Equity and Access to Tertiary Education: Case Study-Tanzania

Gender in Higher Education:

A Meta-Analysis of Global Policies and Practices

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## Abbreviations and Acronyms

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tr>
<td>AAU</td>
<td>African Association of Universities</td>
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<td>AA</td>
<td>Affirmative action</td>
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<td>AGI</td>
<td>African Gender Institute, South Africa</td>
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<td>CAMFED</td>
<td>Campaign for Female Education</td>
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<td>CEDAW</td>
<td>Convention on the Elimination of All Forms</td>
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<td>CHEER</td>
<td>Centre for Higher Education and Equity Research, University of Sussex, UK</td>
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<td>DFID</td>
<td>Department for International Development (United Kingdom)</td>
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<td>ECU</td>
<td>Equality Challenge Unit (United Kingdom)</td>
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<td>EFA</td>
<td>Education for All</td>
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<td>FAWE</td>
<td>Forum for African Women Educationalists</td>
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<td>GAP</td>
<td>Gender Action Plan</td>
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<td>GER</td>
<td>Gross Enrolment Ratio</td>
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<td>GM</td>
<td>Gender Mainstreaming</td>
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<td>GPI</td>
<td>Gender Parity Index</td>
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<td>GRP</td>
<td>Gender Responsive Pedagogies</td>
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<td>HE</td>
<td>Higher Education</td>
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<td>HEIs</td>
<td>Higher Education Institutions</td>
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<td>ICT</td>
<td>Information and Communications Technology</td>
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<td>MAF</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goal Acceleration Framework</td>
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<td>MDGs</td>
<td>Millennium Development Goals</td>
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<td>NGOs</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>OECD</td>
<td>Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development</td>
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<td>OWSDW</td>
<td>Organization for Women in Science for the Developing World</td>
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<td>PFA</td>
<td>Platform for Action</td>
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<td>PHA</td>
<td>Partnership for Higher Education in Africa</td>
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<td>SES</td>
<td>Socio-economic status</td>
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<td>SSA</td>
<td>Sub-Saharan Africa</td>
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<td>STEM</td>
<td>Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNDP</td>
<td>United Nations Development Programme</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization</td>
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<td>UNIFEM</td>
<td>United Nations Development Fund for Women</td>
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<td>WEC</td>
<td>World Economic Forum</td>
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<td>WHO</td>
<td>World Health Organization</td>
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Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this pilot study are to document gender-focused practices and policies explicitly designed to improve postsecondary access and outcomes globally, with a particular focus on developing and transition countries. From a historical perspective to current contexts, the efforts of this study will include an examination of select literature on gender issues in higher education, with special attention to innovative models that have the potential for replication. This map of the literature will include a brief overview of the academic, financial and social/personal barriers facing underrepresented students in the transition between secondary and higher education. The goal of the project will be to scope the range of disparities resulting from gender inequality, potential explanation for the disparities, and, finally, potentially effective interventions to address existing disparities. Indeed, a key aspect of this work will be to identify and document examples of clearest impact, the range of positive and negative issues that extend from gender policies, and, ideally, case studies of best practices. The intention of this research is to document experiences with gender-focused or aware interventions and the lessons that can be learned to best understand equity promotion through gender-aware efforts and policy recommendations that can be made utilising this historic and current analysis. This research will potentially provide a baseline for further research, offer a framework for what works to help underrepresented students successfully transition to higher education, and inform recommendations made by the World Bank.

Activities

(1) Areas Covered in the Report

This study will focus on developing/low-income and transition countries. Within this group, we will select several countries based on existing literature describing innovating models and programmes. Ideally, we will focus on a few representative countries from different regions of the world (sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, South Asia, etc.), while also paying attention, where appropriate, to examples from advanced countries that have developed targeted interventions for student populations who are currently underserved by higher education. Based on our early review of the literature and current press, the list of countries we will focus upon will evolve as we review the data and research.

Methods of Research

(1) Review the literature on gender practices and policies related to tertiary education.

This meta-analysis will review the literature on gender-aware practices and policies that lead to increased access (and success, if possible to measure) as demonstrated by a range of data, particularly increased access and successful transition to postsecondary education, as well as persistence and completion rates. In particular, we will focus on: What forms of gender-focused policies are being applied to expand access to higher education?

- What barriers (academic, financial, or personal/social) to successful transition are being targeted by various intervention efforts?
• In which countries and what organisations are outreach and partnership efforts most evidenced in the literature?
• What types of partnerships govern these practices/programmes?
• What are the arguments in support of and against these policies and programmes?
• What theoretical frameworks are guiding these examples?
• What resources are being devoted to postsecondary transition programmes, or their secondary partners? How are government, private, and other sources of revenue supporting these efforts?
• What or who is the driving force behind these interventions?

In all of our analysis, we will utilise publications (books, journals, e-journals, working papers) as well as any other primary source materials available from scholars, government agencies, and other legitimate sources to inform the report produced.

Higher education (HE) in this report refers to advanced tertiary level education delivered by a network of teaching and research institutions (including universities, research centres, university colleges, and distance education centres), offering a range of programmes and qualifications (Department for International Development, 2008).

(2) Develop a set of recommendations for the Bank

Based on our research of the above topics, we will develop a set of recommendations or, more generally, topics for the Bank to consider going forward. As a pilot study, we will also identify gaps in the field, accompanied by areas for future research related to this project.
• Major themes or areas that have proven least controversial/most successful/etc?
• Advice for governments considering gender-focused interventions?
Executive Summary

(1) Aims and Objectives

This literature review aims to document gender-focused practices and policies explicitly designed to improve postsecondary access and outcomes globally, with a particular focus on developing/low-income and transition countries. This meta-analysis reviews the literature on gender-aware practices and policies that lead to increased access (and success, if possible to measure) as demonstrated by a range of data, particularly increased access and successful transition to postsecondary education, as well as persistence and completion rates. It draws on published and ‘grey’ literature, predominantly from the Global South, and policy documents and statistics from international organisations. In so doing, it identifies dominant themes in the literature, policy priorities and critical narratives on the subject of gender equality in higher education. This research will potentially provide evidence and a baseline for further research, offer a framework for what works to help underrepresented students successfully transition to higher education, and inform recommendations made by the World Bank.

Part I: Researching Women in Higher Education

While a global policy architecture is emerging to promote gender equality in higher education, this has not necessarily been backed up or informed by research and literature from low-income and transition countries, where much of the policy and research focus has been on girls’ access to basic education. The majority of the literature on gender in higher education has been produced by and about the Global North. The literature that is emerging from the Global South is often based on small-scale, unfunded, lone studies (see Morley et al., 2005). A review of the global literature on gender in higher education has identified the following four dominant themes:

(1) Women Accessing Higher Education

Women’s participation in higher education has significantly increased in higher education, and the Global Parity Index is now 1.08 - suggesting that there are more women than men at undergraduate level. However, this is unevenly distributed across geographical regions and academic disciplines. There are still strong links between a nation’s Gross Domestic Product and the participation rates of women in higher education. Women are still under-represented in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM), particularly at higher (e.g. postgraduate and above) levels.

The most commonly identified barriers identified in studies in low-income and transition countries include poverty and lack of social capital and networks; socio-cultural factors such as the emphasis on marriage and fertility as more important indicators of women’s social value success than educational attainment; the devaluation and disempowerment of girls and women via lack of investment in them; gender violence and social exclusion; lack of structural interventions to provide information and support for women to enter higher education, and poor quality or no basic education – particularly in deprived rural areas; and
lack of awareness of gendered dimensions within interventions intended to support low-income countries.

Some of the enablers that have been identified include: an integrated and sustainable approach to gender interventions throughout educational sectors; strong national and international policy contexts for gender equality; community initiatives and coalitions between the home, school/university and non-governmental organisations e.g. outreach programmes; international funding schemes e.g. the Carnegie Corporation of New York’s scholarship programmes; and curriculum transformation including the introduction of women’s and gender studies.

(2) Gendered Organisational Cultures: Sexual Harassment, Heteronormativity and Chilly Climates

Gendered learning and working environments have also been subjects of research investigation, posing questions about the quality of what women were gaining access to in terms of teaching and learning, pastoral support and gender-sensitive organisational cultures. A key question is whether the increased participation of women as students has resulted in gender-responsive or women-friendly cultures. Whereas engagement with gender via the curriculum and professional development programmes can raise awareness and sensitivity about gender, there is often a subterranean organisational world in which sexual corruption is rife. A dominant theme in many studies from the Global South concerns gender violence and the sexual economy, taking the form of sexual harassment, or transactional sex (sex for grades). These factors contribute to hostile learning environments for female students (and staff). Higher education can play a contradictory role in both challenging and reproducing gender violence.

Much of the literature on women in HE coming from the Global South constructed women as wives and mothers, with discussions of their domestic roles a common explanatory framework to account for exclusions and lack of seniority. Diverse sexualities were either excluded from studies on gender and HE in low-income countries, or treated problematically and pejoratively. Gender equality has not necessarily been linked to developing understandings about human rights more broadly. Some of the countries that have received substantial international funding to promote gender equality still criminalise homosexuality e.g. Uganda, Nigeria, and Tanzania. This suggests that gender needs to be urgently intersected with a wider range of structures of inequality in terms of policy and curriculum interventions and the collection of statistics.

(3) Absent Leaders

Studies from both the Global South and the Global North focus on women’s absences and under-representation in positions of power and authority in HE. This is particularly relevant to the under-representation of women in senior academic, leadership and management posts, as well as political structures. Explanatory frameworks include structural analyses of impediments to women’s leaders and the incompatibility of management responsibilities with women’s roles in the private domain.
Leadership is often associated with men and masculinity in terms of academic management, authority and student politics. Women managers are often expected to either act like surrogate men, or to be responsible for all the gender initiatives in their organisations. The absence of women in HE management is noteworthy, but only limited data exist. However, designated programmes including the Association of Commonwealth Universities Gender Programme and the HERS-SA project are seeking to enhance and increase the participation and profile of women in HE leadership and management (see Case Studies 2 and 4).

(4) Gendered Disciplinary Choices

There has been global critical attention to the under-representation of women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) disciplines. Globally, men predominate in subjects related to Engineering, Manufacturing and Construction, and Maths and Computer Science (OECD, 2007). When women of all socio-economic backgrounds do enter HE, they are often concentrated in subjects associated with low-wage sectors of the economy (World Bank, 2002a). In many countries, two-thirds to three-quarters of graduates in the fields of Health, Welfare and Education are women. In many low-income countries, the increased entry of women into STEM disciplines is seen as a major indicator of gender equality, with initiatives sometimes funded by the international donor community e.g. The BSc Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam and its support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

There are also questions about the relevance of HE knowledge to women’s lives and academic interests. The introduction of women’s and gender studies has been seen as correctives to the absence of knowledge about or by women that was a feature of mainstream academic disciplines. Many studies in low-income and transition countries document the process of introducing and sustaining these programmes in HE.

Part II: Responding to the Review Questions

(1) What forms of gender-focused policies are being applied to expand access to higher education?

International organisations including UNESCO, the OECD, the World Bank, and the European Union have all included gender equality in their HE policies. For example, the first World Declaration on Higher Education identified equitable participation for women as an urgent priority for the sector (UNESCO, 1998, Article 4).

In 2000, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and The Rockefeller Foundation launched the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA) to coordinate their support for HE in Africa. With support of these foundations, Makerere University, Uganda, and the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania developed selection systems to attract female students from secondary schools and remote regions.
While HE was not specifically targeted in either the UN Beijing Platform for Action (PFA) (1995), or the Education for All and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the concept of gender mainstreaming was included in the PFA, and was significantly applied to HE in some low-income countries e.g. Tanzania and Uganda. Gender equality is also central to MDG Goal 3 (Promote gender equality and empower women).

Gender equality in HE has been promoted in the Commonwealth. The 2009 Kuala Lumpur Higher Education Declaration based on a statement delivered by 180 Vice Chancellors to the 17th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers meeting in Kuala Lumpur in June 2009 affirmed their commitment to gender and equality of access to HE.

Gender mainstreaming has been widely embraced as a strategy for change, but remains a contested and partially understood concept that can reduce complex gendered change processes to toolkits and technologies. However, in some countries e.g. Uganda, it has provided discursive space for consideration of gender in HE (Kwesiga & Ssendiwal, 2006).

Affirmative action (AA) programmes have been controversial interventions in some low-income countries e.g. Ghana, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda, prompting questions about merit, reverse discrimination and the potential for elite capture of the opportunities that they offer. However, there is research evidence to suggest that some of these programmes are changing women’s participation patterns e.g. in the BSc in Engineering at the University of Dar es Salaam, profiled below as Case Study 1 (Morley et al., 2010).

Curriculum transformation and the introduction of women’s and gender studies have supported gender work in higher education. It is also believed that women’s participation has been enabled via single sex universities and colleges. These institutions have been the result of both policies and feminist activism to promote gender equality in countries in the Global North and South including the USA, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Sri Lanka, the Sudan and Bangladesh. Women’s activism has been significant in bringing into the public domain a concern for gender equality, prompting rather than responding to national and international policy formation.

**What barriers (academic, financial or personal/social) are being targeted by various intervention efforts?**

Poverty was cited as the main barrier to participation in studies including Morley et al., (2010). Barriers also included lack of parental social and material capital, lack of schools, especially in rural areas, and limited opportunities to develop the capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2004) e.g. lack of role models, child labour and the pressing labour needs of rural economies. Socio-cultural practices and gendered power relations also played a significant part in determining who should gain access to education and what they should study. Early marriage and pregnancy, lack of agency in determining whether or when to marry, the favouring of boys when resources are scarce, combined with lack of information and lack or poor quality basic education to impede girls’ educational opportunities.

Conversely, Morley et al., (2006) identified enablers for widening women’s access and participation in HE (p.109) as being strongly related to:
socio-economic and cultural advantages, implicating the triangle of family, school and community;
- elements of detraditionalisation of gender roles in society;
- an integrated approach to gender interventions throughout educational sectors.
Other enablers include loans schemes, bursaries, scholarships, outreach programmes and information campaigns.

(3) In which countries and what organisations are outreach and partnership efforts most evidenced in the literature?

Prominent examples of outreach are apparent in Uganda (Kwesiga & Ssendiwala, 2006), South Africa (Shackleton et al., 2006), and also in Indonesia (Scheck & Mustafa, 2010). Case studies provided below for the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE), and for the Campaign for Female Education’s (CAMFED) show the importance of outreach in African contexts, and both illustrate the complex range of actors involved e.g. university-based women’s studies groups and gender specialists, non-governmental organisations and local activists, sometimes with funding from overseas development agencies or international organisations such as UNIFEM or WHO.

In European contexts, with the ending of European Commission funding to support the Advanced Thematic Network in Activities in Women’s Studies (ATHENA), and projects which supported the development of gender-sensitive pedagogies (see van Hoven, 2009; Verdonk et al., 2009), outreach seems now to be focused more on increasing women’s participation in STEM subjects (e.g. European Platform for Women Scientists, Prometeo 6th Framework Project (European Commission, 2009).

(4) What types of partnerships govern these practices/programmes?

Partnerships are often between NGOs and women’s groups in civil society, feminist academics and scholarship - often from within women’s studies or gender studies groups e.g. in Makerere, University of Dar es Salaam, and the African Gender Institute, University of Cape Town, and international organisations including the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The value of these partnerships can be the inclusion of local knowledge and networks in global initiatives. They can also bring gender perspectives to traditionally male disciplines (see the activities of the Women’s Studies in Medicine group in Verdonk et al., 2009). However, outreach partnerships can take a long time to establish and can be easily dismantled if international funding is withdrawn.

Partnerships which are salient in the literature are distinguished by their vertical as well as horizontal networking as in CAMFED and FAWE case studies, which build multi-sectoral partnerships, involving international governments, other NGOs, civil society organisations and coalitions, HE and other research institutions, corporations, trusts and foundations, other social entrepreneurial organisations, and private individuals.

(5) What are the arguments in support of and against these policies and programmes?

The construct of the knowledge economy has been a central driver to support the increased participation of women in HE. The World Bank (2002a; 2006; 2007; 2010b), the Organisation for
Economic Cooperation and Development (e.g. OECD, 2000), and World Economic Forum (WEC) (2009) often appear to construct gender equality primarily in relation to parity of participation of women with men, so that they contribute to the global market economy, poverty reduction and economic growth, although OECD (2008) does acknowledge the need to address address gender stereotyping in subject choice and equity of outcomes.

Critiques are emerging of the limitations of attending to gender equality in simple representational terms. Simply counting more women into existing structures might contribute to gender parity, but not to gender equality. The construction of gender in terms of numbers can ghettoise important social issues as women’s issues (for them to resolve), and wider underlying reasons why women are under-represented are not addressed. Arguments for going beyond a focus on numbers also include research which shows that equality of access and qualifications does not create equality in terms of outcomes e.g. The World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Gap reports demonstrate that the number of women entering HE is not necessarily reflected in their positions in the labour market or in political representation. Increasingly, there are arguments about social and cultural dimensions of education and gender equality e.g. in UNESCO reports.

(6) What theoretical frameworks are guiding these examples?

Key theories and concepts that have been applied to analysing the position of women in HE include:

- empowerment
- social inclusion
- social justice
- human rights
- human development and capabilities
- social capital
- social reproduction
- transformation
- intersectionality

A central difference in the various studies of women in HE is how the different authors analyse and represent power and theorise gender. Feminism, postmodernism and post-colonialism have all raised questions about the power/ knowledge conjunction in so far as what is taught in universities and disqualified knowledges, and the power relations involved in determining what counts as legitimate knowledge, all of which demands attention to process and power relations within institutionalised structures.

Questions have also been raised about how power is implicit in how knowledge is produced and transmitted (i.e. methodologies for research and pedagogies) (see hooks, 1995; Ribbens and Edwards, 1997). The power base of university governance, funding and management have been interrogated by feminist theorists to uncover the gendered processes involved in the formation, governance and audit of universities (Brooks & McKinnon, 2001; Morley, 2003).
In the literature, gender is sometimes theorised in terms of a social constructionist view, that is, the multiple socio-cultural factors that operate to devalue girls and women and impede their educational opportunities (e.g. Kwesiga, 2002), while other authors referred to women's essentialised skills and qualities e.g. a belief that women in management operate differently because of their alleged gendered interpersonal and communication skills (Lamptey, 1992).

In considering the contrasting approaches to theorising gender evident in the study by Morley et al., (2006), Unterhalter (2006) elaborates a typology which distinguishes between perspectives which variously privilege inclusion, contestation, critique, and connection. A key dimension that shifts across these different positions is the extent to which gender might be considered only as a noun (i.e. focusing on inclusion and equal access, often using numerical indicators); or at the opposite pole, as a verb, where gender is a ‘doing’, rather than an essentialised ‘thing’ that is biologically determined. Performative theories of gender call for analyses that consider local processes and how gender intersects with other structures of identity (Dunne, 2009).

Liberal feminism has however been a dominant, and often tacit theory, used to justify counting more women into HE. From this perspective, the emphasis is on adding more women to existing structures, rather than overhauling or reviewing the gendered nature of the structures themselves.

(7) What resources are being devoted to postsecondary transition programmes, or their secondary partners? How are government, private, and other sources of revenue supporting these efforts?

Significant developments within the activities of international organisations include:
- World Bank Gender Action Plan (GAP), or Gender as Smart Economics (World Bank, 2006; 2007).
- World Bank (2002b) Gender Mainstreaming Strategy
- Conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes in Latin America e.g. means-testing to make cash payments to poor families (often to mothers), on the condition that they meet government requirements related to health and education.
- Outreach programmes e.g. CAMFED.

(8) What or who is the driving force behind these interventions?

International organisations and government agencies in high-income countries are important driving forces behind gender equality interventions, with actions of major international organisations seeming to be increasingly interwoven (North, 2010). Action is also often driven by coalitions that are informed by different communitarian, political and religious beliefs and so are highly heterogeneous. Many initiatives in low-income countries bring together multiple organisations e.g. international philanthropic organisations, NGOs, overseas aid organisations, national governments, university-based researchers or academics, feminist groups.
Part III: Gender in Higher Education: A Meta-Analysis of Global Policies and Practice

(1) Background and Rationale

Creating accessible HE for students across under-represented or excluded groups must be a priority for any country committed to promoting equity in their tertiary education system. Driven by the widespread belief in the many public and private benefits of attaining a college/university degree, supporting equitable distribution of these benefits seems fair and just. Individual, private benefits of attending HE include improved health outcomes, increased earning potential and even greater life satisfaction. On a broader systemic level, the public, societal benefits accrued by having higher levels of education present in our workforce include low unemployment rates, increased tax revenues, greater civic and volunteer participation and lessened dependency on social services. Despite our knowledge of these significant benefits, or, perhaps because of the known benefits, equity in access and success in tertiary and HE remains an area requiring deeper analysis.

While increased HE access has been documented across the world, those students least likely to enroll and succeed are overwhelmingly from low-income, minority, and first-generation college student backgrounds. Equitable HE access requires deliberate efforts to attract and enroll these students across the full array of institutions in any tertiary education system. The issue of gender, as one area of policy consideration, directed toward creating differential processes to promote equality of opportunity for women and girls, has a history of controversy, support, and ongoing challenges.

The transition to HE from secondary school requires interventions of many kinds, and students from different populations experience this transitional period differently across the world. In under-represented or excluded groups, providing avenues to promote even considering HE is the first step in a long journey toward success. Then providing them with processes and tools that provide points of access (e.g. in admission and funding) must follow. This research will seek to provide a global illustration of the range of interventions and impacts related to gender issues.

(2) Introduction: Researching Women in Higher Education

Views from the Global South

A global policy architecture is emerging to promote gender equality in HE (African Union, 2003; UNESCO, 1998; UNESCO, 2003; UNESCO, 2010a; United Nations, 1979; United Nations, 1995; United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), 1997; United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, 2005; World Bank, 2002b; World Bank, 2006; World Economic Forum, 2009). Globally, the number of female students rose sixfold from 10.8 to 77.4 million between 1970 and 2008 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010). A central question is whether policy priorities and demographic changes are being supported by research and publications in the field, as well as developments in theoretical perspectives on gender. Currently, there are three related bodies of literature:

- Gender, development and education e.g. Brock & Cammish (1997); OECD Development Cooperation Directorate (2010); Tjomsland (2009); Torres & Schugurensky (2002); Unterhalter (2007).
• Higher education in low-income countries e.g. Altbach & Umakoshi (2004); Arocena & Sutz, (2005); Avila (2007); Mkude et al., (2003).
• Women in higher education in high-income countries e.g. Bagilhole, 2002; Blackmore (2002); Howie & Tauchert, 2002; Deem et al., (2005).

There appears to be a lack of intertextuality or connectivity between these three bodies of literature. First, the literature on gender and development and education rarely considers HE. The policy imperatives of Education for All and the Millennium Development Goals focus on access to basic education (United Nations, 2000; 2001). The recent OECD (2010) Atlas of Gender and Development focuses on the social norms affecting gender equality in non-OECD countries but does not highlight the right to education as a critical aspect of the civil liberty. Second, the literature on HE in the ‘developing’ world tends to be characterised by a gender-neutral approach.

Gender is sometimes included as a separate section in books on HE, but not integrated into discussions about quality, capacity and governance. For example, some earlier texts on African HE e.g. Ajayi et al., (1996) commissioned by the Association of African Universities (AAU), examined issues of governance, finance, autonomy and responsibility in HE in Africa. Only one section (pp.226-228) was devoted to ‘Redressing the gender balance’. This was constructed as an access issue that was unrelated to the topics discussed in other chapters. Invariably, in these types of texts, the focus is on women’s access, rather than the gendered nature of HEIs.

The literature on women in HE in high-income countries has proliferated in the last two decades. Studies have been conducted in the UK: Leonard (2001); Morley (1999; 2003); Deem & Ozga (2000); in Australia - Blackmore & Sachs (2001); Brooks & MacKinnon (2001); Burton (1997); Currie et al., (2002); Probert et al., (1998); in Canada - Acker & Feuerverger (1996); Wyn et al., (2000); in New Zealand – Brooks (1997); in South Africa - De La Rey (2001); in the USA - Mohanty (2006); Mayzumi (2008); and in Singapore, Hong Kong and Thailand - Luke (2002). However, this body of literature contains only a few published studies denoting women’s experiences and engagements with HE outside the Global North e.g. Abu-Rabia-Queder & Weiner-Levy (2008); Malik & Courtney (2010); Maslak & Singhal (2008); Müller (2004); Scheck & Mustafa (2010).

Some notable exceptions have begun to emerge - often as outputs from international research projects e.g. the DFID/ Carnegie Corporation of New York funded ‘Gender Equity in Commonwealth Higher Education’ study (Morley, 2005; Morley et al., 2006). This focused on access, curriculum and staff development through case studies in five universities (University of Ibadan, Nigeria, University of Colombo, Sri Lanka, University of Cape Town, South Africa, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, Makerere University, Uganda).

Identification of these universities was based partly on the existence of faculties with quantitative gender inequities, programmes or initiatives addressing gender equity, such as the existence of women’s studies, or affirmative action policies. This project produced literature on affirmative action from Tanzania (Lihamba et al., 2006), on gender mainstreaming from Uganda (Kwesiga & Ssendiwa, 2006), on gender and the expansion of HE from Nigeria (Odejide, 2003; Odejide et al., 2006), on gender equity and feminist epistemology in Sri Lankan HE (Gunawardena, 2003; Gunawardena et al., 2006; Wickramasinghe, 2006); on the impact of HIV/AIDS for women in Kenyan HE (Kamau, 2006), and women and academic publishing in
Kenya (Onsongo, 2000). In South Africa, the subject of women leaders was addressed by Moultrie & de la Rey (2004), and gender and higher educational transformation was analysed by Shackleton et al., (2006). Some theoretical frameworks for the analysis of gender in HE were also offered by Unterhalter (2006).

A further output from the Morley et al., (2006) study was a review of published and ‘grey’ literature on women in HE in low-income Commonwealth countries (Morley et al., 2005). The momentum for this review was that while there was a wealth of gender equality work conducted in many low-income countries, this was often left unreported, unpublished, and hence not disseminated to wider international audiences. Studies were often small-scale e.g. Onsongo’s (2002) study of women in HE management in Kenya; unfunded inquiries as dissertation and thesis requirements for postgraduate degrees e.g. Kamoruao-Mbuende’s (1999) study of women professors in Namibia and the UK, or based on seminar papers e.g. Karega’s (2001) statistical overview on women’s’ education in selected universities in Kenya, Niger, Tanzania and Uganda.

Studies were often based on single institutions e.g. in Kenya (Kamau, 2002). Apart from exposing a range of shared themes across national boundaries in low-income countries, a central finding of this review was the need to develop capacity for research and publications among women in the Global South to facilitate the entry of this rich material into global arenas. The following sections will outline the emerging themes in the literature on women in HE, with particular emphasis on research findings from low-income countries.

(3) Women Accessing Higher Education

The increased participation of women in HE has been one of the success stories of the last decade. Globally, the Gender Parity Index (GPI) for HE is now 1.08 compared with 0.96 in 1999 (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2009) suggesting that overall rates of participation are slightly higher for women than for men. While this is unevenly distributed across regions and academic disciplines, female enrolments in some low-income countries, as well as overall expansion, are noteworthy. For example, in Ghana, the enrolment of women increased from 25% in 2000 to 34% in 2007.

In Tanzania, women’s enrolment grew from 13% in 2000 to 32% in 2007 (UNESCO, 2009). The distribution of students by type of institution (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2006) reveals that in 2005/6, in Ghana, women were making up 35% of students in public universities and 41% in private universities. In Tanzania, in 2005/2006, women made up 31.2% of students in public universities and 38% in private universities. Around 10% of students were in private universities in both countries (Morley et al., 2010; UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2006).

The gender gap in enrolment and retention in HE has been a central subject of inquiry in a range of low-income countries for at least two decades e.g. in Bangladesh (Huq & Khatun, 1992); in Uganda (Etoori, 1995; Kwesiga, 2002; Kwesiga & Ahikire, 2006); in Sri Lanka (Gunawardena, 1990; 1994); in South Asia, (Jayaweera, 1997); in Tanzania, (Nawe, 2002); in India (Chanana, 1993; 2001); and in sub-Saharan Africa more widely (Hyde, 1993). A range of explanatory frameworks have been offered. For example, Dorsey’s study of Malawi and

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1 A GPI value of 1 signifies that there is no difference in the indicators for women and men – they are perfectly equal. UNESCO has defined a GPI value of between 0.97 and 1.03 (after rounding) as the achievement of gender parity. This allows for some measurement error but does not imply a judgement about the acceptability of any particular level of disparity.
Zimbabwe (1996) noted how, in both countries, the reproduction of socio-cultural norms and practices placed diminished value on girls and women; coupled with limited financial resources, these have traditionally created barriers to women’s education. When financial resources are scarce, families tend to invest in sons, rather than daughters, in the belief that they will gain a better return for their investment. Gender violence is a major problem internationally and at all stages of girls’ and women’s lives. Studies illuminate how the gender violence found in HE contexts also prevails in schooling and wider social structures (Dunne et al., 2006; Dunne, 2008; Morrell et al., 2009).

The influence of parental backgrounds in encouraging or inhibiting women from entering HE is often highlighted, e.g. in Adejide & Ayeni writing about Nigeria (2001) and in Maslak & Singhal (2008) writing about India. Morley et al (2010) found that while poverty influences educational opportunities in Ghana and Tanzania, it does not necessarily impede aspirations, with many women and men from low socio-economic backgrounds seeing education as a pathway to a more comfortable life and transformed social identity.

Poorer students did not necessarily have the information, support or networks to facilitate their educational success, but they often understood that acquiring a professional identity would enable them to ‘become a somebody’. While many women in this study reported difficulties once within HE, including sexual harassment and gender stereotyping, the transformative and instrumental potential of HE was seen as very important e.g. securing financial independence, increasing life choices, and gaining professional identity and social status.

Studies have also shown how unequal divisions of domestic labour mean that girls and women - particularly in poorer, rural areas - are kept out of school to help with household and childcare (Dunne & Leach, 2005). Irina Bokova, from UNESCO (2010a) reports that of the world’s 796 million illiterates, around two thirds are girls. Unterhalter (2007) notes that globally, out of the billion people with little or no education, 64% are women and girls. Globally, 60% of countries have not reached gender parity in primary and secondary education – a goal that had been set for 2005 at both the World Education Forum and the Millennium Summit at the turn of the century (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010). Hence, the pool of women qualifying to enter HE in many low-income countries is low.

Some studies have focused on the impact of women’s HE on gender relations e.g. Skjortnes & Zachariassen’s (2010) study of Madagascar. They found that HE provides women with more influential social positions and individual freedom. However, this sits alongside traditional gender expectations and economic expectations from the extended family. This finding was also reported in Adu-Yeboah’s doctoral study of mature women students in Ghana (2010), which found that while some married women were ‘allowed’ to enter HE by their husbands, they were still expected to perform all their traditional family, household and childcare roles.

Generally, the trend in the literature is to focus on women accessing HE. This prompted Morley et al., (2010) to statistically examine other educational outcomes such as retention, completion and achievement, and to present the findings in Equity Scorecards (http://www.sussex.ac.uk/education/cheer/wphegt/equityscorecards). This study found that while there are no major differences between women and men’s retention and achievement rates, mature students were most at risk of dropout.
Women were under-represented in the science programmes studied. Furthermore, the gender gains in terms of women’s enrolments often masked the fact that there were largely younger and more socially-privileged women. When gender was intersected with age and socio-economic background, participation rates of low socio-economic status and older women were shown to be extremely low. When poorer and older students were present, these tended to be men,

Studies on women accessing HE in low-income countries tend to focus on undergraduate programmes, rather than postgraduate study. However, the Nairobi Report (Harle, 2009) on frameworks for Africa-UK research collaboration in the social sciences and humanities stated that ‘Postgraduate training must be dramatically increased’ (p.2). More efforts are needed to ensure that women are also entering and flourishing in research communities in low-income countries in order to build research capacity and ensure equality of opportunities at all stages of HE.

(4) Gendered Organisational Cultures: Sexual Harassment, Heteronormativity and Chilly Climates

Gendered learning and working environments have also been key subjects of investigation, posing questions about the quality of what women were gaining access to in terms of teaching and learning, pastoral support and gender-sensitive organisational cultures. Organisational cultures have frequently been described as patriarchal, male-dominated, gender-insensitive and exclusionary. These aspects have been documented in the Global North, sometimes using the theoretical framework of micropolitics to explore how gendered power is relayed via everyday transactions and relationships (Morley, 1999).

The concept of micropolitics has also been applied to studies in the Global South e.g. Bakari & Leach’s (2007) study of gender relations in a college in Nigeria. Kaziboni’s (2000) study also considered the enabling and obstructing factors mature Zimbabwean women face when returning to study in HE. Barnes (2005) analysed gender, post-colonialism and institutional culture in African countries including Nigeria, South Africa and Zimbabwe. A dominant question is whether the increased participation of women as students has resulted in gender-responsive cultures. Endeley & Nchang Ngaling (2007) explore this subject in the Cameroon, and Diaw (2007) focuses on gendered institutional cultures in HE in Senegal.

Tsikata (2007) investigates how male and female faculty experience and contribute to shaping the university’s gendered institutional and intellectual cultures, and how these interactions structure intellectual production and career trajectories at the University of Ghana. Pereira (2007) maps the changing character of the university system in Nigeria, with a particular focus on gender. Recent literature focusing on disciplinary and institutional cultures in the Global North also shows that inequalities arising from gendered institutional cultures remain a live issue in European contexts with a reputation for gender equality (Jarvis, 2009). Elg & Jonnergard (2010) have written about Swedish academic contexts; Pritchard (2010) about staff inequalities in UK and German universities; and Verdonk et al., (2009) have analysed gendered cultures in medical contexts in the Netherlands.

Hostile learning and working environments, or ‘chilly climates’ for women have been the subject of much research in the Global North e.g. Sandler et al., (1996). This can involve exclusions from decision-making, being overlooked for promotion and/or being devalued,
exploited or misrecognised (Morley, 1999). It can also involve actual violence and harassment. As in the Global North (NUS, 2010), the existence of gender violence and sexual harassment is now also being widely reported in the Global South e.g. Botswana (Letsie and Tlou, 1997); Ghana (Tete-Mensah, 1999); Kenya (Omale, 2002; Khamasi & Undie, 2008) – see also BBC News Africa (2010); India (Bajpai, 1999), Pakistan (Durrani, 2000); Lesotho (Mapetla & Matlosa, 1997); Nigeria (Odejide, 2007); Zimbabwe (Zindi, 1998); South Africa (Bless et al. 1995; Finchilescu, 1997; Gouws & Kritzinger, 1995; Kathree, 1992; Mohamed, 1998; Simelane, 2001); Sri Lanka (Jayasena, 2002); Southern Africa (Bennett et al., 2007); sub-Saharan Africa (Hallam, 1994); Latin America (Herrera, 2001; Lehrer et al., 2007); and across the Global South including Sri Lanka, India, Tanzania, Zimbabwe, Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria, Uganda (Mirsky, 2003). Lehrer et al., (2007) report on the prevalence of and risk factors for sexual victimisation in college women in Chile.

The practices most commonly reported are male academic and management staff harassing female students and junior staff. An extreme case involved a female student at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, who was sexually harassed to such an extent that it was widely accepted as the reason that she committed suicide (Sall: 2003). Sexual harassment can involve both actual and symbolic violence, but is often hidden, silenced and displaced.

Manuh et al., (2007, p.138) also discuss ‘transactional sex’, or ‘sexually transmitted grades’, in their study of HE in Ghana, as does Odejide (2007) in Nigeria. This is when male lecturers offer female students high grades in return for sexual favours - a finding that was also apparent in Morley et al. ’s study of Ghana and Tanzania (2010). These studies found that this type of sexual corruption was rarely formally reported by female students, for fear of victimisation, stigmatisation or lack of confidence in procedures (Morley, 2011a).

Nwadigwe’s study (2007) of Nigeria coded sex for grades as a ‘phallic attack’, with serious consequences on the victim’s learning, well-being and health. Bakari & Leach (2007; 2008) also report in Nigeria how sexual harassment is normalised within institutional cultures and perceived as a means of maintaining male privilege. Morley et al., (2010) found that women students in Ghana and Tanzania also experienced a lot of unwanted attention from male students.

Some male students pressured female students sexually and also appropriated female students’ domestic labour and expected a range of services including cooking and laundry. This disturbed and distracted women from their studies, and left them with limited lifestyle choices. Having a boyfriend was the norm, and those women who did not succumb to this pressure were stigmatised. This also raised many questions about heteronormativity and lack of choices about sexual orientation imposed on women (and men) by culturally determined norms.

Diverse sexualities were either excluded from most studies on gender and HE in low-income countries, or treated problematically and pejoratively. Homophobic name-calling was often a way of ensuring that women conformed to heteronormative lifestyles. Morley et al., (2006) found that even in South Africa, the only country in SSA where homosexuality is not illegal, women who entered non-traditional disciplines such as engineering, were often labelled ‘butch’ or ‘lesbian’ as terms of abuse, and to mark their non-conformity to what is deemed gender-appropriate.

Rolling Stone, a Kampala-based newspaper started by journalism graduates from Makerere University - the recipient of substantial funding for gender mainstreaming initiatives from the
international donor community - recently published a story featuring the names and in some cases photographs of 100 homosexual people under the headline ‘Hang Them’. This hate act has led to widespread physical and verbal abuse of gay people in Uganda (Rice, 2010). This incident, among many others, suggests that gender equality has not necessarily been linked to developing understandings about wider human rights.

While being homosexual is punishable by death in most SSA countries, heterosexual sexual harassment seems to carry very few penalties. It is a hidden norm of organisational life. Management can often be complicit or dismissive, with sexual harassment simultaneously recognised in terms of policy but ignored in terms of action to prevent it or discipline the perpetrators. The naming of the sexualisation of professional relations has marked an important development in the politics of gender equality.

Slowly, in some locations, some action is being taken to make educational environments safer for girls and women. Handbooks are being produced e.g. Bennett (2002), and Okiria (2007) documents initiatives to counter sexual harassment at Makerere University in Uganda. Recently, more than 1,000 teachers have been sacked in Kenya for sexually abusing girls over the past two years (BBC News Africa, 2010).

Violence against women more generally structures women’s mobility. Gunawardena et al., (2006) in Sri Lankan contexts shows that full participation in university life was not possible for women because of safety issues related to travelling alone at night, stigma and shame arising from perceptions of women who stayed late at night, or sexual bullying. Student Union and politics were also seen as male domains.

Although not specifically focusing on HE, the ways that gendered norms are embedded in cultural norms are highlighted by a quantitative study of attitudes to wife beating in Asia by Rani & Bonu (2009) which drew upon demographic and health surveys conducted between 1998 and 2001 from seven countries (Armenia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Kazakhstan, Nepal, and Turkey). This found rates of acceptance ranging from 26% in Kazakhstan, 29% in Nepal, 57% in India (women only), and 56% in Turkey (men only).

This study also challenges what societal transformation might be engendered through the inclusion of women in the waged economy, as women working in non-cash or cash-paying jobs were more likely or as likely to justify wife beating than non-working women in all countries studied, after controlling for education and household wealth (p.1393).

HE can therefore play a contradictory role in both challenging and reproducing gender violence, as well as having the potential to lead the creation of knowledge to help expose and eliminate it.

(5) Absent Leaders

Much of the research from the Global South, like that from the Global North, focuses on women’s absences and under-representation in positions of power and authority in HE. This is particularly relevant to the under-representation of women in senior academic, leadership and management posts. Studies on this topic have emerged from Guyana (Austin, 2002), Ghana (Ohene, 2010; Prah, 2002); Nigeria (Adadevoh, 2001); Kenya (Kanake, 1997); India (Chanana, 2003); Pakistan (Shah, 2001); Papua New Guinea (Sar & Wilkins, 2001); and Sri Lanka

A central observation was about the absence of female staff. Explanatory frameworks include structural analyses of impediments to women’s leaders, the incompatibility of management responsibilities with women’s roles in the private domain. In Morley et al.’s (2006) study, management was perceived by many in the five countries as incompatible with women’s lifestyles and domestic responsibilities.

The exclusion of women from senior academic and management roles is a recurrent theme in studies of women in HE in the Global North (Blackmore & Sachs, 2001; Husu, 2000; Elg & Jonnergård, 2010). Femaleness is also often perceived as irreconcilable with intellectual and managerial authority – a theme explored in Pakistan by Shah (2001), and extensively theorised by scholars in the Global North including Eagley et al., (1992) and Valian (1999). The concept of social cognition suggests that we ‘think gender’ and that we have deeply embedded notions of what constitutes gender, and of gender-appropriate behaviour and roles. When we think ‘manager’, we think ‘male’. Leadership is often associated with men and masculinity both in terms of academic management and student politics.

In Sri Lanka, Morley et al., (2006) found that management was perceived as demanding, aggressive and authoritarian and more fitting for males. Odejide (2003) reports how, in Nigeria, male academic managers are preferred as they are thought to be more suited to dealing with student unrest. The skills, competencies and dispositions deemed to be essential to leadership including assertiveness, autonomy and authority are embedded in socially constructed definitions of masculinity (Kerfoot & Knights, 1998). In the National University of Lesotho, where more than 70% of the students are women, men hold all the top administrative positions at the university (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010).

It seems that women managers challenge a gender stereotype. Other deterrents include the working cultures surrounding management, and its male domination. There is also the belief that women managers are highly visible and have to constantly demonstrate their exceptional abilities and/or represent the interests of all women in the organisation (Morley, 1999). A question frequently rehearsed in the literature in the Global North is whether women managers are necessarily gender sensitive or politically committed to representing women’s interests (Luke, 1998). The gendering and essentialising of management styles and skills are themes in much of the Commonwealth literature, with views that the increase in numbers of women managers will have a cascading effect and will make the entire organisation more gender aware (Gill, 2000; Lamptey, 1992; Manya, 2000; Tete-Menseh, 1999).

It might be erroneous to imply that women managers will manage differently because they are women. However, the importance of gender sensitive managers (male or female) in effecting change has been emphasised. In a study of approaches to gender within international organisations and NGOs, North (2010) points to the importance of the engagement of senior management for progress to be made towards gender mainstreaming.

Management has been theorised in relation to its incompatibility with women’s reproductive roles. Academic life is often perceived as at odds with the demands of motherhood, and wider domestic responsibilities. The sense that women academics are caught between two greedy
institutions - the extended family and the university (Currie et al., 2002) is a recurring theme in much research on gender and HE. Raddon (2002, p.387) theorises that there is a perceived tension between ‘what is constructed as the independent, aggressive nature of academic work and the dependent, caring nature of mothering’.

There are contradictory prescriptions for ‘caring woman’ and ‘productive academics’ (Acker & Feuerverger, 1997, p.137). There appears to be a basic contradiction between discourses of the ‘successful academic’ and the ‘good mother’ (Raddon, 2002). She notes the need to consider the case of single sex couples. The successful academic is constructed as someone who should be totally dedicated and undistracted (David et al., 1996; Goode, 2000). Many academic women internalise these contrasting discourses that have the potential to constrain their achievements. If they dare to speak of role conflict this confirms prejudices about women’s unsuitability to organisational life (Gatenby & Humphries, 1999). This is compounded by lack of structural support.

Many of the explanations for the gendered division of labour in the academy, or women’s lack of seniority was built upon domestic and private domains utilising norm-related discourses of heterosexuality and nuclear family structures. These explanations suggest that marriage, housework and childcare continue to create a barrier for many women. However, they do not challenge essentialist and heterosexist assumptions that all women live in nuclear families and that, within those families, women do and will continue to take total responsibility for domestic arrangements. Such assumptions are problematic as they ignore differences between women and changing relations between women and men.

Whatever the theoretical explanations, the absence of women in HE management is noteworthy. International data on gender equity amongst heads of universities are noticeably uneven. Since 1998, the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) has attempted to address this lack of data with five yearly analytical reports of data collected for the Commonwealth Universities Yearbook (Lund, 1998; Singh, 2002; Singh, 2008)). Its most recent publication (Singh, 2008) reports that in 23 of the 35 countries in the Commonwealth from which the ACU receives gender disaggregated data, all universities are led by men (Singh, 2008, p.12). The organisation notes ‘the depressing reality…of a still relatively stable hierarchical pyramid in which there are fewer and fewer women the higher up the ladder of seniority one looks’ (Garland, 2008, p.4).

(6) Gendered Disciplinary Choices

The gendering of academic disciplines has long been a driver for curriculum change and the introduction of women’s and gender studies has been well-documented in the Global North (Bird, 2000; Griffin, 2002; Howe, 2000). These subject areas were seen as correctives to the absence of knowledge about or by women that was a feature of mainstream academic disciplines (Braidotti, 1992). Throughout the 1990s, in the Global North, debates took place on whether knowledge about, by and for women was better placed in distinct programmes of women’s or gender studies, or indeed, whether feminist knowledge should be integrated or ‘mainstreamed’ into academic disciplines (Aaron & Walby, 1991).

Indeed, while women’s and gender studies have steeply declined in the Global North, there are flourishing or emerging programmes in many countries in the Global South e.g. Uganda, and
the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania recently approving an MA in Women’s Studies. Accounts of the struggles, concepts, rationalities and procedures to introduce women’s and gender studies into HE curricula have also appeared in Nigeria (Abdulwahid, 2000; Awe, 1996; Pereira, 1996); Ethiopia (Mulugeta, 2007); India (Chaudhuri, 2002; Papu, 2002; Sharma, 2002); Uganda (Kasente, 2002); China (Du, 2005); in South East Asia (Yeoh & Huang, 2007); Latin America (Ochoa & Ochao, 2004); post-Soviet Russia (Zherebkina, 2003); and sub-Saharan Africa (Mama, 1996). A key issue has been how to ensure that women’s studies programmes incorporate indigenous knowledges and become embedded, rather than added on to existing curricula:

The development of a women’s and gender studies curricula in Africa has developed from a realisation that the intellectual excitement of re-examining and transforming scholarship from a gendered perspective is widely shared, but it must be given roots in the African academy (Barnes, 2007: 11/12)

A further area that has received global critical attention is the under-representation of women in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM) disciplines (Etzkowitz et al., 2000; European Commission Directorate-General for Research, 2003; Fielding et al., 1997; Greenwood, 2000; Huyer & Westholm, 2005; Regional Secretariat for Gender Equity in S&T, 2006; Rose, 1998). Globally, men predominate in subjects related to Engineering, Manufacturing and Construction, and Maths and Computer Science (OECD, 2007). When women of all socio-economic backgrounds do enter HE, they are often concentrated in subjects associated with low-wage sectors of the economy (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010; World Bank, 2002a).

In many countries, two-thirds to three-quarters of graduates in the fields of Health, Welfare and Education are women. In regions where enrolment rates of women are lower than for men, men also dominate these disciplinary areas (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2006, p.19). Academic identity is often constructed and enacted via disciplinary choice and location. The gendering of disciplinary choice is important because HE subject areas track students into different types of occupations and social hierarchies, thus contributing more widely to gender inequalities in civil society.

A range of scholarship schemes have been developed to support women in science and technology with the support of different networks and donors. For example South African Women in Science (SAWISE) offers one year scholarships to black South African women in any field of science or engineering; the Third World Organization for Women in Science, recently renamed as the Organization for Women in Science for the Developing World (TWOWS/OTWSW), an international forum uniting women scientists from the South with the objective of strengthening their role in the development process and promoting their representation in scientific and technological leadership, has supported 82 science graduates since 1998, of which 62 have been from Africa.

L’Oréal Foundation, in partnership with UNESCO, awards five prestigious ‘For Women in Science’ scholarships annually; the Carnegie Corporation (2009) also reports on its undergraduate scholarship programme to promote black female students in science and engineering in South Africa. A further Carnegie Corporation programme to support postgraduate education in four universities in Africa was recently announced, although it was not clear if this had any gender focus (University World News, 2010).
Given the gendered nature of disciplinary streaming in the Global North and the priority attached to STEM subjects (European Commission Directorate-General for Research, 2003), recognition schemes are also found in developed countries however. For example in the UK, the Athena SWAN Charter makes awards which recognise excellence in Science, Engineering and Technology (SET) employment in HE, with an eye to the advancement and promotion of the careers of women in SET; only 25% of eligible UK institutions are members of the scheme however (UKRC, n.d.).

The Ministry of Education and Research in Norway has established a yearly Gender Equality Award of two million Norwegian kroner (c. 224 300 Euros) to reward gender equality efforts within research environments. Benediktsdottir (2008; 2009) describes efforts made towards gender equality within the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, one of the winners of this award in 2007, which includes entry quotas and stipends in targeted disciplinary areas, as well as career counselling, mentoring and efforts towards culture change.

Nevertheless, this shows how women’s access is again often considered in terms of quantitative indicators, with a target to change the number of members of under-represented groups horizontally in the STEM disciplines. The UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2010) draws attention to the need to distinguish between gender parity and gender equality:

> The concept of gender parity in education should be considered distinct from the concept of gender equality. The former aims at achieving equal participation for girls and boys in education based on their respective proportions of the relevant age-groups in the population. Gender equality is understood more broadly as the right to access and participate in education, as well as to benefit from gender sensitive educational environments, processes and achievements, while obtaining meaningful education outcomes that link education benefits with social and economic life. Achieving gender parity is therefore understood as only a first step towards gender equality (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010, p.12).

Some studies in the Global North have been criticised for focusing too much on parity and not on equality i.e. operating within a remediation or deficit construction of women in science and aiming to coach women to ‘fit in’ to science and technology, via confidence-building, career guidance and mentoring (see Cronin et al., 1997). Emphasis has been placed on the need to change the culture of science that could be exclusionary (Bebbington, 2002).

The masculine culture of science includes the number of male scientists and teachers, male examples used in lectures and course materials, images in textbooks and gendered language (Rosser, 1990). Social difficulties were reported by some women who did succeed in entering STEM programmes in Morley et al.,’s study of Ghana and Tanzania. Their minority status in class made them visible and vulnerable. They also experienced negative reactions in wider society, where STEM subjects were seen as incompatible with socially-constructed feminine identities (see also Karlsson, 2010; Lynch & Nowosenetz, 2009).

While the absence of women from science and technology has been documented in Nigeria (Erinosho, 1994), and in Africa more widely (Mariro, 1999), there are limited data about women in middle and lower income countries, and few studies that place gender and science within a
wider global framework with consideration of the consequences that this has for social and national development (King and Hill, 1993; Rosser, 1999 and UNESCO, 1999). Yet women’s entry into the STEM disciplines now appears to be a central indicator for gender equity in low-income countries (Morley et al., 2010). STEM subjects are prioritised in several low-income countries HE policies.

For example, in Tanzania, the National Higher Education Policy (1999) aimed to expand female participation, and promote science and technology (Mkude et al., 2003). To increase female enrolment, a range of affirmative action measures were introduced including intensive six-week remedial courses in science and maths for women who do not pass the matriculation examination (World Bank, 2002a), and affirmative action programmes such as the scheme to promote women’s entry to the B.Sc. in Engineering in the University of Dar es Salaam. At the same time, as shown in Case Study 1, participation by older women and those in low SES categories was very low.
Part IV: Responding to the Review Questions

(1) What forms of gender-focused policies are being applied to expand access to higher education?

An international policy architecture is emerging to address and include consideration of gender in HE. A decade ago, the first World Declaration on Higher Education identified equitable participation for women as an urgent priority for the sector (UNESCO, 1998, Article 4). This included changing gendered patterns of participation at different levels within the system of HE, and across all disciplines of study (UNESCO, 1998). Gender equality and Africa are UNESCO’s two global priorities for the 2008-2013 period, with the revitalisation of African HE a major theme in the 2009 World Conference on Higher Education (UNESCO, 2009, 2010).

An estimated 138 million students enrol in tertiary education each year, 45 million more than in 1999. Much of this growth has been in East Asia - in China enrolment is now 20%. In South Asia, India has the world’s third largest HE system and plans to raise enrolment from 11% to 15% by 2012, while in Bangladesh enrolment rates are just 6% and in Pakistan%. Sub-Saharan Africa has experienced the highest average regional HE growth rate. For more than three decades, enrolments have expanded by 8.7% annually, compared to 5.1% for the world as a whole, and have tripled since 1990, to almost 4 million students.

However, in sub-Saharan Africa regional enrolment rates are 5%, the lowest in the world. Nigeria and South Africa enrol 10% and 15% respectively but Uganda and Ethiopia just 3% and Tanzania 1% (DFID, 2008). Tertiary education is the level at which female enrolments have seen the greatest increase in almost all regions. At the tertiary level, female enrolment ratios exceed those of men in two out of every three countries with data (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010). Women’s access has improved markedly in the region, from one out of six students in 1990 to approximately one out of three today (World Bank, 2009).

In 2000, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, Ford Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and The Rockefeller Foundation launched the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (PHEA) to coordinate their support for HE in Africa. With support of these foundations, Makerere University, Uganda and the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania developed selection systems to attract female students from secondary schools and remote regions. It is argued that these interventions enhanced women’s participation (Grant Lewis et al., 2010), with the University of Dar es Salaam moving from 5% female enrollment in the early 1990s to 30% in 2009, with particular progress in the sciences, engineering and mathematics. Female undergraduate engineering students increased from 7% to 16% over the same time period.

Women’s participation rates vary considerably within the same geographical regions. For example, in East Asia and the Pacific, gross enrolment rates (GER) in 2008 range from as low as 7% in Cambodia to 58% in Japan, 77% in Australia and 98% in the Republic of Korea. In Latin America and the Caribbean, women are more likely to enrol than men in most countries and have a substantial advantage in Honduras (adjusted gender parity index (GPI) of 1.33), Jamaica (1.54), Panama (1.37), Uruguay (1.43) and Venezuela (1.69).
In Mexico, men and women are almost equally likely to enrol in tertiary education after years of disparities against women. Gender parity has also been reached in Colombia, where women used to have an advantage. In South and West Asia, participation rates are generally low e.g. 5% in Pakistan. However, the regional GPI for tertiary education increased from 0.65 to 0.76 between 1999 and 2008. In sub-Saharan Africa, not a single country has achieved gender parity at tertiary level. In most cases, with the exception of Lesotho, Botswana, Cape Verde, Namibia and Mauritius, the disparities are against women (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010). Here it is also reported that women face significant barriers to tertiary education in countries with the lowest levels of national wealth.

The United Nations (UN) has had a history of commitment to gender equality. The UN World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 was a landmark in the recognition of women’s rights. It generated a Platform for Action (PFA), which was not legally binding but acted as a standard and reference point for policies on women. Critical areas of concern identified included poverty, equal access to education and training, health care, violence against women, the effects of armed or other conflicts on women, inequality in economic structures and policies, power sharing and decision-making, mechanisms to promote women’s advancement, human rights, role of media, the environment and the girl-child.

In the area of education, Beijing promoted equal access to education and training, including a commitment to universal access to and completion of primary education, the eradication of illiteracy and the equal sharing of family responsibilities by girls and boys. Beijing +5 was a comprehensive review of progress in implementing the Platform for Action, entitled Women 2000: Gender equality, development and peace for the 21st century.

Globalisation and its impact on women was an important theme. Affirming the priorities set in Beijing 1995, the 2000 conference called for the mainstreaming of gender into anti-poverty strategies, protection for women and girls in situations of conflict, anti-trafficking measures, a gender perspective in HIV/AIDS work and action to increase women’s participation in decision-making. Reviews of progress have also been conducted in 2005 and 2010. A common cause for concern is the implementation gap and accountability of the signatories to promote the goals identified in the PFA.

HE was not specifically mentioned in either the Education for All or the Millennium Development Goals. However, gender equality was central to both:

EFA Goal 5

MDG Goal 3
Promote gender equality and empower women
Target 4: Eliminate gender disparity in primary and secondary education, preferably by 2005, and in all levels of education no later than 2015.
The Commission for Africa, based in the UK, which initially reported in March 2005, set out to define the challenges facing Africa. One of their areas of need is entitled *Leaving no-one out: Investing in People*. This focuses on health and education, in particular the provision of free basic education for all children. It states that ‘[t]here should be gender equality in participation in education at all levels’ (Commission for Africa, 2005). In 2010, a further report (*Still Our Common Interest*) was produced to evaluate progress (Commission for Africa, 2010). The reported progress focuses on girls and primary, rather than HE. However, the progress report did comment on the underinvestment in African HE and advised that:

*Donors should urgently commit to providing at least $500 million to revitalise Africa’s institutions of higher education over the next ten years.* (2010, p.59).

Gender equality has also been promoted in the Commonwealth. The 2009 Kuala Lumpur Higher Education Declaration based on a statement delivered by 180 Vice Chancellors to the 17th Conference of Commonwealth Education Ministers meeting in Kuala Lumpur in June 2009 affirmed their commitment to gender and equality of access to HE:

We are committed to equality of access to the opportunities provided by higher education, both in the places offered to students and the staffing (including management and leadership positions).

We call upon Commonwealth Ministers of Education to:

Ensure that higher education is available to all who would benefit from it regardless of gender and other areas of inequity (p.2).

This builds on earlier commitments to gender equality in the Commonwealth. The under-representation of women was seen by the Commonwealth Secretariat as one the most important issues facing universities (1994). It was perceived as a human rights issue. Research conducted by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (Lund, 1998; Singh, 2002) indicates that women are seriously under-represented in all sections of employment in HEIs. Studies have been undertaken of a number of aspects of gendered change, for example women’s career development (Lund, 1998) or women as HE managers (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999).

It is questionable whether women’s increased participation rates have been the result of policy initiatives. Other reasons for the growing participation of women in HE relate to the fact that higher levels of schooling are required to attain social mobility (Takyi-Amoako, 2008). Higher education also leads to individual returns in the form of higher incomes even though women must have more years of education than men to secure jobs of comparable pay – a pattern found both in industrialised and developing countries (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010). The locus of responsibility for change has been debated.

The literature confirms Unterhalter & North’s (2010) suggestion that women’s activism was significant in bringing into the public domain a concern for gender equality, prompting rather than responding to national and international policy formation. This is suggested in many studies that provide overviews of the history of different interventions e.g. Barnes (2007); Bennett et al, (2007); Gaidzanwa (2007); Kwesiga & Ssendiwala (2006); Odejide (2002); Shackleton (2007).

Hence, it appears that a complex coalition of policy, activism and social movements have been responsible for making gender equality a more visible goal. This is particularly apparent in
Schech & Mustafa (2010), who report on the crucial influence of alliances between individual government officials, gender NGOs, and university-based gender experts.

(2) Gender Mainstreaming

A further policy strategy to promote gender equality is that of Gender Mainstreaming (GM). This is a dominant trope in much of the literature on educational transformation (Morley, 2010). It is described by Unterhalter & North (2010) as arising as a result of campaigning of women’s groups in the 1980s, then consolidated at international policy level by the UN 1995 Beijing Declaration, with three action areas in its Platform for Action:

(1) the creation or strengthening of national machineries and other governmental bodies for the advancement of women; (2) the integration of gender perspectives into legislation, public policies, programmes and projects; and (3) the generation and dissemination of gender-disaggregated data and information for planning and evaluation (United Nations 1995).

The UN Economic and Social Council (1997/2) offers the following definition:

*Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality (1997, p.2).*

This addresses all institutions, international and national policies, so has implications for the participation and experiences of women in HE as students and as academics. The overarching principle is that of systematic interventions for change (Council of Europe, 1998; Schalkwyck & Woroniuk, 1998). Rai (2003; 2004) conceptualises GM as a process of gender democratisation, of including women and their perceptions of their political interests and political projects into policy-making processes.

Gender mainstreaming purports to be a strategy that makes women’s and men’s experiences an integral dimension in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes (Tiessen, 2007). The emphasis is on strategy rather than crisis or grievance, with different stages of development. The first step is to identify the ways in which the status quo is designed with men in mind. The second step is to open systems up to accommodate men and women equally. The foundation of GM is gender analysis (Mukhopadhyay, *et al.*, 2006).

The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality. What is meant by gender equality is not always clear or concise however. Conceptually, it often seems that the categories of gender and women become conflated in GM developments. For many, GM is a mythological quest. Mukhopadhyay *et al.*, argue that GM is ‘a slippery affair’ which easily evades accountability without real organisational commitment to implementation (2006, p.102). Dunne (2010) critiques the dominance of macro-social perspectives and methodologies and how this limits theorisations.
of local social practices, producing ‘gender docility’. Rees (2002) sees mainstreaming as the systematic integration of equal opportunities for women and men into organisations and cultures and into all programmes, policies and practices; into ways of seeing and doing.

GM is thus a contested concept and process. It can be seen as a narrative that reaffirms the role of the state. It can also be coded as a supra-national phenomenon that can provide the international leverage to weaken institutional sexism locally. It is positioned both as radical change and superficial adaptation. For some, GM represents a victory for the inclusion of social movements and activism into public policy. It has been hailed as a potentially revolutionary concept (Pollack & Hafner-Burton, 2000), a significant policy innovation, and a paradigm shift for thinking about gender equality in policy-making processes (Rees 2002). Pollack & Hafner-Burton (2000) theorise GM in terms of social movement theory, political opportunity, mobilising structures, and strategic framing. Walby (2005, p.321) describes gender mainstreaming as ‘the re-invention, restructuring, and re-branding of a key part of feminism in the contemporary era’. Rao and Kelleher (2005) believe that its appeal both to ‘femocrats’ and to gender activists is its promise of transformation. In this sense, it is an intensely political and ideologically-informed project of gendered democratisation that has to negotiate tensions between gender equality and mainstream policy.

Strategies for GM in HE have included capacity-building in gender data-gathering and analysis; gender equality legislation, policy development and implementation; affirmative action measures to favour women’s entry to HE as students and as staff; efforts to address gendered cultures of different HE environments, both in gender-sensitive pedagogy and academic leadership structures and processes. However, as is evident from these engagements, there is considerable category slippage in discussions of GM between gender and women.

Gender mainstreaming is also a policy momentum in high-income countries and was promoted in the EU Treaty of Amsterdam (1997). In the Global Gender Gap Index (2009) high-income countries are ranked from 1 to 130 (out of 134), with the United States being ranked 31st and Japan 101st. As described above, efforts to develop women’s participation in the sciences are a critical area of concern in many contexts, including Europe, requiring ongoing attention such as the creation of ministerial posts and new national legislation e.g. the work by the Minister of Equality in Spanish contexts to enforce gender mainstreaming in research and commercial contexts reported by Martinez (2010), as well as more local policies and strategies in HE and research contexts e.g. Benediktsdottir (2009).

The literature on gender mainstreaming is often critical of the gap between policy and implementation. Some smaller-scale studies exist e.g. Luke (2002) in Hong Kong, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand; in South Africa, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Uganda and Tanzania in Morley (2007); Karlssen’s study (2010) of an Education department in South Africa; and Kim et al., (2010) in Chinese contexts. The World Bank’s commitment to carrying through its policies on gender equality has also been called into question. Its Independent Evaluation Group (2010) drew on a stratified random sample of 12 countries (Bangladesh, Benin, Colombia, Ghana, Lebanon, Nigeria, Peru, The Philippines, Tajikistan, Turkey, Yemen and Zambia) and reviewed all 164 projects in those countries between 2003-09, but found an absence of any results framework for supporting or reporting gender equality. In 10 out of the 12 countries, support for gender equality was confined to ‘a discrete set of project-based activities’ (p.41), with little attention paid to making institutions more gender aware or supporting the development of gender aware policies.
They conclude that gender equality results were largely limited to project level, and that country-level results were evident in only 4 of the 12 countries.

### Affirmative Action

Affirmative action (AA) is one type of intervention for change in equity driven political agendas. Writing in the USA, Tierney (1997) classified three positions of affirmative action: a compensatory procedure to address injustices of the past; a corrective tool to address present discrimination and an intervention to promote social equality and diversity. Programmes tend to consist of organisational goals for increasing the representation of historically excluded groups, timetables for their achievement and the introduction of strategies and practices to support the targets (Bobo, 1998; Konrad & Hartmann, 2001).

Although again reflecting a conceptual slippage between gender and women, it has been argued that AA programmes and pre-sessional courses have played a positive role in enhancing female participation in Uganda and Tanzania (Kwesiga and Ssendiwala, 2006; Lihamba et al., 2006). In both countries, women university candidates have been given bonus points on their examination scores so that more of them pass the cut-off point. The Senate of Makerere University instituted the 1.5 points AA programme to increase the number of women enrolled at their university.

The initiative grants an additional 1.5 bonus points to the cumulative A level scores of female students applying to the University to increase their likelihood of entry. The Carnegie-sponsored Female Scholarship Initiative (FSI) supported the direct entrance of selected female students into study at Makerere University, funding the overflow of students trying to enter on the 1.5 programme. In Uganda, between 1990 and in 1999 female participation increased from 27 to 34% (World Bank, 2002a). However, Morley et al., (2006) found that in Makerere University, 90% of AA beneficiaries came from more privileged families, who are the minority population category. Awareness about AA is high in Uganda but methods of implementation are reported as poor (WEDO, 2005).

The case study presented below on affirmative action in the BSc in Engineering in the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, illustrates some of the complexities. From a conceptual perspective, Naidoo (1998) questions if students most likely to be selected for AA schemes are those who are perceived as being most like the mainstream and therefore represent a reduced risk.

In Ghana, Morley et al., (2010) found that AA was a practice, rather than a policy in the two case study universities. While numbers of female students entering HE had increased, numbers were still low in science programmes e.g. 26.18% on the B.Sc. Optometry and 11.38% on the B.Sc. Agri-Business Management. They also found considerable negativity towards AA, particularly from male students who perceived it as a form of ‘reverse discrimination’ (Jordaan, 1995, p.53), and favouritism of women.
Case Study 1: Affirmative action in the BSc in Engineering, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania

In Tanzania, affirmative action included a female scholarship programme supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York for women to the University of Dar es Salaam, and an innovative 6-week pre-entry affirmative action programme that helped to prepare female students with marginal entry requirements for undergraduate study in the Faculty of Science e.g. the BSc in Engineering (Morley et al., 2006; 2010). Morley et al.’s (2010) study included the BSc in Engineering in its statistical data (Equity Scorecards) and found that while affirmative action might have been successful in increasing the number of women in the programme, when gender was intersected with age and socio-economic status, participation rates of poorer and older women were extremely low.

Figure 1: Equity Scorecard: Access to Level 200 on 4 Programmes at a Public University in Tanzania According to Age, Gender and Socio Economic Status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>% of Students on the Programme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Commerce</td>
<td>32.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LLB. Law</td>
<td>56.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.Sc. Engineering</td>
<td>25.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Science with Education</td>
<td>11.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This raises questions about middle class capture of affirmative action programmes and about the need to intersect gender with other structures of equality including socio-economic status and age. It also highlights the problem of treating women as a unified group with a common identity which overlooks difference and diversity.

Affirmative action has also targeted ethnic stratification. In Malaysia, Agadjanian & Liew (2005) draw on family life survey data (1988-89) to analyse the impact of educational reforms that aimed to reduce inequities in education, employment, ownership and income between the Malay majority and non-Malays. Constitutional status was given to preferential policies, and mechanisms such scholarships and quota systems were put in place, e.g. all public post-secondary institutions had to reserve 55% of places for Malays, with the aim of expanding the numbers of Malays in HE, particularly in science and technology.

The authors report this to have produced a ‘dramatic growth of educational attainment with a rapid erosion of ethnic differentials’ (p.214), with Malays moving from the bottom to the top of the educational hierarchy, for both males and females, and also reducing gender equalities. At the same time, they note other studies which suggest that Malays have not displaced Chinese in higher occupational echelons or disrupted their economic dominance.

While given some endorsement by OECD (2008), AA is a controversial policy intervention that is frequently perceived as a threat to quality and standards (Bacchi, 1998; Baez, 2003;
Lihamba et al., 2006, Morley, 2004; Tierney, 1997). Some of the Nigerian informants in Morley et al.’s (2006) study discursively located AA in opposition to merit and indeed as a form of unfairness, believing that success was not achieved according to a just system of awards.

Gender, in their view, was not to be used as an ‘excuse’ for under-achievement. Affirmative action implies changes in benefit streams and can sometimes be perceived as charity, welfare benefit or preferential treatment that automatically signifies inferiority (Fraser, 1997; Monroe, 1991). In the US, AA interventions in the Universities of Michigan and Los Angeles were effectively dismantled as a consequence of high profile legal cases in which rejected white students sued the universities for unlawful discrimination (Milem et al., 2004).

Affirmative action to support women in science careers is visible in some European HE contexts. In the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU), efforts towards gender equality include gender analysis; gender policy development; appointment of equality advisors; committees for equality issues that report to high level management; the allocation of a budget for equal opportunity; quotas for recruitment; qualification stipends; mentoring for female PhD students, postdoctoral staff and associate professors; networking; a start package for women in male dominated fields; career planning support for women. This is reported as having led to a 55% increase in the numbers of women professors in 5 years (rising from 9% to 14%), and parity in the numbers of males and females recruited (Benediktsdotir, 2008). In addition, mentoring and career counseling support is offered for women entering HE management (Benediktsdottir, 2009).

(3) Curriculum and Organisational Transformation: Women’s and Gender Studies and Single Sex Higher Education

Attempts to attract more women into HE have included interventions to make the curriculum more relevant to women students. This includes the introduction of gender across different academic disciplines e.g. the Master’s in Gender Analysis in Economics at Makerere University, Uganda, with support from UNDP. It has also involved the introduction of whole programmes on women’s and gender studies, as for example the work of the African Gender Institute (AGI) in South Africa. In addition to an online portal for teaching gender and women’s studies in Africa (GWS Africa), AGI (n.d.) also hosts the bi-annual journal (Feminist Africa).

The global literature shows the development of these programmes to have taken much effort on the part of women’s activists (Abdulwahid, 2000; Awe, 1996; FAWE, 2009; Kasente, 2002; Mama, 1996; Mulugeta, 2007; Pereira, 1996). Accounts of change agency and the struggle to introduce feminist knowledge and gender-sensitive pedagogies in the face of considerable opposition show strong similarities between the narratives of both the Global South and North (Bird, 2000; Griffin, 2002; Howe, 2000).

Although by its nature indicating again the conceptual slippage between gender and women indicated above, single sex HE has a long history in supporting women’s higher learning in a range of national locations, including the USA, where Bryn Mawr College recently celebrated its 125th anniversary (Bryn Mawr College, 2010). The Afhad University for Women (n.d.) in Sudan or the Asian University for Women (2010) in Bangladesh provide further examples, with others to be found in Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Kenya, Japan, India and Pakistan. Many seem to be privately funded. In addition to the wider cultural mores that
undervalue women’s education, gendered cultures within coeducational schooling are suggested in different studies to be a particular issue for women within STEM subjects e.g. Mbilizi (2008) in Malawian contexts; Lynch & Nowosenetz (2009) and Shackleton et al., (2006) for gender analyses of STEM cultures in South African HE contexts.

Significant attempts have also been made to increase the participation of women in HE leadership and management positions. The case study below profiles the Gender Programme of the Association of Commonwealth Universities as an illustration of this.

**Case Study 2: Gender Programme by the Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU)**

The Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) has run a Gender Programme since 1985 (ACU, 2010; [http://www.acu.ac.uk/member_services/gender/gender_programme](http://www.acu.ac.uk/member_services/gender/gender_programme)).

This has sought to enhance and increase the participation and profile of women in the leadership and management of HE. The Programme is underpinned by the following values and principles: a commitment to natural justice; a commitment to the principle that universities should reflect and represent their societies; a commitment to helping universities access the entirety of their human resource potential; recognition of the importance of having senior women as role models (not least to encourage more young women into science, engineering and technology); recognition of the need for the ACU to play its part in equipping women with the skills and confidence to bid for and assume leadership and management positions, and recognition that the improved recruitment of women into all levels of leadership and management in HE is integral to the overall development of universities in terms of both equity and quality.

It offers training workshops, training modules and international networking support. The programme was raised in Morley et al., (2006) as a major enabler of women’s entry into management in the five Commonwealth countries included in the study. ACU also supported four cohorts of students within the Master’s in Women and Management in Higher Education, developed in collaboration with the Institute of Education, University of London, UK.

5) What barriers (academic, financial, or personal/social) are being targeted by various intervention efforts?

(a) Barriers

The identification of barriers to HE has been a central research concern in many national locations (Archer et al., 2003; David et al., 2009; Eggins, 1999; Kwesiga, 2002; Osborne, 2003). Morley et al., (2010) reported that, in Ghana and Tanzania, women and men from low socio-economic backgrounds related a range of barriers to education in general, and to HE in particular. These included lack of parental social and material capital, lack of schools, especially in rural areas, and limited opportunities to develop the capacity to aspire (Appadurai, 2004) e.g. lack of role models, child labour and the pressing labour needs of rural economies.

In this study, barriers were conceptualised by the 200 academic staff and policymakers who were interviewed as structural, e.g. poverty, and attitudinal, including lack of motivation or aspirations. In both countries, staff highlighted socio-cultural practices as a barrier to HE.
including early marriage and pregnancy, and attitudes towards people with disabilities, lack of motivation, information, poverty and poor quality school education. Poverty was cited as the main barrier to participation, as indicated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Staff and policy makers’ perception of barriers to participation in HE in Ghana and Tanzania


The 200 students who were interviewed reported that in both countries barriers started in the early years in family life and primary schools. These included lack of support from fathers and mothers, poverty, rural marginalisation, violence, poor quality, or lack of access to, primary and secondary education. A range of socio-cultural factors including divorce, bereavement, religious backgrounds, family problems and polygamy were reported by all social groups in both countries. Poverty was the most significant barrier at all educational levels. Many students in the interview sample reported relentless problems with affording school fees. This is also emerging as a feature of post-soviet education systems with the shift away from compulsory, state-provided secondary education (Silova & Abdushukurova, 2009; Whitsel, 2009).

Figure 3: Students’ perceptions of barriers to participation in HE by group in Ghana and Tanzania


Gendered power relations also played a significant part in determining who should gain access to education and what they should study. A number of gender-related obstacles were cited by students and staff including women’s reproductive roles; lack of agency in determining whether or when to marry; poor families believing they were only able to invest resources in boys’ education – see also in Pakistan (Malik & Courtney, 2010); in Tajikistan, (Silova &
Abdushukurova, 2009); (Whitsel, 2009); in Eastern Turkey (O’Dwyer et al., 2010). Studies indicate widespread gender violence and sexual harassment in different contexts e.g. Barnes (2007); Dunne & Leach, (2005); Dunne et al., (2006); Gunawardena et al., (2006); Herrara, (2001); Lehrer et al., (2007); Morley (2010); Morley & Lugg (2009), Odejide (2007). In postgraduate education, Bhalalusesa (1998) illuminates hetero-normative discriminatory consequences for African women, particularly in fields such as psychiatry or medicine.

(b) Enablers

Reciprocating the barriers identified above, the study of women in Commonwealth Universities by Morley et al., (2006) identified enablers for widening women’s access and participation in HE (p.109) as being strongly related to:

- socio-economic and cultural advantages, implicating the triangle of family, school and community;
- elements of detraditionalisation of gender roles in society;
- an integrated approach to gender interventions throughout educational sectors.

Enablers for enhancing access were also seen as implicating wider structural issues as well as aspects that straddled institutional, community and national contexts, including:

- development of related national policies (e.g. national gender policy, national machineries to promote them such as Ministries of Women/Gender and Development in Uganda);
- community initiatives, which created a push for affirmative action in Uganda.

For curriculum transformation, enablers included

- gender mainstreaming, such as reviewing of institutional structures, resources, course content, language and pedagogy to ensure that women’s interests are included and represented;
- gender and women’s studies courses;
- inclusion of gender within different academic disciplines (e.g. gender and agriculture in Makerere, or interdisciplinary programmes in Colombo).

Enablers for women’s career development in academic contexts included:

- internationalism (e.g. international conferences, seminars, professional network)s;
- women-only staff development courses; networking and community building
- professional development courses
- mentoring
- gender sensitisation courses.

In Morley et al.’s (2010) study of Ghana and Tanzania, enablers were seen by academic staff as originating in the universities, in communities and families, and in the state. Staff and students in both countries cited a range of structural, social and individual explanations. Many students –
especially those from low socio-economic backgrounds – provided evidence that their participation had been dependent on loans and bursaries. Enablers included:

- Mothers at primary stage
- Fathers’ aspirations
- Parents’ social capital
- Siblings’ prior educational experiences
- Teacher encouragement
- Peer group aspirations
- Imagined futures

In terms of access to HE, some specific enablers included:

- Parental education and occupation
- Quality of schools/ teachers
- Proximity/ knowledge of universities
- Professional aspirations
- Desire to escape poverty/ wanting to ‘become a somebody’
- Experience of HE in extended family
- The effectiveness of loans systems for enabling participation– especially of students from low socio-economic backgrounds.

Early years’ educational experiences appeared to influence academic identities and feelings about education. Positive experiences of primary education were widely reported in this study – less so in secondary education. For many students, primary school days were associated with the joy of learning and friendship. Access to school was often a struggle, but once entered, the transition opened up the life of the mind. The social relations of primary school were often what students remembered and enjoyed the most. For some, the state acted as a major enabler at the primary school e.g. through feeding programmes and free learning materials. The power of peers and community were also important aspects of primary school experiences, which helped keep children in education.

Mothers often played a vital support role at primary stage. Their support often took the form of emotional encouragement or nurturing, via food (Morley, et al., 2008). When parents lacked capital, they were often able to provide other forms of enabling support, particularly in the affective domain. However, when family support was absent, some young people were determined to escape poverty via the social mobility that education could offer and they showed considerable strength, resourcefulness and perseverance in enabling themselves to push through seemingly impossible social and material barriers.

**In which countries and what organisations are outreach and partnership efforts most evidenced in the literature?**

The literature provides evidence of considerable outreach and partnership efforts on the part of women’s groups and women activists in different low-income country contexts. Unterhalter & North (2010) see the campaigning of women’s groups in the 1980s as impelling
the movement in thinking which led to the 1995 Beijing Declaration and its Platform for Action. With the reservation that outreach activities will often be low-budget, local interventions which may be more visible within ‘grey’ rather than electronically-identifiable literature, outreach activities between universities and communities in low income contexts are salient in several African contexts, with prominent examples coming from Uganda and South Africa, and also in Indonesia (Scheck & Mustafa, 2010).

These often involve complex and shifting partnerships, e.g. involving university-based women’s studies groups and gender specialists, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and local activists, sometimes with wider funding from international donors such as overseas development agencies or international organisations such as UNIFEM or WHO. The case study profiling the work of the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) suggests the complexity of such partnerships and the involvement of feminist scholars.

Case Study 3: The Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE)

FAWE is a pan-African non-governmental organisation (NGO), aiming to empower girls and women through gender-responsive education. It spans 32 African countries. Its work entails multi-agency partnerships, including overseas development agencies (e.g. of Ireland, Norway, Netherlands, Finland) and international organisations such as UNESCO, World Bank, as well as charitable philanthropic organisations (e.g. Rockefeller and Ford Foundations). FAWE (2009) reports a rise in participants in its interventions to almost 65,000 from 48,000 in previous year.

Its work is described as including: local interventions into educational practice e.g. to transform 23 schools in 13 countries to gender-responsive institutions through development of gender-responsive pedagogies (GRP); remedial training in schools targeting Maths, Science and Technology; Tuseme (‘Let Us Speak Out’), an empowerment programme using theatre-for-development techniques that address concerns that hinder girls’ social and academic development and allow boys to ‘delink from gender discriminatory practices and attitudes’ (FAWE, 2009, p.19); policy engagement through the development of policy briefings and papers and contributions to understandings of gender; advocacy work to influence gender-responsive policy formulation; support for research into gender within African universities; support for women within African universities; well-developed use of media and communications technologies.

Gore & Odell (2009) include as one of their ‘success stories’ a higher education partnership between Dhaka University and Virginia Tech/University of California supported by USAID with the aim of ‘Improving the Status and Opportunities for Women in Bangladesh’. This also benefitted from an interdisciplinary focus (e.g. economics, geography and the environment, women and gender studies, Islamic history and culture) to produce a Gender Atlas of Bangladesh.

Mogadham in UNESCO (2007) suggests differences in the extent that women’s activism in different parts of the world engaged with policy and politics. In Latin America, Jenkins (2008) proposes that while grassroots women’s activities such as communal kitchens emerged in response to extreme deprivation, and were seen as an ‘emblematic success story of community self help’ (p.141), this activism did not change women’s position or develop an awareness of
gender issues. In contrast, in South African contexts, outreach efforts on the part of universities have been present for generations as part of the political activism that responded to the injustices of apartheid (Shackleton, 2007; Barnes, 2007). However, as Shackleton et al., (2006) suggest, this history can contribute to the invisibility of gender inequities within HE contexts, given the significance of race in post-colonial contexts.

Women’s studies groups also arise recurrently in relation to outreach efforts, and for low-income contexts this seems particularly so in Africa (Abdela, 2007; Diaw, 2007; Endeley & Nchang Ngaling, 2007; Mulugeta, 2007), see also in South Asia (Resurreccion, 2010). In contrast, Jenkins (2008, p.141) notes the historical ‘lack of articulation’ between the women’s self-help movements in her study in Latin American contexts, and suggests that these did not develop awareness of gender issues. However, Bray (2004) and Ochoa & Ochoa (2004) find that Latin American Studies to be allowing teaching and research to be combined with community involvement and meaningful social change; Ochoa & Ochoa (2004) also highlight the role of Chicano feminism within this.

Outreach activities supported by women’s and gender studies groups have also emerged in response to the acute HIV/AIDS epidemic in African contexts, given the intersection of HIV-AIDS transmission with gender and sexuality - see Baxen (2008); Dunne (2008); Morrell et al., (2009), as well as the programme described by the University of the Western Cape (UWC) in South Africa (UWC, n.d). Despite the urgency of this situation, these studies also illuminate the difficulties of shifting deeply ingrained cultural practices and norms, and the importance of theoretically-informed, intersectional analyses.

Although again sometimes suggesting a conceptual slippage of women and gender, women’s groups have also emerged to support women’s participation in the sciences and this can include an outreach focus (e.g. OWSDW/ TWOWS, n.d.). Two women-only universities (Afhad University for Women in Sudan and the Asian University for Women in Bangladesh) describe substantial outreach programmes.

If the notion of outreach seems to imply attention to local processes and an engagement with local cultures, larger international organisations are clearly significant players in outreach policy, providing financial support, visibility and advocacy. These organisations would include the Association of Indian Universities and the Association of African Universities, for example for its work in coordinating African university responses to the HIV/AIDS epidemic and development of resources, or the work of the Association of Commonwealth Universities in lobbying for continued commitment to HE and research capacity building in Africa in its joint text with the British Academy (Harle, 2009).

As illuminated in the examples above and case studies, outreach partnerships often include philanthropic donors. A significant example, with a visible US presence, is the Partnership for Higher Education on Africa (PHEA) described earlier. However, in the areas now identified for future funding, gender does not seem to be explicitly targeted (Carnegie Corporation, 2009). Carnegie Corporation has also supported partnerships such as HERS-SA, profiled below.
**Case Study 4: HERS-SA**

HERS-SA (n.d) focuses on developing women’s participation in academic leadership and is described as a ‘self-sustaining non-profit organization’ (see [http://www.hers-sa.org.za/about.htm](http://www.hers-sa.org.za/about.htm)).

Having grown from a serendipitous contact between a South African woman academic and a US charitable foundation (Shackleton, 2007), it has been supported by international foundations such as the Andrew Mellon Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, as well as overseas development partners such as the Department for International Development (DFID) in the UK.

Their activities include career development workshops, and opportunities for networking with women academic leaders in national and international conferences (Shackleton 2007; Shackleton et al. 2006). Its networking seems significant in legitimizing action around women’s participation in HE management. Shackleton *et al.*, (2006) reports from an in-depth institutional case study on the visibility of race as opposed to the invisibility of gender in South African HE contexts. This is despite extreme imbalances of gender in the staffing ratios of the HEI in which the study was conducted, so that for example only 7% of full professors were women.

Morley *et ’s* (2006) study included interviews with staff at the University of Cape Town, who had taken part in a 3-week staff development programme, linked with a programme in the United States, HERS-SA, and designed for women in middle management in higher education, were interviewed about their experiences of management development. A South African staff member comments:

What I did gain was a sense of empowerment and my own rights and responsibilities as a woman by listening to and learning with groups of women. And I wasn’t as clued up on those things before.

Another South African staff member relates how the HERS-SA programme sensitised her to gender:

I have grown up in quite a male dominated society, and also being in science first, which is also very male dominated. I did not have a problem with that, but I think I viewed it as the norm. Whereas the HERS programme certainly highlighted some of the problems associated with this, and also some of the good things associated with it, but at least I got a bit of an understanding of what the different issues are that are being played out.

Funding for research projects on gender in HE from organisations such as the European Commission has also been significant; however, issues of sustainability have arisen. For example, Van Hoven (2009) describes the initial impact of Athena, an ERASMUS network project involving 80 Women's and Gender Studies Programmes in different European HE research institutes and documentation centres, but suggests the need for longer, sustained funding to bring about change.
The European Commission now shows a narrower interest in supporting an increase in women’s participation in science, engineering and technology e.g. European Platform for Women Scientists, Prometoe 6th Framework Project (European Commission, 2009). At the same time, anomalies arise in the extent that gender equality is embedded in aid for research capacity development. For example the European Union has recently committed EUR35 million (part of a wider commitment to African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries amounting to EUR45 million or US$60 million) to the Mwalimu Nyerere African Scholarship Scheme to allow postgraduate education to be conducted through exchanges with other universities in Africa. However, gender is not reported as a specific focus (University World News, 2010).

International multi-lateral organisations are clearly heavily involved in partnerships with low income countries, and these overlap with gender equality issues. However, these often seem to lack an explicit focus on HE. Conversely, where there is a focus on higher or tertiary education (World Bank, 2002a) gender mainstreaming and other interventions may not always be prominent. This is paradoxical, given the publication in the same year of a key policy text, *Integrating Gender into the World Bank’s Work: A Strategy for Action* (World Bank, 2002b). In a recent evaluation, the World Bank Independent Evaluation Group (2010) suggested that the World Bank had failed to integrate gender into more than half of its relevant closed projects, and concludes that because of a lack of sustained attention to gender equality, the Bank ‘did not realize the full potential of its investments’ (p.54).

The evaluation found that while most projects discussed gender at the Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) stage, fewer than half moved towards a focus on strategic outcomes that would support gender equality (p.58). The evaluation also notes the lack of interest in gender training within the Bank itself, so that training materials developed for Bank staff did not seem to have been used. A sense of frustration also emerges from within Bank programmes, for example in reflections on lessons emerging from a programme of the World Bank’s Latin America and Caribbean Region on male reproductive health and gender-violence, Betron & Fort (2006) comment on the impossibility of changing ‘deeply entrenched social and cultural gender norms’ (p.4) within a 2-day workshop.

Overseas development agencies (e.g. in New Zealand, Sweden, Canada, UK, Norway) often arise in literature as partners within projects. Again it is difficult however to disaggregate a focus on HE and a focus on gender. For example, the OECD’s Development Co-operation Directorate (2010a) provides statistics for overseas development aid with a gender equality focus but does not disaggregate the figures for education aid by education sector. Main groups of countries targeted in this development work are low-income countries, fragile and conflict-affected countries, so evidence on HE support would have had high relevance for this review. OECD Development Co-operation Directorate (2010b) notes that more than half of member countries’ aid devoted to education in fragile states included attention to gender equality, but again does not disaggregate aid by education sector.

Gore & Odell (2010) report on an evaluation of 15 out of 19 US Aid Higher Education partnerships in South Asia from 1998 to 2008 (totalling over USD 3.5 million and with cost contributions from host country partners over USD 6.5 million). However, although the programme was found to provide impressive value for money, to contribute significantly to national development goals, apart from a partnership with Dhaka University which had gender
equality at its heart and which is singled out as a ‘success story’ (see above), many of the projects which are profiled by Gore and Odell (2010) do not mention gender.

What types of partnerships govern these practices/programmes?

A consideration of the partnerships governing these practices and programmes through the literature brings out the significant work done by different women’s groups as well as the work inspired by feminist scholarship, often from within women’s studies or gender studies groups. Mama (2007) suggests that a major contribution of such groups is their attention to the ‘politics of location and diversities of class, race, culture, sexuality’ (p.153). The literature also suggests that many of such groups have required sustained activism over many years in order to become established, as well as the extensive commitment of women, often involving unpaid work - e.g. in African contexts (Gaidzanna, 2007); and in Latin American contexts (Jenkins, 2008).

Kasente (2002) shows the long time frames over which outreach partnerships are developed. The African Gender Institute (2010) also speaks of their web presence emerging after seven years of work. In Cameroon, Endeley & Nchang Ngaling (2007) describe a history of women’s studies and women’s leadership beginning in the early 1990s, although the demise of a women’s professional organisation when a leader moved on.

North (2010) recognises the importance of engagement with local feminist networks and local interpretations of gender equality in the gender mainstreaming work of international organisations, although also illuminates the non-inevitabilities of such links, finding a ‘pervasive form of disconnection’ (p.437) between those working in gender and in education. Some of this arose from resistance to the conceptualisation of the issues within the MDGs as only being one of parity of access and MDG achievement as a ‘technical exercise’ (p.436), thus illuminating the need to deepen the debate (see also Dunne, 2010).

The projects described in the previous section also indicate the interdisciplinary nature of these partnerships, for example the AGI gender studies project intersects with many different areas. This is also apparent in the titles within Feminist Africa, the online journal of AGI, with articles addressing land reform, fishing, militarism, security, as well as within women’s groups within science e.g. TWOWS/OWSDW (n.d.) focus on outreach and ‘to transfer[ing] scientific results and technological development to the grassroots communities where they are needed most’. In the Global North, the interdisciplinary nature of gender studies and feminisms is illustrated by its intersection variously with geography, medicine, psychology and sociology in Laitinen & Ettorre (2004); Van Hoven et al., (2009), Verdonk et al., (2009), or Barad (2008).
Case Study 5: Campaign for Female Education (CAMFED)

In contrast to the short-term nature of some gender-focused policies, the approach developed by the Campaign for Female Education’s (CAMFED) aims at more holistic, systemic change. CAMFED works in poor rural communities in Ghana, Malawi, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. A charitable organization with headquarters in the UK, CAMFED’s policy for intervention aims to build partnerships with the national government, following which local-level interventions are taken forward through democratically established Community Development Committees.

This aims at local power-sharing, with committee members including teachers, health workers, traditional and faith-based leaders, police, parents and female role models, with the aim to generate ‘an entire social infrastructure around girls to support their development, beginning with primary and secondary education, and progressing into young adulthood and working life’ (CAMFED, 2010, p.8)

CAMFED’s support includes attention to issues of child protection and child safety, as well as the provision of financial aid to allow recipients to complete secondary school (fees are payable for secondary school in all five countries in which it is active). Aid is directed towards schools and communities in poor rural areas. CAMFED (2010) reports that by the end of 2009 it had provided access to a safer, improved school environment to over a million children in over 2,000 of the poorest communities in rural Ghana, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi, with over 500,000 of these children receiving financial support to go to school, and 42,184 girls receiving ‘comprehensive support’ throughout secondary school.

After secondary school graduation, the CAMFED Seed Money Programme supports women set up small business. Its rapidly expanding Cama pan-African network has helped women in their post-secondary transition to become leaders, health activists, mentors and teachers. In some instances such support continues into tertiary education. The CAMFED web page reports that it has supported 769 young women through HE programmes, with graduates now including doctors, lawyers, teachers, businesswomen and members of government.

In addition to striving for grass-roots partnerships and ownership, CAMFED works with media, international development, social entrepreneurs, research institutions, the corporate sector and private philanthropy, with new partnerships recently being forged between Google and Mastercard.

In contrast, in other partnerships opportunities to address gender seem to be left implicit. For example, the Carnegie Corporation Annual Report (2009) announces an 18 month, $1,000,000 project to develop an African Population and Health Research Center, in Nairobi, Kenya, creating a consortium of ten African universities to strengthen postgraduate training and research capacity in public health and population studies, and addressing ‘critical shortfalls in postgraduate training capacity in public health and population sciences’. However, despite the importance of gender in African health and population issues (see Dunne, 2008; Morrell et al., 2009), it is not clear what awareness of gender there might be within this.
Partnerships which are salient in the literature are distinguished by their vertical as well as horizontal networking, as in the CAMFED and HERS-SA case studies. The importance of local ownership and tensions that arise from potentially conflicting cultural and ideological origins of different interventions recurs in the literature (see for example Barnes, 2007; Jenkins, 2008; Mama, 2007; Mohanty, 2006; North, 2010; Scheck & Mustafa, 2010). A further significant feature of CAMFED (2010) partnerships is their duration, extending through primary and secondary schooling, or secondary, tertiary and postgraduate education.

The World Bank (2002b) also describes partnerships between it and international organisations such as UN, government, private sector, donors, community groups, with consultative processes also being stressed (p.65). Thus between 1999 and 2001, Bank-sponsored regional consultations were held with civil society and community groups in Asia, Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America, Middle East and North Africa to solicit views on actions the Bank should take to promote gender equality; 60,000 poor women and men in 60 countries are reported as being consulted during the late 1990s and this is described as generating ‘consistent and strong messages about women’s lack of voice in household and community decision-making and the pervasiveness of gender violence’ (p.65).

This text also suggests that partnerships between civil society group and the World Bank led to the development of the National Forum for Women in Morocco. Nevertheless, in a summary of gender equality developments in the same context, Pittman (2008) illuminates political, cultural, religious and long-term nature of allegiances that contributed to bringing change, without mentioning World Bank involvement. As the World Bank Independent Evaluation Group (2010) suggests, reasons for change can be difficult to attribute.

More recent World Bank partnership initiatives include the Adolescent Girls Initiative, launched in 2008 as part of its Gender Action Plan—Gender Equality as Smart Economics (World Bank, 2006). With interventions in seven countries (Afghanistan, Lao People’s Democratic Republic, Jordan, Liberia, Nepal, Rwanda, and South Sudan) this is intended to support progress towards MDG 3. The World Bank (2010a, p.1) describes this as helping to ‘increase women’s economic opportunities by improving their access to the labor market, agricultural land and technology, credit and infrastructure services’.

Supported by the Nike Foundation, the governments of participating countries, and overseas aid from Australia, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, this initiative is open to partnerships with other public and private sector organisations. It focuses strongly on women’s training for entry to labour market, with the understanding that having a more active role in a waged economy might bring empowerment. World Bank (2010a) describes the skills that participants will gain, e.g. in the Jordanian project, ‘interpersonal and other basic job skills that employers identify as constraints to hiring college graduates, females in particular’ (p.3).

However, rather than attending to wider social and cultural issues in the waged economy, this seems to locate the desired skills as a psychological lack in women, which college education had not addressed. Evidence also suggests that a focus on women’s empowerment through their integration within the waged economy may not be unproblematic. Thus, the World Bank Independent Evaluation Group (2010) recognise that while in Bangladesh, Ghana, and Zambia, women acquired new skills, ‘converting skills into productive outcomes has remained
challenging’ (p.49). They also caution about ‘elite capture’ of initiatives so that the poorest groups may not benefit.

So a consideration of outreach and partnership efforts in relation to gender-focused interventions quickly shows a potentially complex web of HE institutions, private sector, government, international, non-governmental, and charitable organisations, as well as local activist networks. Different aspects of these partnerships could include:

- Political alliances and connections with key actors e.g. significant women actors in government as in Makerere University, or the importance of high level female change agents e.g. ‘the Hillary (Clinton) factor’ in Hrynkow (2010);
- Religious affiliations and alliances e.g. Para-Mallam (2010); Pittman (2008);
- The work of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) e.g. BRAC in Asia, Africa and now more widely;
- Private sector partners
- Connections with women’s studies and gender studies groups
- Women’s activism and solidarity networks

*Interdisciplinary research networks based in universities, or partnerships of universities, sometimes involving gender theories being brought to bear on issues conflict and security, land reform, medical education, health education.*

(7) **What are the arguments in support of and against these policies and programmes?**

The construct of the knowledge economy has recently been a central driver to support the increased participation of women in HE. The World Bank (2002; 2007; 2010), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (e.g. Lomoy, 2010) and World Economic Forum (2009) often seem to construct gender equality primarily in relation to parity of participation of women with men, and given their over-riding economic brief, stress the importance of including women in the labour market so that they contribute to the global market economy, poverty reduction and economic growth. Thus, World Bank (2002b) states:

> gender-based division of labor and the inequalities to which it gives rise tend to slow development, economic growth and poverty reduction. Gender inequalities lower the productivity of labor [...] and create inefficiencies in labor allocation in households and the general economy (p.xi).

From the outset, this text foregrounds ‘The Business Case for Mainstreaming Gender’ (p.1) and constructs gender equality as ‘an issue of development effectiveness’, which is pursued in later in World Bank (2007) which frames gender equality ‘as smart economics’. This argument suggests that it makes economic sense to include more women in the labour market as skilled workers. This view articulates with the increasing emphasis on the value of HE to national economies.

Prior to the recognition of the significance of the knowledge economy, World Bank education policies tended to focus on primary and secondary education, not tertiary education. As Rodríguez-Gómez & Alcántara (2001) identify in relation to Latin America, basic and secondary
education were seen as generating the greatest rates of return in developing countries, while HE subsidies were seen as regressive and therefore more properly transferred to students and their families; particularly given that most university students are from middle to upper-class families, government spending on tertiary education was viewed ‘as socially inequitable as it is inefficient’ (World Bank, 2002a, p.56). However, the inefficiency argument was later questioned, given the potential impact on the knowledge economy of the under-representation of half of the global population.

Although as described in earlier sections, multilateral organisations such as the UN or UNESCO are recognised as for their wider social and cultural brief, their attention to gender has also been framed with respect to gender inequality in the labour market in their recent policies. Thus UNESCO (2007) highlights how gender inequalities in the labour market mean that countries are ‘not tapping into this potential human capital, which probably has a negative impact on innovation and therefore on economic growth and poverty reduction’ (p.78). UN (2010c), following the Millennium Summit, also stresses the importance of gender equality and empowerment of women to achieve the Millennium Development Goals, with women being co-opted for their ‘multiplier effect’:

*Women are agents of development. We call for action to ensure the equal access of women and girls to education, basic services, health care, economic opportunities and decision-making at all levels. We stress that investing in women and girls has a multiplier effect on productivity, efficiency and sustained economic growth. We recognize the need for gender mainstreaming in the formulation and implementation of development policies UN (2010, Para 54:11)*

Arguments for greater participation of women in European research (particularly STEM subjects) can be similarly constructed in terms of economic advantages e.g. in relation to the Women in Research project, the European Commission (2005) argues:

*Without making the most of the human potential, Europe’s lag in economic and innovative competitiveness towards the US can not be reduced. Up to now, little attention has been paid to the participation and role of women in European industrial research (EC, 2005, n.p.).*

Arguments about quantitative parity are also often mounted. The UNESCO Institute of Statistics Global Education Digest (2010) provides considerable statistical evidence of gender in relation to access e.g. tertiary enrolment rates for men in South and West Asia is reported to be 14% against 11% for women (1.3 times as high), and in sub-Saharan Africa it is 7.3% for men against 4.8% for women (1.5 times higher) (p.69).

UNESCO (2010) reports that ‘[w]omen face significant barriers to tertiary education in countries with the lowest levels of national wealth’ (p. 69), so that in 31 out of the 34 countries where GDP per capita is less than PPP$3,000, men have higher tertiary participation rates than women, with the majority of these (22) being located in Sub-Saharan Africa and the largest disparities in Chad (GPI of 0.15), Ethiopia (0.31), Eritrea (0.32), Guinea (0.34) and Niger (0.34).

However, strong critiques are emerging of the limitations of attending to gender equality in simple representational terms. Unterhalter & North (2010) critique gender mainstreaming policies
and programmes for failing to take account of wider socio-cultural factors, and for focusing on institutional technicalities, rather than addressing gendered dimensions of different cultures: gender analysis and policy formulation alone cannot be assumed to be sufficient to support change and can mean that other structures of inequality are neglected:

_For social policy to effect redress the process has to confront deeply entrenched historical inequalities. These are located as much in public institutions as within families, the fabric of cultural and social exchanges and much taken-for-granted everyday practice. In addition gender, race and class and other social divisions and identities shape each other and intersect in complex ways. Failing to acknowledge this might mean achieving equality in one domain but leaving in place grave injustices in another_ (2010, p.391).

Silfver (2010) suggests from a study of gender mainstreaming in Laos that the construction of gender in terms of numbers ghettoised important social issues as women’s issues (for them to resolve). Wider underlying reasons why women were under-represented were not addressed. Along with others such as Humphreys et al., (2008), Dunne (2010) and Morley (2010), she critiques the instrumental and depoliticised nature of some gender mainstreaming developments, suggesting that this compromises the power analyses that are necessary for societal transformation. Arguments about social and cultural dimensions of education and gender equality are nevertheless present in UNESCO reports:

_One of the most significant conclusions was that current education and literacy initiatives are not responding to the complex needs of women and girls affected by compound forms of discrimination. Achieving gender equality in education is not only about access, but about learning environments, curricula, attitudes, and a host of wider, political, economic and social considerations_ (UNESCO, 2010, pp.3-4).

The wider focus on socio-cultural issues resonates with many research studies of the student and academic experiences of women from low-income country backgrounds. For example Bhalalusesa (1998) describes tensions for Tanzanian women who left their country to study at doctoral level in the UK, stressing that challenges are ‘mainly socio-cultural, deeply rooted in their traditional values and practices’ (p.28).

Marriage was a key issue, with education limiting chances of having a family or getting married, particularly in fields such as psychiatry or medicine (‘not respectable for a woman’), so that even if a successful academic, in her own society, could be seen as a failure. In Skjortnes & Zachariassen’s (2010) study of how women’s participation in HE had contributed to changed gender relations in Madagascar, women who were not married were reported by one as being thought of (negatively) as potentially infertile or lesbian.

Respondents reported meeting resistance within their academic cultures, both in research or academic management settings, but traditional gender expectations and economic expectations from the extended family and their kinship groups also remained present, or even seemed to increase. This study, like so many others in low-income countries, implies that demonstrations of heterosexuality and fecundity are valued more than academic achievement for women. The problem is often identified in relation to early marriage and motherhood (Randle, 2001) rather
than the unequal gender relations embedded in marriage and motherhood *per se* in patriarchal societies.


Gender streaming by disciplinary focus remains strong. UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2010) present data for 2008 for gender differences among tertiary graduates by field of study for four fields, Engineering, manufacturing and construction (EMC); Education; Science; Social sciences, business and law. There is a prevalence of male graduates in EMC in almost all countries, and Education as a field is the 'most popular' for women. In Sciences the gender patterns are more mixed, and when disaggregated into different fields of science, large differences by specific area also emerge, although still some consistent patterns e.g. for different regions, women in life sciences are consistently in a majority with almost three quarters of graduates being women in Arab States, while consistently a minority in computing.

They also highlight gender inequalities in research and development so that women account for only 29% of the world's researchers, and only 15% of countries have achieved gender parity (these include Kazakhstan, Latvia, Lesotho, Philippines). Factors for this are suggested to be 'work-life balance, sex stereotyping, performance measurement and promotion criteria, governance and the role of researchers in society' (UNESCO Institute of Statistics, 2010, p.78).

Arguments for going beyond a focus on numbers also include research which shows that equality of access and qualifications does not create equality in terms of outcomes. UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2010) comments on the ‘higher levels of schooling being required for [women’s] social mobility’ and that ‘women need more years of education than men for pay to be comparable’ (p.70). Gunawardena (1998) in Sri Lanka contexts earlier noted that the number of women enrolling in HE may have increased, but their experiences in HE are not equal to that of their male counterparts, nor are there equal opportunities available to them once they graduate. The World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Gap reports also demonstrate that the number of women entering HE is not necessarily reflected in their positions in the labour market or wider civil society.

Several studies point to the ways in which increases in women’s participation in HE tends to be in lower status subjects, so that increased female participation in HE perpetuates gendered subject positions. As in Morley et al’s (2010) study of Ghana and Tanzania, Gunawardena et al., (2006) show in Sri Lankan contexts the admission of women to university education rising from 47.7% in 1990/91 to 53.8% in 2001-02, but considerable variations by discipline. Thus, women’s admissions to Arts faculty for these years rose from 63.3% to 73.3%, but in Engineering there was more marginal improvement from 10.5% to 18.1%, although more change in Management, Commerce, Law and Medicine.
They suggest that overall participation parity has resulted in a loss of attention to gender, leaving significant aspects of institutional culture which discriminate against women untouched. Parity of educational access is nevertheless cited in the report by the World Bank Independent Evaluation Group (2010) as causing international organisations to cease lending to the educational sector e.g. in Zambia, while no goals were set for gender issues in the Philippines or Peru because gender parity had been achieved. Gendered differences in career prospects are also noted in UNESCO Institute of Statistics (2010), e.g. women are ‘often paid less than equally-qualified men, less likely to be promoted, are consistently clustered at the lower ranking levels of the science system’ (p.78).

Strong arguments have been made that the development of policies is not itself sufficient to support change. There needs also to be political will and implementation procedures (North, 2010). The evaluation of gender mainstreaming within the World Bank shows how gender training materials can languish unused (IEG, 2010, p.18). Many studies provide evidence of the ways that policies can lie dormant, be subverted, lose traction and visibility, in their movement to sites of implementation e.g. Morley (2007) in five Commonwealth countries; Silova & Abdushukurova (2009) in relation to gender quotas in Tajikistan and Karlsson, (2010) in South Africa.

There has been much discussion about what constitutes the ideal preconditions for effecting gendered change. The importance of the wider political context and political activism is highlighted in Müller, 2004 (Eritrea); Pittman, 2008 (Morocco); and Scheck & Mustafa, 2010 (Indonesia). This latter study suggested that actions to address gender issues could be attributed mainly to different local activist groups, at a time when the influence of international organisations was diminished because of wider political constraints and religious tensions. The literature also illuminates the politics of HE funding initiatives, which may not be attentive to local knowledges or their cultural biases, ignoring differences in western/non western paradigms of knowledge, in which race, gender and ethnicity are embedded (Bhalalusesa, 1998; Mohanty, 2006; Ali, 2009), or north/south tensions (UNESCO World Social Science Report, 2010).

(8) **What theoretical frameworks are guiding these examples?**

Explanations in the different bodies of literature on women in HE vary in their theoretical underpinnings and reflect the diverse epistemological perspectives and debates within feminisms. Gender is sometimes theorised in terms of a social constructionist view, that is, the multiple socio-cultural factors that operate to devalue girls and women and impede their educational opportunities (Kwesiga, 2002), while other authors often referred to women's essentialised skills and qualities e.g. a belief that women in management operate differently because of their gendered interpersonal and communication skills (Lamptey, 1992).

Key theories and concepts that have been applied to analysing the position of women in HE include the humanistic notion of empowerment (Essof, 2002), social inclusion (Tanzarn, *et al.*, 2002), social justice (Ramsay, 2000; Unterhalter, 2006), human rights (Garland, 2001), human development and capabilities (Makobela, 2002; Unterhalter & Walker, 2007; Unterhalter, 2009), social capital (Morley & Lugg, 2009), social reproduction (Müller, 2007), and transformation – the construct used in South Africa (Shackleton *et al.*, 2006) and in Latin America by Ochoa & Ochoa (2004); feminist geographers Matus & Talburt (2009) draw upon the concept of spatial imaginaries to consider institutional relations and HE internationalisation.
More recently, southern theory is being developed to analyse gender and inequalities in low-income countries (Morley, 2011b). Southern theory is a call to value, recognise and include voices, theories, and understandings from the Global South in the process of knowledge production and development of social theory (Ake, 1996; Connell, 2007; De Sousa Santos, 2007; De Sousa Santos & Meneses, 2009, Smith, 1999).

Intersectionality is also a relevant theoretical construct, as people have multiple identities, and the need to intersect gender with other structures of inequality is particularly relevant to policy agendas concerned with poverty alleviation (UN, 2001). Morley et al., (2005) found that research on gender and HE in low-income countries often overlooked the importance of recognising differences between women, and in doing so they reproduced normative constructions of women and gender relations.

For example, Maslak & Singhal (2008) selected respondents who had a middle class background, although do not critique this from a social equity perspective. The privileged social class of HE participants from low-income contexts is problematised more by Bhalalusesa (1998) in the case of Tanzanian women studying at doctoral level in the UK. The intersection of social class in the Madagascar study of female HE participants (Skjortnes & Zachariassen, 2010) showed that all women participants were from privileged backgrounds (women’s access to tertiary education being a mere 3%). The intersection of female participation with socio-economic status (SES) and age is carried out on a larger scale study in four universities in Ghana and Tanzania by Morley et al., (2010). This shows very low numbers of older and poorer women in most of the programmes studied.

A central difference in the various studies of women in HE is how the different authors analyse and represent power and theorise gender. Feminism, postmodernism and post-colonialism have all raised questions about the power/ knowledge conjunction in so far as what is taught in universities and disqualified knowledges (Stanley, 1997; Spivak, 1999). Questions have also been raised about how power is implicit in how knowledge is produced and transmitted (i.e. methodologies for research and pedagogies) (see hooks, 1995; Ribbens and Edwards, 1997; Dunne, 2009). The power base of university governance, funding and management have also been challenged. Neo-liberalism in general and new managerialism in particular have been interrogated by feminist theorists to uncover the gendered processes involved in the formation, governance and audit of universities (Brooks and McKinnon, 2001; Morley, 2003).

In considering the contrasting approaches to theorising gender evident in the study by Morley et al., (2006), Unterhalter (2006) elaborates a typology which distinguishes between perspectives which variously privilege inclusion, contestation, critique, and connection. A key dimension that shifts across these different positions is the extent to which gender might be considered only as a noun (i.e. focusing on inclusion and equal access, often using numerical indicators); or at the opposite pole, as a verb, where gender is a ‘doing’, or process rather than an essentialised ‘thing’.

This shift allows attention to the performance of gendered identities; to structures and processes of power, and gendered experiences in particular institutional, academic and wider cultures (Unterhalter, 2007; North, 2010). Rather than essentialising and homogenising women, analyses that assume gender to be a verb would recognise the significance of power relations in the reproduction of discriminatory practices, the situated and relational nature of the production
of knowledge, the role of institutions and wider social structures in reproducing gendered relations, as well as the importance of intersectional analyses of local processes that attend to other aspects of identity such as ethnicity, race, religion, sexuality, social class (see Dunne, 2009).

Liberal feminism has been a dominant and often tacit theory, used to justify counting more women into HE. From this perspective, the emphasis is on adding more women to existing structures, rather than overhauling or reviewing the gendered nature of the structures themselves. The majority of studies included in Morley et al., (2005) utilised a liberal feminist approach to change, with identity located in individuals, rather than produced through and within wider structures or discursive frameworks of meaning.

The emphasis was on what women needed to do differently in order to succeed. For example, there was often a focus on women’s agency and internalised psychic narratives such as self-confidence and self-esteem (Kanwar & Taplin, 2001; UNESCO Secretariat, 1998). More recently, the emphasis has been on the development of cognitive intelligence and learning independence (Maslak & Singh, 2008). However, some explanations focused on structural impediments such as employment conditions and attitudes of the dominant group to women as students and staff (Mama, 1996; Thaman & Pillay, 1993). These studies called for more radical redistributive change programmes.

(9) What resources are being devoted to postsecondary transition programmes, or their secondary partners?

A significant development within the activities of international agencies is the World Bank Gender Action Plan (GAP), or Gender as Smart Economics (World Bank, 2007). This four-year action plan aims to help increase women’s economic opportunities, and to speed implementation of the World Bank (2002) Gender Mainstreaming Strategy. World Bank (2007) reports that with resources from its own funds, coupled with donor contributions, the GAP’s budget now totals US$63 million, with key donors including the governments of Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Iceland, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Italy, and the United Kingdom. Through competitive calls for proposals, the GAP is now funding 195 World Bank projects. The World Bank (2010) provides details of some current projects, which sometimes involve colleges e.g. Jordan NOW (New work Opportunities for Women) aims to improve the employment prospects of female Jordanian college graduates by providing employability skills training.

Initiatives often provide business and life skills training; gender training does not seem to be included. This raises questions related to the criticisms voiced by the Independent Evaluation Group (IEG, 2010) of the extent to which gender mainstreaming is addressing gendered relations and practices. With respect to how participation in the waged economy might contribute to a reconstruction of gender norms and relations, a quantitative study of attitudes to wife-beating in Asia provides some insights (Rani & Bonu, 2009). Drawing upon demographic and health surveys conducted between 1998 and 2001 from Armenia, Bangladesh, Cambodia, India, Kazakhstan, Nepal, and Turkey, the authors concluded that employment or financial independence of women alone may not produce any change in attitudes (2009, p. 1393).

transition support, although gender does not always seem to be in focus. Of the ten pilot projects reported in UNDP (2010), one in Lao People’s Democratic Republic (PDR) seems relevant to post-secondary transition and gender, although the project in Nariño (Colombia) also addresses gender equality and gender violence. Lao PDR (UNDP, 2010, pp.47-53) focuses on women’s political participation and access to education, in a context where only 62 girls to 100 boys are in tertiary education. Although the actions proposed again suggest a conflation of the categories of gender and women, given that UNESCO (2010) seems positive about the MAF process, it would be useful to consider how all MAF projects might address gender.

Conditional cash transfer (CCT) programmes have been developed extensively in Latin America, for example in the Bolsa Familia (family grant) programme in Brazil or the Opportunidades programme in Mexico. These typically involve means-testing to make cash payments to poor families (often to mothers), on the condition that they meet government requirements related to health and education, such as vaccine programmes or attendance at school. Lindert et al., (2007) note the scale of the Bolsa Familia programme, at 11.1 million families, or 46 million people at that point. Some of these programmes e.g.

the Female Secondary School Assistance Programme in Bangladesh, target gender inequalities; while the Subsidio Condicionado a la Asistencia Escolar (SCAE) Bogota programme includes a payment upon enrolment in HE. Fiszbein & Schady (2009) in their World Bank report on this scheme found that CCT programmes reduced extreme poverty rates but were more questioning about whether they increased achievement in school, noting ‘disappointing results’ when educational attainment was considered (p.143). The need to evaluate outcomes for recipients over the longer term was also recognised (p.96).

Other programmes identified earlier in this report include the CAMFED interventions, and affirmative action programmes involving outreach visits to schools, scholarships, special programmes to provide additional subject training, or girls only preparation years, leading in some cases to girls’ only HE programmes. Some are (or have been) funded by international donors such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York, so are vulnerable to changes in funding levels and priorities. Transition also has multiple connotations and does not always relate to movement into HE - as Osirim (2003) shows, for many women, transition can be from contexts in which they are subject to gender-violence.

How are government, private, and other sources of revenue supporting these efforts?

Attempts to answer this question are somewhat frustrated as data often do not disaggregate HE, or disaggregate gender within HE. For example, the OECD Development Co-operation Directorate (2010a) provides data on member states’ overseas development aid that has a gender equality and women’s empowerment focus, showing this to be USD 15.2 billion for the years 2007 and 2008, with 17% of this going to education (at 23%, only government and civil society show higher percentage).

Although interesting for showing the commitment within overseas development aid to gender issues and the dispersal of this across a wide range of sectors (e.g. health, water supply and sanitation, transport, communications, energy), the education total is not disaggregated for different education sectors. OECD Development Co-operation Directorate (2010, p.4) shows percentages of member countries’ aid which have a gender focus. Of the aid screened, totals with
a gender equality focus were USD 15,196 million against USD 30,548 million where this was not targeted (a further USD 5,361 million was not screened).

Of aid screened, only one third had gender as principal or significant objective therefore. Further tables show main recipients of aid by country, and disaggregated figures for 2007-2008; for countries for which data are available for both years, this shows rise in aid with a gender focus for Australia, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Greece, Ireland, Netherlands, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, UK, but a fall for Austria, Canada, Germany, Japan, New Zealand and Norway. The percentage of aid with gender focus as principal or significant objective is above 50% only for Belgium, Denmark, Germany, Greece, Luxembourg, New Zealand and Sweden. The range of aid with a gender focus spans 79% for New Zealand to 7% for Japan, while for the European Commission as a whole, aid with a gender focus fell from 26% to 16% in 2008.

The main groups of countries targeted in this development work are low-income countries, fragile and conflict-affected countries, often intersecting, so are countries highly relevant to this study e.g. the top ten Canadian beneficiaries were Afghanistan, Ghana, Haiti, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Mozambique, Senegal, Ukraine. More disaggregation of this data would be helpful.

Charitable foundations are clearly a further important source of funding, although it is again difficult to discern in many projects the extent that gender is in focus. For example, the Annual Report by the Carnegie Corporation of the activities of the Partnership for Higher Education in Africa (2008-9) shows the overall contributions of different charitable foundations (e.g. Carnegie, Ford, Hewlett, Mellon, Rockefeller) totaling over $86 million, most of which was directed towards projects in Africa.

The Ford Foundation website (http://www.fordfoundation.org/Grants) also reports that in 2009 it distributed more than $490 million in grants worldwide and is celebrating 50 years of support in Africa with a further $1 million of grants, although does not disaggregate this by gender. The Carnegie Foundation’s international programme is now framed within the themes of International Peace and Security; Islam Initiative; Higher Education and Libraries in Africa and Higher Education in Eurasia. Specific projects with a gender focus include an undergraduate scholarship programme at the University of Cape Town, South Africa to promote black female students in science and engineering ($517,400) and a final grant toward institutional strengthening and gender equity projects at the University of Jos in Nigeria ($1,800,000).

A further initiative to develop a consortium of African universities to strengthen postgraduate training and research capacity in public health and population studies ($1,000,000), while including attention to ‘critical shortfalls in postgraduate training capacity in public health and population sciences’ (p.3), does not explicitly mention gender. Similarly, a recent proposal that the G8 create and fund 1,000 professorial chairs in HE in Africa, based on the model of the Canada Research Chairs programme, costing $100,000 per year for five years, does not mention gender, despite the imbalances in women’s participation in HE management in Africa (International Association of University Presidents, 2010).

The Ford Foundation (2010) also reports on ten years of its ‘International Fellows Programme’, supported by a $280 million donation. This has provided postgraduate fellowships for emerging leaders from marginalised or excluded communities throughout Africa, the Middle
East, Russia, Asia, and Latin America, described as involving people of indigenous or African heritage in Latin America, including some from the poorest social classes, or ‘females or students from a less privileged ethnic group’ in Africa.

It sees the programme as establishing a model that others might follow, and attributes an affirmative action programme to support postgraduate education established by the Brazilian government to the success of its initiative. The Ford Foundation has also devoted over $25 million to its Advancing Higher Education Access and Success programme, which aims to ‘foster policy and institutional reforms that improve disadvantaged people's access to and success in high-quality higher education’ (Ford Foundation, n.d.). However, it is not clear to what extent disadvantages might be related to gender.

In relation to gender mainstreaming by international multilateral organisations, the World Bank (2001) provides estimated costs for its implementation within World Bank operations as $2 million in that fiscal year, $3 million in following three years, and $2.5 million p.a. thereafter (p.32). The World Bank (2006) Gender Action Plan (gender equality as smart economics) was a $63 million action plan launched in 2007 with budget support from the World Bank Group and external partners, including the governments of Australia, Canada, Denmark, Germany, Iceland, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Italy, the United Kingdom and the Nike Foundation. Private-public partnerships also feature within the World Bank GAP strategy. This does not have an explicit HE focus however, while the evaluation by IEG (2010) suggests that on the ground and within institutional structures, World Bank support for gender mainstreaming may have weakened.

The United Nations also devotes significant resources toward gender via different agencies. These have included its Division for the Advancement of Women (DAW), International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (OSAGI) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), all of which are to be brought together in the newly-constituted UN WOMEN.

This intended to accelerate progress towards its goals on gender equality and the empowerment of women (UN, 2010). United Nations (2010, p.6) reports expenditure in 2009 by UNIFEM alone to be over USD 100 million. The UN Women website also provides facts and figures on gender inequalities in education (e.g. that women account for nearly two thirds of the 776 million illiterates in the world), but does not address higher or tertiary education.

Despite these substantial investments, the literature also illuminates the lack of resources being devoted to important areas of HE at a grassroots level and the over-reliance on the voluntary contributions of women e.g. the lack of funding of initiatives to support women in university contexts where sexual harassment and gender violence is rife (Okiria, 2007), or the voluntary contributions of women in health care projects in Peru (Jenkins, 2008). UN (2010d) suggests that over the next few years $13 billion annually were required to finance interventions that promoted gender equality associated with the achievement of the MDGs in low-income countries.
What or who is the driving force behind these interventions?

International organisations and government agencies in high-income countries are important driving forces behind gender equality interventions, with actions of major international organisations seeming to be increasingly interwoven (North, 2010), perhaps reflecting increasing international cohesion in efforts to attain MDG 8 - A global partnership for development. However, the nature of the drivers is variable. One driver is a concern for women’s rights (United Nations, 1995), although as described before, gender equality is often constructed as an economic issue. For example, after the Millennium Summit, the UN General Assembly (2010c) reaffirmed its commitment to gender equality and women’s empowerment, announcing the constitution of UN Women to spearhead the UN’s gender equality work. In UN (2010c) and below, drivers emerge as an entanglement of rights-based discourses and economic imperatives:

*Gender equality is not only a basic human right, but its achievement has enormous socio-economic ramifications. Empowering women fuels thriving economies, spurring productivity and growth* (United Nations, 2010a).

Nevertheless, of the international organisations, UNESCO stands out for its broader awareness of the social and cultural implications of education and gender mainstreaming (UNESCO, 2003, 2010b). Vaughan (2010) also finds UNESCO to hold a wider construction of gender, including attention to unequal power relations, support for women’s studies groups and networks, and a concern for women as political agents.

The World Bank and OECD prioritise economic drivers in their policy texts, constructing gender equality as a vehicle to promote economic growth and productivity in a globalised economy. This often involves public/private partnerships, with girls and women seen as producing a multiplier effect (OECD 2000; World Bank, 2002; 2007; 2010). Vaughan (2010) suggests this reflects instrumental versus intrinsic understandings of education and gender equality, tracing the instrumental interest in women’s economic contributions on the part of multilateral policy makers to the 1970s:

*the economic contribution of women was increasingly not limited to social and nurturing functions (i.e. that economies are more likely to grow if the family unit is working efficiently, especially with women operating as housewives) but understood in terms of their potential for direct economic productivity* (2010, p.416).

True (2003) has noted that there can be strong tensions between the neoliberal policy agendas of such organisations and the concepts and values of feminist and women’s activist groups, although these are inherently contingent on the different spaces from which they are voiced. Mohanty (2006) seeks to make a distinction between women’s studies groups in the Global North that can be complicit in 21st century imperialism, and feminisms that embrace a politics of dissent. Many feminist writers illuminate the intersection of gender with other aspects of identity such as race, ethnicity, sexuality and social class (Ali, 2009; Barriteau, 2006; Dunne, 2009; Mayuzumi, 2008; Morley et al., 2010).

The different theoretical frameworks discussed above would suggest that drivers for feminist groups are rooted in wide-ranging concerns that are informed by different communitarian, political and religious beliefs and theoretical perspectives. Many initiatives in low-
countries bring together multiple organisations (e.g. international philanthropic organisations, NGOs, overseas aid organisations, national governments, university-based researchers or academics, feminist groups). This will bring together many different value systems and ideological beliefs, suggesting that a complex and heterogeneous set of drivers will be at work within many initiatives.

Part V: Recommendations

(1) Data

1. Management information in universities and colleges - the need for systematic collection and analysis of data on retention and achievement as well as access, disaggregated by gender, age, socio-economic status (SES), ethnicity and disability, for monitoring purposes and strategic planning.

2. Affirmative action programmes and gender mainstreaming interventions to be monitored using a wider range of data e.g. on socio-economic status, age, ethnicity, disability, to ensure that women from socio-economically disadvantaged groups are accessing opportunities.

3. Data gathering by international agencies to differentiate more systematically by educational sector to support analyses of gender and HE issues. Data on a wider range of structures of inequality also need to be collected.

(2) Research

1. Capacity-building for research and publication on gender in HE - particularly in low-income countries e.g. via scholarships, bursaries, newer researcher awards, split site doctoral programmes, international workshops on getting published.

2. Capacity building in postgraduate education to include attention to women and gender issues across disciplines, including STEM areas.

3. Knowledge Transfer and Exchange - The publishing world does not appear to be synchronised with the international policy momentum on gender equality. Training and incentives to be offered to international academic journals to increase publications from low-income countries.

4. Large scale cross-national qualitative inquiries into women's experiences of HE, with a focus on what contributes to their well-being and to positive learning environments.

5. Longitudinal research tracking gendered dimensions of transitions from basic through other educational sectors (including HE and postgraduate education), and into other labour markets.

6. Research which links policy objectives such as EFA and the MDGs to HE planning and policy.

7. External evaluations of interventions such as affirmative action and gender mainstreaming, incorporating intersectional and longitudinal analyses.
8. Equity Scorecards could be high-impact statistical tools to contribute to policy development and evaluation of equality initiatives, addressing access, retention and completion.

9. Research programmes to be established that encourage international teams to investigate key issues relating to women in HE e.g. encouraging women in STEM disciplines; exploring women’s experiences of STEM disciplines (e.g. drivers and barriers on entry, and their experiences within HE); academic management and professional development; combating gender violence; the effectiveness of gender mainstreaming; the effectiveness of outreach; targeting socially excluded women; research into gender-sensitive pedagogies in different disciplines; understandings of assessment and the gendered dimensions of how assessment structures learning; the gender implications of distance learning; analysis of gender regimes in different institutionalised contexts and how gender intersects with other structures of inequality.

10. Research into what would constitute a gender equitable university/college.

(3) Institutional Strengthening

1. Funding packages to be earmarked to provide professional development of lecturers in tertiary and higher education e.g. academic practice, working with diverse learning groups, inclusive pedagogies, ethical and professional conduct. Addressing how gender is theorised is a critical aspect of this, to move beyond representation and access. These programmes could be nationally/internationally accredited. There could also be knowledge exchange programmes between academic development units in the Global North and the Global South.

2. Development and application of stronger codes of professional conduct and ethics, especially in cases of sexual harassment, with sanctions for offenders and support mechanisms for victims, including protection against possible ensuing victimisation and designated response units/counselling centres. Developing a language for addressing gender in a more complex way will be critical to these efforts.

3. Funding to provide more structured support for ‘non-traditional’ students e.g. academic literacy programmes, access courses. These need to be integrated in quality assurance procedures and externally evaluated.

4. Gender mainstreaming programmes, and other relevant interventions to promote gender equality, to be externally evaluated- preferably by international teams.

Partnerships

5. Create opportunities for NGOs, policymakers, the international academic community to work together on action for gender equality in HE e.g. an international seminar series, a designated website, gender equality archive, newsletter and on-line publications. This has been achieved for basic education. The ‘Beyond Access’ project funded by The Department of International Development of the UK Government (DFID), The Commonwealth Education Fund and The KIC project, Oxfam International DFID funded (http://www.ioe.ac.uk/research/27053.html) is an example. Such an initiative could now be applied to HE.
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