie and Malik (1994) highlight that the proportion of female faculty in most countries is positively related to the proportion of women having higher ranks. Allen and Castleman (2001) hold that a popular form of pipeline reasoning is the contention that women remain concentrated in lower and insecure positions in academic employment because they have lower qualifications. This pipeline fallacy might be fact for Zanzibar as it is evident in Table 18 in Chapter 5 where only one female in all three universities had PhD. The fallacy continues arguing that if women increase their qualification they will achieve employment parity with men.

The notion that women can not be promoted because they are under-qualified has been refuted in many studies. Some studies have found that women teachers were the best and men teachers were the worst qualified, while other studies show that men and women with comparable age, service, publication and degree qualification, women remain in lower ranks (Mary Lyn Jone's, 1990; Davidson, 1985; Warwickshire County Council, 1989 cited in Adler *et al.*, 1993: 25-26; Everett, 1994 cited in Allen and Castleman, 2001: 153).

### **6.7.2 Patriarchy**

Patriarchal nature of the society and university management were also said by many respondents to be restrictions for women taking higher academic ranks. One female faculty claimed that 'selection of females in management positions is not fair. We are being

deprived of our right to lead since males think that we are incapable of taking leadership roles, which is not true'. Forrest (1989 cited in Adler *et al.*, 1993:12) argues that women face difficulties in management because men define what makes a good manager and do so in their own likeness. African universities tend to be male dominated and women from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds have a very low presence in these institutions (AAU, 2006). 'African women's marginal status in academia makes them vulnerable targets in a patriarchal arrangement with clearly defined hierarchies' (Okeke-Ihejirika, 2005: 167). Zanzibar is characterized by a patriarchal system that determines gender relations across social, economic and political spheres of life and hence makes women lag behind men (RGZ, 2004; MYEWCD, 2001). Another female faculty claimed that 'even in the student's government, application forms for candidacy are all taken by male students'. In patriarchal societies, men may regard young women as 'prey' and their practices may involve some oppression, exclusion from social and political activities, criticising of vocal or activist women on campuses (AAU, 2006). Another female faculty commented that:

*Universities prefer male staff because women have more responsibilities and excuses like maternity leave, hence they can not work efficiently. In addition to that, private universities are money-oriented therefore they need very hardworking personnel.*

Concerning the second female respondent, Schenkel (1991) argues that women often feel inhibited about talking positively about themselves. She believes that presenting themselves positively is conveying the fact that they are smart, talented, and can do the job. It is letting people know that they are competent and they know it. She suggests that women must be credible so that other people must have faith in their competence. Concerning money-oriented institutions, Adler *et al.* (1993) argue that educational management has followed commercial management with its emphasis on commodities rather than people.

### **6.7.3 Underestimation and misjudgement of women's capacity**

Underestimation and misjudgement of females working capacity were mentioned to be constraints to females taking part in senior management positions. One female faculty said that 'there is a common belief that women are to be led, this is due to the misinterpretation of the common verse in the Quran– *al-rijaalu kaawamuna ala nnisai*–that 'men are protectors of women'. Therefore women's right to lead is underestimated'. One male faculty commented that women under-representation in administrative posts was affected by the traditional belief that women should not lead men since women are respectful and dignified,

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and if they have to lead it should be only their fellow women. Schultz (2007) argues that men regard competence and authority as male preserves. Male's underestimation of women included stereotypes portraying them as not creative, not quick to take actions and that everything must be done for them. These stereotypes reduce number of females in leading positions, one male administrator said. Schmuck (1980) maintains that women do not take administrative positions partly because of negative stereotypes about women's capability. It is argued that even when women achieve positions of leadership and influence there are conflicting expectations. Another male faculty said that:

*The general outlook of the system we have perceives that it is not necessary for women to be in leadership positions and they are not ready for extra responsibilities. It also believed that women are weak, shy, and are incapable of taking disciplinary actions against other colleagues when they are holding decision making positions, hence men are preferred.*

Women were said to be misjudged by one female faculty that they have their own natural roles and hence if they are given senior positions their performance will not be efficient. Leonard (1998 cited in Ruth, 2005: 62) argues that efficient management is regarded to require masculine qualities. Currie and Thiele (2001) argue that despite it is fact that women have more domestic responsibilities than man, it was found that women value their careers not less than men, are equally committed and ambitious, and their research productivity is not significant different from men's. Another female faculty said that women's selection to decision making positions becomes difficult because senior administrative positions were dominated by men and hence they select their fellow men. It is believed that, in education and other fields the formal and informal selection of new employees and among policy-makers and practitioners is male dominated and the tradition is perpetuated by appointment from 'old boy network' (Bendera, 1999; Schmuck, 1980).

#### **6.7.4 Limitations to academic opportunities**

Limitations to academic opportunities for women were also mentioned to restrict females to higher administrative posts. One male lecturer stated that:

*Women, especially married ones, are limited when it comes to academic opportunities such as taking higher posts and other opportunities due to lack of permission from some husbands. Married women normally have to seek permissions from husbands after marriage if they want to do something. Men are more flexible hence more opportunities come their way. For example it will be simple for a male to move from Zanzibar to the Mainland if he gets a better job and his wife follows but it will be difficult for a husband to follow his wife.*

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Schmuck (1980) agrees that women's physical location is often dependent on a husband's job, they often lack the opportunity to pursue advanced training. She adds 'that and many other reasons conspire to make many women educators have short-sighted career goals' (p. 242). Men emotional dependence on women and female economic dependence on men creates situations where women's power in the domestic sphere is difficult to disappear or where it is the woman who follows her spouse if a job demands mobility (Davies, 1989 cited in Davies, 1992: 14).

### **6.7.5 Negative self-concept and lack of confidence**

Several respondents mentioned females' negative self-concepts and lack of confidence as factors affecting women's equal representation in higher ranks in universities. One male lecturer said that women in universities lacked confidence in seeking and applying for top administrative positions. Many women become reluctant to move into the management role because management is identified with masculinity (Al-Khalifa, 1989; Marshall, 1984 cited in Hall, 1997: 82). There is evidence that when women apply for a position, they are likely to succeed than men (Harper, 1987, Wilson and Byrne, 1987 cited in Allen, 1994: 19), however answering the question why they are rarely attain senior positions, explanation has been women are reluctant to apply (Allen, 1994), and they make fewer applications than men (Harper, 1987 cited in Allen: 1994:19-20). Hall (1997) suggests that women need confidence to apply, however their leadership role and style will be continuously challenged as a result of sex stereotyping, particularly if they have taken over from a man.

One female lecturer also said that 'women are not appointed to higher administrative positions because they do not believe in themselves'. Schmuck (1980) claims that there are some women who believe women should not be administrators and criticize their femaleness. Schenkel (1991) asserts that many women have trouble believing they are entitled to direct others because men are supposed to lead and direct, women are supposed to follow and submit. As a result, some women feel there is a conflict between authority and femininity. She concludes that if women do not assert themselves by sharing their information, ideas, and opinions with fluency and conviction, they will have little power and status.

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### 6.7.6 Masculine nature of the administrative role

Another reason given by some respondents concerning the small number of women in senior positions in Zanzibar universities was the masculine nature of university management role. It was said that people regard university administrative role as masculine, the senior posts are believed not to belong to women but men, and hence nearly all top positions were dominated by men. One male lecturer said that 'females are outnumbered in top positions in the universities due to people's common belief that 'women are to be lead' which is indeed a misinterpretation of the holy book'. Adler *et al.* (1993) highlight that people receive comments on women's ability to manage because of their feminine qualities and perceptions. They argue that management is regarded as a man's world. Schenkel (1991) also holds that authority is a masculine concept because in our societies most authority figures have been males. Adler *et al.* and many other feminists stress the need for resistance to 'masculinist notions of leadership' within educational management. They believe that feminism is a better alternative. Okeke-Ihejirika (2005) claims that having few African women in the senior ranks of tertiary education staff, African women are not equipped to push for policy changes that boost women's access to and representation at this level.

All respondents emphasised the importance of educating girls and women in Zanzibar as the way to sustainable development in the isles. Respondents emphasised that even in the Islam it is stressed to educate women. Majority of them mentioned Prophet Muhammad's (PUH) teaching which states that 'to educate a female is to educate a society'. One male respondent quoted popular Tanzanian author Shaaban Robert saying that 'an ignorant man is the one marries an ignorant woman and a knowledgeable man is the one marries a knowledgeable woman'. The respondents also urged for the equal participation of girls and women in science and technology subjects.

The gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar was said to have greater impact on women's lives, economy of the nation and also the institutions of higher learning. Respondents said that if small number of women remains to be low, there will be small number of female academic staff and senior administrators at the universities. Women will continue to be less in the political arena. The economy of the country will be sluggish since only one workforce (men) is utilised.



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Respondents suggest that there should be gender sensitisation at national level and academic institutional level that would address the issue of gender equality in higher education. Gender awareness among community members and strategies for combating gender disparities among students and faculty members and administrators were also mentioned.

It is crucially important to note that some people's misinterpretations of Islam and Quran flavoured by their personal interests and selfishness and other cultural beliefs, traditions and practices are to blame for under-representation of women in higher education in the isles rather than the religion itself. As statistics in Chapter 5 reveals, Zanzibar as majority of its population are Muslims exceeded many countries in terms of female student enrolments and employment of academic staff. For example, it outperforms its counterpart Tanzania (Mainland) in which majority of the university students are non-Muslims, since the disadvantaged group identified by Mkude *et al.* (2003) consist of non-Christians, poor and females. Similarly, Muslim dominated countries like Kuwait and Bahrain have exceeded the Christian dominated countries of the West in gender parity (in student enrolment and in the fields of study) as shown in Chapter 5. Also Ethiopia (the oldest Christian nation in Africa) shows a relatively wider gender gap in Africa as well as outside Africa as presented in Chapter 5. Robertson cautions that 'Islam should not be held responsible for the low enrolment in Africa'. Sudan stands as counterexample: the Muslim north has significantly higher school enrolment rates than the Christian and traditional south. Robertson further claims that, since independence, the predominantly Muslim countries in Africa have had highest enrolment growth rates (1986 cited in Hyde, 1993: 113).

## 6.8 Chapter summary

The aim of this chapter was to explore and discuss the results of the interviews conducted in two universities with female students, male and female faculty and administrators in order to find out the possible reasons for the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar. The interviews carried out revealed that there are a number of factors contributing to the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar. Factors can be summarised into *society/family-related* factors which are predominately socio-economic and cultural values, beliefs and practices. *Female-related* factors such as women's low academic qualifications, inferiority complexes, lack of confidence, negative attitude towards schooling and satisfaction with life after marriage. *Subject-related* factors including complexity and intensity of science-related

subjects, time consuming, and high cost of studying science. *Institution-related* factors mentioned were poor facilities and equipment, incompetent science teachers, lack of female role models and few science books. Also nature of the universities, limited number of specialisations provided and job security. Females experience sexual harassment from among male academics and students. The Policy for Protection and Women Development states that socio-cultural values, beliefs and practices are major obstacles for women to understand their rights as well as their importance to the Zanzibar society (MYEWCD, 2001).

All in all, the *pedagogy of difference* is the dominant reason for the under-representation of women in higher education in Zanzibar as in Africa in general. It stresses differences among African males and females. It regards females as intellectually inferior. It reflects social theory of silencing, domination and subjugation and it legitimises subordinate position of females in education systems in Africa. It incorporates the pedagogy of oppression in the classroom which originates outside the school. It creates a vicious cycle of powerlessness and desperation for both boys and girls (the oppressors and the oppressed) respectively. 'From a feminist perspective, the pedagogy of difference is discriminative, inequitable and therefore totally undesirable' (Wamahiu, 1996: 47).

In Chapter seven, the conclusion, summary of the study, and the way forward are presented.

## 7. Conclusion and recommendations

### Introduction

This is the last chapter of this study and it is divided into three sections. Section one provides a summary of the whole study while section two presents a summary of the major findings. Third section offers recommendations on what should be done to reduce the gender gap as the way forward and also provides suggestions for further research.

### 7.1 Summary of the study

The purpose of this study was to investigate the nature and extent of the gender gap in universities in Zanzibar and what contributes to that gender gap. The study has shown that women in Zanzibar universities are under-represented as students, faculty and administrators in enrolment, employment and in certain fields of study. It has also been revealed that women do not experience academic life as equally as men. The study has identified multifaceted factors that are responsible for this women under-representation. It is therefore the study that also attempts to portray some of the factors that militate against equal participation of women in Zanzibar universities.

In order to explain the reasons for the gender gap various theoretical perspectives were used as a background from which discussion and analysis were based upon. Among the concepts that attempted to explain the reasons for the gender gap include: pedagogy of difference-an African perspective, environmental (social) perspective, masculinity and femininity, patriarchy, and socialisation process. In order to describe the sexual dynamics/cultures, the sexual desire-dominance and competence-centred paradigms as well as concept of sexual harassment in higher education were used. It has been noted clearly in the study that socio-cultural, educational and attitudinal factors have strong influence on the paucity of women in higher education. Hence, family (parents), schools (teachers and peers and facilities) and women themselves (internal or self-imposed restraints) tend to perpetuate gender disparity.

The study has been conducted in Zanzibar (Unguja Island) and involved two private higher learning institutions (Zanzibar University and University College of Education) and one

public university (State University of Zanzibar). The case study design has been adopted in order to deal with not only specific cases but also obtain relevant and in-depth information. Since research methods, data collection techniques, data, and theories have differing strengths and weaknesses, qualitative and quantitative methods (methodological triangulation), interviews and documents (data triangulation) and various theoretical frameworks (theoretical triangulation) have been used to certify validity of the study. The total of 34 informants (18 female students and 16 male and female teaching staff and administrators) from both arts and sciences specialisations have been interviewed from the two universities. The statistical data have been collected from all three universities. The interview results collected were analysed and discussed and the statistical data were presented in tables.

## 7.2 Summary of the major findings

This section provides a summary of the major research findings by considering the principal research questions (as indicated in Chapter 1). The major concerns have been to investigate the nature and extent of the gender gap in Zanzibar universities and explore the factors contributing to the gender gap. Also the study has been set to examine the interventions aimed at addressing gender equality.

The research has exposed the fact that there is a gender gap in Zanzibar higher education. The gender discrimination is both horizontal and vertical. The study has found that female students, female faculty and administrators are less represented in enrolment and employment. There is only one university where female students outnumbered males in 2007. The reasons given behind this has been explained as education courses that the university offers and its secular academic environment as both attract more females. Female academic staff is seriously under-represented compared with female students. Both female students and female faculty are concentrated in education, arts and social sciences, however their representation in those fields when compared with their male counterparts they are also outnumbered. The concentration of female students in education, arts and humanities and underemployment of women faculty have also been observed in the developed countries.

It has also been found in this study that majority of women possess lower academic qualifications and are seriously under-represented at PhD level which hinder them from

taking higher academic positions of lecturers and professors. As one climbs the education ladder their number decreases drastically. Women are also severely under-represented in senior administrative positions in Zanzibar universities to the extent that in some decision making positions they are invisible. All senior management positions are dominated by male staff while those few women observed are concentrated in low management positions. Therefore, as one moves up the management ladder the number of women decreases as well.

The study has shown many factors that militate against equal participation of female students in higher education. These include: marriages/early marriages, male child preference, limited mobility, misconception about girls' education, lack of encouragement, negative attitude towards schooling, societal roles and stereotyping, temptations, poor qualifications, high cost of education, and female inferiority complex. Factors affecting female students' equal representation in science programmes are: masculine image of science subjects, lack of motivation and role models, negative attitudes towards sciences, lack of facilities and qualified teachers, poor performance at lower levels, and high cost of science studies. Female students experience various forms of sexual harassment from among male lectures and students.

Factors affecting equal participation of female faculty include: shortage of female graduate and low qualifications, misconceptions about females' education and capability, satisfaction with marriages and simple jobs, lack of confidence and caring jobs' preference, and nature of the universities. Small number of female faculty in sciences is caused by: negative self-evaluation and lack of confidence, misconceptions about sciences, dual role, complexity nature of the subjects, lack of motivation, and small number of females in lower levels. Reasons for under-representation of women in senior administrative positions are: lower qualifications and shortage of qualified females, patriarchy systems, underestimation and misjudgement of women's capacity, limitations to academic opportunities, negative self-concept and lack of confidence, and masculine nature of the administrative role. Sexual harassment practices involving male lecturers and female lecturers were not common, there was however one case involved a female administrator and male administrator.

Generally, the above mentioned factors including socio-cultural, educational and attitudinal factors are basically the by-product of the socialisation process created through its various

aspects of gender roles, stereotypes, masculinity/femininity as perpetuated in the patriarchal society.

The findings of the study reveal that the policies and interventions to address the problem of gender disparity in higher education have either been invisible or ineffective. As explained in Chapter 2, there are some few measures taken by some universities to equalise the number of men and women in universities. However, some universities have not yet taken any effort and none of them has taken affirmative actions favouring female teaching staff and administrators. The issue of gender gap in higher education has not yet been given much attention by the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar, donors and NGOs. Therefore more affirmative actions are urgently needed to bridge the existing gender gap.

### 7.3 The way forward

We need to address the root causes of gender disparity in higher education. Efforts have not been directed towards the transformation of societal structure which perpetuate and reproduce gender disparities. We tend to think that with time societal institutions will transform themselves and women will be able to accelerate like men. Evidence shows that organisational structures can not change by their own and specific measures and strategies should be put in place in order to speed up the change process. Strategies for reducing the gender gap in higher education in Zanzibar should focus on three levels, corresponding to their causes: (1) the social level; (2) the institutional level; and (3) the individual level.

The Government of Zanzibar should develop gender policy of its own which would identify gender disparities at different levels and in different sectors and then provide strategies for implementation. In the case of education, strategies should be set from lower levels where the problem of gender disparity begins to higher education. The policy should give special attention to the problem of sexual harassment and gender violence against women in higher education and in other sectors and make sure that the issue is addressed in a practical way. The government should come up with long term plans in the provision of gender equality education at the community level to sensitise community members on the importance of educating girls and women and importance of their participation in science and technology subjects so as to be fully involved in the development process of the country. The policy strategies should focus on the changing of peoples' perspectives by providing information

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and make them aware of gender equality issue and more importantly attacking the dominant negative stereotypes. It is noted that gender education will be seriously hampered unless 'pedagogy of difference' is understood and appreciated as an ethical challenge (Benaars, 1995 cited in Wamahiu, 1996: 56). This 'pedagogy of difference' should be replaced by the 'pedagogy of empowerment' that will need basic attitudinal and structural changes. The pedagogy of empowerment needs commitment and efforts by all concerned parties; policy-makers, curriculum developers, educators, textbook publishers and writers, parents, girls and boys (Wamahiu, 1996). The Zanzibar government should also think of establishing 'women universities' which will give women more opportunities to access higher education.

Zanzibar universities are required to develop their own gender policies that would provide guidelines for combating the existing gender disparities. The strategies should focus on the equal access of women and men to universities, equal participation of women and men in science-related fields and equal participation in academic and senior administrative positions and also strategies for sexual cultures and dynamics within the institutions. Affirmative actions should start with gender mainstreaming by including gender courses in programmes that are offered in high schools and universities as strategy to mobilise students and university staff on the problem of gender equality and the necessity to be eradicated. So as to increase female students' participation, measures like lowering of cut-off points in which female students would enter universities with lower grades compared with males, pre-entry science programmes to increase number of female students in science-related programmes, female special scholarship programmes as well as female graduate scholarship programmes in order to increase number of women academicians and administrators. Affirmative actions for increasing women teaching staff and administrators should be put in place. Women should be involved in the social networks. Preferential system for appointment of women should be established to increase percentage of women appointees in management positions. Women staff should be recruited and promoted as equally as their male counterparts. Women's dual or multiple roles in the society should also be looked into and reconsidered.

Women and girls as individuals should be educated from lower education levels on the role of homes, media and schools in the construction and reconstruction of gender roles and identities through the socialisation process. Through national gender policy, community sensitisation programmes as well as through academic institutions' gender policies and mainstreaming programmes, women should be trained on how to deconstruct those gender

stereotypes, roles and identities as well as their internal or self-imposed restraints and value education as key to their development. In other words, men and women should be able to recognise the biological differences between them, but they should reject biological or divine determinism of gender roles and status and adopt 'pedagogy of empowerment' that will be gender responsive, and that will accept women's rights as human rights (Wamahiu, 1996).

The collaboration of the Zanzibar government, universities, NGOs and donor agencies as well as community is necessary in order to achieve gender equality goals in the isles. This is because gender disparity is the result of interplay of various factors which are deeply embedded in the society in which its members are either victims or perpetrators of the situation, some of which are aware of the situation and some are not. Those who are aware of the situation and have no means to help it they need help and support from either their government (which excludes half of its population in boosting its economy) or donors (whose support could help to minimise the country's economic dependency). Women and girls should be aware that gender differences they experience in their daily lives are neither God-given nor biological in origin but they are entirely socially constructed. If women are conscious of this fact and realise that they are victims of the gender disparity they should not wait for men to raise banners for them.

Since this study looked at the 'access' and 'process' similar research study can be conducted focusing also on the 'outcome' by looking at the professional paths of women once they finish their universities studies. Also, since there is no university offering engineering, agricultural or medicine studies in Zanzibar, it is noteworthy to conduct a study that will investigate the gender gap in tertiary education in Zanzibar by focusing on the colleges of agriculture, technical and health studies.



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## Appendix

### Appendix 1: Letter of Authority



**THE REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT OF ZANZIBAR  
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND VOCATIONAL TRAINING**

Tel: (255)(024) 2232827  
Fax: (255)(024) 2232827  
E-mail : edu@zanzinet.com

P.O. Box 394,  
Zanzibar,  
Tanzania.

Reference: P33/19/31/VOL.I/45

Date: 25<sup>th</sup> June, 2007

**TO: WHOM IT MAY CONCERN**

**RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH STUDY**

Please be concerned with the above subject.

This is to inform you that Mr. Ameir Mohammed Makame is a student pursuing Master Degree in comparative and International Education at the University of Oslo, Norway.

Currently he is on a fieldwork doing research on " The Gender Gap in Higher Education in Zanzibar."

In that regard I request your good office to allow him to collect data from your institution.

Anticipating your co-operation

Yours Sincerely,

  
P.O. Box 394

(Maryam A. Yussuf)  
For: Principal Secretary,  
Ministry of Education and Vocational Training,  
**Zanzibar.**



## Appendix 2: Interview guide for female students

1. It appears that women's accessibility to higher education is very low in many developing countries. What do you think is the reason(s) for the under-representation of female students in Zanzibar universities?
2. Are you aware that there is a tendency of having few female students in science and mathematics fields of study as compared with arts and humanities? If so, what do you think is the reason(s) behind the situation?
3. Being a female student in this University, have you ever experienced bad practices such as sexual violence, sexual harassment, abuse, sexual assault and the like as you interact with male faculty, male students and fellow female students? Please express your views on this.
4. Do you think women under-representation in higher education and in science related fields has any impact on Zanzibar society? If it has, please briefly explain how?
5. In your opinion, what do you think could be done to reduce the gender gap in higher education institutions in Zanzibar?

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## Appendix 3: Interview guide for male teaching staff and administrators

1. It appears that employment of women in universities is very low compared with their male counterparts in many developing countries. What do you think is the reason(s) for the under-representation of women lecturers and administrators in Zanzibar universities?
2. Could you please give reason(s) why there is a small number of female students in universities?
3. Are you aware that there is a tendency of having few female lecturers and students in science and mathematics fields of study as compared with arts and humanities? If so, what do you think is the reason(s) behind the situation?
4. Being a male lecturer/administrator in this University, have you ever experienced bad practices such as sexual violence, sexual harassment, abuse, sexual assault and the like during the course of teaching/working? Please express your views on this.
5. What reasons could you give for having the small number of women in higher administrative positions in universities?
6. Do you think female under-representation in higher education and in science related fields has any impact on Zanzibar society? If it has, please briefly explain how?
7. In your opinion, what do you think could be done to reduce the gender gap in higher education institutions?

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## Appendix 4: Interview guide for female teaching staff and administrators

1. It appears that employment of women in universities is very low compared with their male counterparts in many developing countries. What do you think is the reason(s) for the under-representation of women lecturers and administrators in Zanzibar universities?
2. Could you please give reason(s) why there is a small number of female students in universities?
3. Are you aware that there is a tendency of having few female lecturers and students in science and mathematics fields of study as compared with arts and humanities? If so, what do you think is the reason(s) behind the situation?
4. Being a female lecturer/administrator in this University, have you ever experienced bad practices such as sexual violence, sexual harassment, abuse, sexual assault and the like during the course of teaching/working? Please express your views on this.
5. What reasons could you give for having the small number of women in higher administrative positions in universities?
6. Do you think female under-representation in higher education and in science related fields have any impact on the Zanzibar society? If it has, please briefly explain how?
7. In your opinion, what do you think could be done to reduce the gender gap in higher education institutions?