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Gender and Leadership In Higher Educational Institutions: Exploring Perceptions and Practices in University of Cape Coast, Ghana.

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirement of the degree of Doctor of Education

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I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be submitted in whole or in part to another university for the award of any other degree

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the level of female participation in leadership activities in the University of Cape Coast (UCC). Leadership is experienced at various levels within the university - student, staff, committee and management levels in the university. However, the positions are mainly held by men.

This study examined the institutional structures and cultural factors responsible for the dearth of women in leadership and why it is necessary to have more women vigorously involved in the decision-making in the university. Few women reaching the top have managed it successfully because of the exposure to various forms of institutional and cultural barriers. This state of affairs works against the effective utilization of human resources in the university. Ensuring that all individuals irrespective of their gender are equally motivated to participate in the decision-making process holds the potential for maximising the human resources within the university. In this study, the barriers to female participation in leadership have been explored.

A qualitative research design guided the study. Twenty semi-structured interviews, participant observation and the use of unobtrusive observation were the main data collection techniques adopted. For data analysis, 'open and axial' coding approaches based on the inductive and deductive reasoning were utilised.

A significant outcome of the study includes the fact that very few women are in head of departments and deanship positions. Women are almost absent in the top administrative echelon. Females occupy only designated 'vice/deputy' positions in students and staff unions. However, few academic women who have reached the top have managed successfully.

The study concludes by expressing the view that women in UCC face several challenges which impede their progress towards leadership aspirations. These include institutional structures and culturally entrenched norms. Based on these findings and conclusions, a number of recommendations have been made to improve the chances of women in both academic and administrative departments to break the glass-ceiling and advance into leadership positions. These include the following: (1) the need for professional development opportunities for women to enable them to pursue postgraduate programmes after which they could be employed as administrators or academics, and (2) the institutionalization of policies in support of the reservation of quotas for women in some leadership positions, including chairing some of the sub-committees of the Governing Council and the Academic Board to ensure fair participation of women in critical decision-making levels in the university.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

Leadership Inequalities in Higher Education: Local and Global Positions

1.1   Introduction

In spite of the fact that the first female Vice-Chancellor took office in October, 2008, generally women are under-represented in leadership positions both the academic and the administrative levels of the University of Cape Coast (UCC), in Ghana. In this study, I have used under-representation to refer to both the proportion of women in terms of numbers, as well as the extent to which they are adequately represented in decision-making at management level of the university.

The choice of my topic has been greatly influenced by my experiences as a senior member of management at the University of Cape Coast (UCC). I have worked through all the ranks of management rising to the position of Registrar in a period covering twenty-five years. During this period, I witnessed on numerous occasions how important management and policy decisions and initiatives were taken without input from women faculty, or with very little consideration of gender impact, that is how those decisions might affect women in terms of their professional progress and development. I had also witnessed occasions where a few women had tried to offer their views on sometimes controversial issues, but had their input given less attention or value in the final decision making process. It seemed to me that, some of these could be linked to the way in which Ghanaian society positions women when it comes to issues of authority and power, *i.e.* in a

subordinate position to men, and that although, the university is supposed to be a place where prejudices against women would be expected to be minimal; women with high levels of education suffer discrimination.

During my professional career I came across women, at all stages of their academic careers, who had not been given due recognition for their achievements who had been discriminated against, marginalised and generally side-lined from the core business of university management. I felt that the university was more or less contributing to a systematic disempowering of their abilities and capabilities, and generally excluding them from power. Furthermore, I had observed from the university's human resources database that, there was a staggering under-representation of women in leadership positions. For example, out of the 13 regimes of the Governing Council of UCC spanning the period 1962 to 2006, only one woman had attained the position of chairperson.

Over the same period, membership of women on the Academic Board, the highest policy-making body responsible for academic matters in the university, had stayed below ten percent (about 7%). Such data sparked my interest in understanding whether behind the data; there wasn't a history of women experiences within the university which was given birth to such under-representation, and the consequences of this for any future efforts to improve women's participation in university administration and management, from department to the highest Governing Board (University Council). I was curious to understand whether unknown to the university system, there were practices (intentional or unintentional) which were contributing to this consistent low representation of women in the

management of the university's affairs, and what effect this might be having on the university's development growth and development strategy when so few women were in leadership positions to ensure that their role and contribution is not diminished.

Thus, in the first instance this research was conceived as a study to unearth women's stories of their experiences working in an environment where traditionally men have dominated in leadership and decision-making. Second, I felt that such a knowledge and understanding was a fundamental step if policies and practices are to be introduced which would take seriously what they bring to higher education growth and development. In the Ghanaian context, this kind of qualitative study had rarely been undertaken, especially by someone (a male) who was interested in developing understanding of how the status quo might be challenged and changed.

In qualitative studies the researcher cannot be neutral or detached from the knowledge and the evidence they are generating (Mason, 2002). In much the same way my position as a senior administrator in UCC meant that I was integral to the kind of insights generated from the study. My insider knowledge as well as the position I occupied as Deputy Registrar (at the time of data collection) meant that I had to treat this privileged position with sensitivity with respect to the subjects of my inquiry, especially given that I was a man trying to get women who may have had difficult experiences to talk to me about them.

I considered these issues carefully when it came to developing an approach that would allay the concerns from my subjects, and encourage them to see

me as someone who empathised with their situation. I felt my years of experience as an administrator serving on several university committees had given me skills in approaching sensitive subjects with reflexivity, and besides, my position as Deputy Registrar responsible for academic affairs and custodian of sensitive records on staff and students meant that at least respondents could feel assured that they were dealing with someone who understood matters of confidentiality as part of my professional responsibilities.

Notwithstanding these factors, I approached my research with great care and took steps, as I discuss in more depth later, to ensure that my respondents had assurance of full confidentiality and felt comfortable narrating their stories to me. During all the interviews, I engaged as an interested inquirer with no pre-conceived assumptions about what was being told to me. I felt that the candid way in which the women I interviewed narrated their stories, and in many instances the position they seem to take as people 'educating' me on what it was really like to work in the institution, convinced me that I had largely succeeded in narrowing the power and gender gap between me and my research subjects. Many used the opportunity to air, what for them, had been years of deep frustration and difficulty working in the University. Without these disclosures, much of the rich insights that I gathered for this study would not have been possible.

The participants who took part in the study fall under - three (3) groups; students, female staff and male staff. I addressed the problem of power and influence by taking time to explain the purpose of the research and only proceeding with those who showed similar interest in what I was studying

(Silverman, 2000). For example, one female student immediately became interested in the study after an initial conversation in which I indicated my concern with low female intake into the university, and my interest in understanding why so that, if possible steps could be taken to improve the situation. In the case of women staff of middle level status (Assistant Registrar/ Lecturer/ Senior Lecturer level) I started off by posing general questions through 'normal' conversation about why there seem to be so few of them in the thick of management at either department or senior administrative level. This generated initial discussions from which I inquired if they were willing to be interviewed to share more about their experiences for a study I was conducting. With Deans - (Deputy Registrars /Vice Deans etc) because I had on several occasions worked with them at committee level, the issue of my position, of my status and power was less of an issue, partly because they were occupying positions themselves which was equivalent of mine. Indeed my interaction with them had been facilitated by my position as secretary to most committees to which they were members.

There are many arguments as to why the number of women in higher education management should increase. Namuddu (1995), for instance, argues that women will provide models of excellence, acquire the knowledge and skills that are needed to earn competitive incomes and also be able to contribute to economic and political development of their societies as leaders. Gold (1996) and Unterhalter (2006) share similar views on the need for gender equity in higher education. Gold (1996, p.1) suggests, and I share that view, that getting more women into leadership positions may ensure that women have the same access to power and resources as men. She further claims that it may also send the right signals to both boys and girls

and men and women that 'women can take positions of power and work with them effectively' (p.1). A key issue is not 'just more women' but, putting women at places where they would be capable of destabilising or influencing the system such that a wider social and gendered transformation in the university can occur.

Several reasons have been adduced to account for under-representation of women as academics and managers in universities around the world (Brooks and Mackinnon 2001; Joyner and Preston 1998; Rosener 1990; Singh 2002; Unterhalter, 2006). Some writers discuss gendered structures of discrimination e.g. male-dominated organisational cultures while others discuss the gendered division of labour and women's responsibilities in the private sphere. According to Brooks and Mackinnon (2001) the absence of women leaders and managers is closely interlinked with universities as gendered institutions. They claim that women are unable to publish as much as their men colleagues due to problems inherent in institutional structures or because women cannot give enough time to their professional development as result of their dual responsibilities at home and work. In UCC for example, one can only become a head of department or other academic and management position if he/she moves from lecturer to senior lecturer and publications play a decisive role.

Joyner and Preston (1998, p.35) also explained that women in universities scarcely get to the top because they face what they describe as a 'chilly climate' in the universities. Unterhalter (2006) also argues that more attention has been placed on getting access to study but the social relations inside higher educational institutions that impede women's progress have

been neglected. My aim is to examine the structures and also analyse those social relations within the University of Cape Coast which have led to and continue to keep women seriously under-represented in leadership positions in the university.

The under-representation of women in top academic and administrative positions in universities positions them disadvantageously in several ways. Women's absence in top positions deprives them, most importantly, from taking part in decisions that affect their welfare and progress. This situation is sustained because in UCC and Ghana in general, university teaching, research and administrative responsibilities are not controlled by any gender legislation. At formal level the university seems committed to equality in its dealings (UCC Corporate Strategy, 2003) however; available statistics portray women as a minority in leadership. The continued under-representation of women in leadership positions in UCC and other Ghanaian universities thus constitutes a puzzle that requires a thorough investigation to unravel. This needs to be done because the continued concentration at the lower grades in both academic and administrative positions of highly qualified expensively trained women constitutes wastage in resources available to the university system (Morley, 2006, p.194).

A common argument in favour of gender equality relates to wastage and the maximisation of human resources. Ramsay (2000) has observed that universities can no longer overlook the management abilities or the leadership potential of women. This observation was made against the back drop that those women who have been given the chance to perform as leaders have done so successfully (Ramsay, 2001). Another argument (and

some may say it is an essentialist one) is that women have different styles of leadership from those of men. Manya (2000), for example, suggests that women are perceived as possessing potentially new management styles which will be of use to higher education.

Women's involvement in university leadership also has the potential in ensuring quality. This is because women are credited to possess special management and leadership skills and abilities which are critical to the success and possibly the survival of universities in the face of current challenges (Ramsay, 2000). This observation has been supported by writers like Gilligan (1982) and Harris (1998) who assume that women leaders in general are interpersonal, co-operative, team oriented, collaborative and fair as against their male colleagues who are mainly competitive, hierarchical and principled. The views held by Gilligan and Harris are problematic in the sense that they tend to assume that all female leaders will exhibit the same kind of leadership style or qualities.

Women's leadership styles have been well applauded (Chesterman, 2002). Chesterman found that women in senior academic leadership positions in Australian universities differed from their male counterparts in terms of their approach to management by placing emphasis on values, collaboration and consultation. Chesterman also suggested that changes occur in universities' managerial cultures as a result of the presence of women and described workplaces with women leaders as 'friendly' (p.432). This stereotypical generalisation of women has been criticised by Morley (1999) on the grounds of considering women as a homogenous group with the same capabilities, which in reality is not the case.

A further argument is whether the increased representation of women in leadership will automatically contribute to gender quality in organisation. Questions are therefore being raised (Brooks and Mackinnon, 2001; Morley, 2003) about whether widening participation in senior management and decision-making in higher educational institutions to include under-represented groups like women, both academic and non-academic will necessarily benefit the sector and the wider society or bring something new to university management. Inclusion of women and subsequent impact on institutions may depend upon several other factors such as organisational culture, micro-polities and informal practices and the environments within which the institutions are placed (Morley, 2005).

For some, gendered power relations and organisational cultures are the clue to women's under-representation. Morley (2000) argues that women's under-representation in leadership positions may be appropriately understood through the analysis of what she calls micropolitics which are played out on campuses. She claims that 'micropolitics focus on the ways in which power is relayed in everyday practices' and that it is 'a recurrent theme in many universities' (p.232). Micropolitics become manifest through informal influence, networks, coalitions, political and personal strategies that can be used to effect or resist change. It involves rumour, gossip, sarcasm, humour, denial, 'throwaway remarks' and alliance-building (Morley, 1999, p. 543).

As portrayed above, women's under-representation in leadership positions in higher education is a problem emanating from social and structural factors largely based on stereotypes, which cannot be substantiated scientifically.

The gendering of management can sometimes be explained in terms of gendered associations of a role. Valian (1999) has found that people associate managerial attributes with such things as assertiveness, autonomy and power which are part of the social construct of masculinity. Dealing with these factors which constitute impediments to gender equity holds the potential for ensuring that women are adequately involved in leadership and decision-making in higher education. Higher education in general, will reap benefits associated with women involvement.

A number of writers (Bunyi, 2004; Ducklin and Ozga, 2007; Manya 2000; Morley, 2006; Namuddu, 1995) have provided some rationale for the involvement of women at the decision-making and leadership levels in universities. Bunyi (2004) argues that higher education enables women to participate in social, political and economic lives of their communities and countries as leaders in business, in the professions and in politics. Ducklin and Ozga (2007) believe that a gender perspective is required for central issues like curriculum design and delivery and organizational ethos and culture in higher education.

Namuddu (2007) suggests that African higher educational institutes have critical and transformational roles to play by providing a model of excellence for the rest of the society. By implication women in leadership positions may constitute role models in their communities. These observations and perceptions have been found to be acceptable elsewhere, however, the contexts of university management and leadership approaches vary considerably in several locations making generalisation of these perceptions problematic.

Joyner and Preston (1998) for example, hold contrary views about the benefits of these special qualities attributed to women leaders. They claim that values and leadership attributes held by some women in leadership positions are said to be in conflict with organizational norms in universities. This is because of the masculinisation culture such as authoritarianism and control which are normally created as result of the hierarchical structure of many universities.

Kanter (1977) and Bagilhole (1993) have used the relative number of men and women in an organization (critical mass theory) to explain the performance of women in leadership positions in the universities. The critical mass theory initiated by Kanter (1977) made several sweeping assumptions. It assumes that an increase in the relative number (about 15%) of women to men in leadership is essential to influence an organisational change and make women visible. The critical mass theory also assumes that all women are sensitive to gender equality issues. This is usually not the case. Bagilhole (1993) has explained that academic women being small in number will continue to experience discrimination due to their greater visibility and contrast with the majority.

Clearly, the argument for encouraging more women into management positions remains contested. Writers in favour (Manya, 2000; Namuddu 2007), tend to pursue mostly the essentialist route by emphasising the assumed innate qualities of women. Other writers like Kerman (1995), however, contend that women working in the universities must show

outstanding abilities than men if they are to be appointed into senior management positions.

In the old ideal of universities as ivory towers, women were excluded from the working practices of academic brilliance mainly on the grounds of prejudice about women academic abilities and intellectual authority (Hearn, 2001). The process by which women gained access into the university as students and staff has been arduous (Dyhouse, 1995). There is little evidence now to show that women are being integrated into the university system in terms of extra-curricular activities and academic labour market. The gendered nature of universities, therefore, has an historical and cultural basis. In some societies women were considered intellectually inferior and therefore confined to the private and domestic sphere only. The devaluing of women in the academic circles was assumed to be 'normal' and most women employed in the universities were in junior positions (Morley, 2005). Morley also claims that:

> Women's under-representation in senior and decision-making roles is not merely symbolic. It is a form of status injury. It represents both cultural misrepresentation and material and intellectual oppression (Morley, 2005, p. 109).

The cultural misrepresentation and intellectual oppression notion continue to influence decision makers in the appointment of women into critical positions in the universities. The absence of women in such critical positions does not make advocacy for change or intervention persuasive enough in the universities.

Considering the fact that some modest increases in female participation in management have recently been observed in some universities, Gough (1998) points out that equity concerns go beyond raw numbers and suggests that attention be focused on career development of women employees. He draws attention to the need for practical manifestation of equity policies and cites an example in Australian universities where executive placements are used as ways of enhancing management skills of senior women. The idea here is to draw attention to the need for other institutions in various geographical locations of the world to examine problems facing women in their institutions and adopt practical measures geared at encouraging more women to strive to get to leadership positions in the universities.

1.2   Contextualising gender inequality in higher education

Gender inequality in higher education, as characterised by exclusion in top management and academic positions as well as exercising power, has been identified to exist all over the world (Bunyi, 2004; Blackmore and Sach, 2001;Deem and Ozga, 2000; Singh, 2002). The literature on the extent of inequalities varies within the various regions of the globe. Few studies (cited in Morley, 2003, p.112) that have examined the issue of gender disparities in higher education have predominantly come from 'the United Kingdom (Deem and Ozga, 2000); from Australia (Brooks and Mackinnon,2001); in Canada (Acker, 1996); from New Zealand (Brooks, 1997); from South Africa (De La Rey,2001) and from Singapore, Hong Kong and Thailand, (Luke,2001)'. Since the issue of gender inequality in higher education has been under studied in the developing world, countries have had to rely on some gender-disaggregated data in order to understand the situation (Morley

2003, p.111). The dearth of qualitative data on women's experiences in higher educational institutions in the developing world limits opportunities to understand the problem as a critical step in designing strategies to address the numeric exclusion. Beginning from 1990s scholars (Gaidzanwa, 1997; Morley, 2003; Musisi, 1992; Moja, 2000; Namuddu, 1995) began to examine the situation in Africa. Here again, attention was more on access, and recently on curriculum transformation and staff development.

According to Joyner and Preston (1998), the few studies that have been done mainly in the advanced world, have concentrated on the structural and cultural impediments to women's progression into senior level positions in universities. Little attention, however, has been given to the leadership attitudes, performance and development needs of women holding leadership positions in universities. It is, therefore, necessary to conduct further research into these other issues - attitudes, performance and development needs of women holding positions as these are likely to bring out the qualitative aspects of gender equity and participation.

Gender and leadership in UCC, and in most Ghanaian universities, is fraught with patriarchy which is characterized by elitism and exclusion. According to Hearn (2001), universities are inherently gendered and characterised by definite hierarchical patterns leading to the reproduction of other social divisions and social relationships including age, class disabilities, ethnicity, gender and sexuality. This situation in myriad ways adds to the difficulties of senior academic and administrative women as well as poses problem for several potential women on the brink of taking leadership positions in the universities.

The problem of gender imbalance in higher educational administration in Ghana has persisted in spite of the availability of some reports which have created the awareness of the problem (Adadevoh 2001; Manuh 2002; Tsikata, 2007).

These reports generally confirmed that gender inequality was a foundational characteristic of universities in Ghana. Tsikata (2007) for example, reports that the universities, their faculty, administrators and students contribute to the creation, the reproduction and shaping of gender inequality in the universities. Among the difficulties that women leaders in the academia in Ghana face include the expectation 'to fulfil their social roles as wives and mothers, and then still take on mothering roles at work in relation both to students and to their male colleagues' (Tsikata, 2007 p.39). These reports are often seen as mere reminders of the existence of policies on equal opportunities.

Is there is mismatch between policy and practice? UCC like many other developing universities is yet to incorporate into its statutes policies that can bring about fair gender participation in leadership. What account for the dearth of women leaders in the University of Cape Coast? Is it due to the fact that the women lack the attributes demanded by the university or are they ill-equipped to respond to leadership challenges? The fact, however, remains that women's leadership contribution and further potential continue to be neglected, under recognised and insufficiently integrated into the management structures of many universities of which UCC is no exception.

Structures within the university system have also been identified as contributing to the lack of women leaders. Oakley (2000) mentioned recruitment and promotion as partly responsible for the inequality. At the University of Cape Coast (Ghana), for example, and as in most universities world-wide, recruitment into leadership positions in the universities is by responding to advertisement or by promotion. Potential applicants' papers are screened, short-listed and they are invited to often very intimidating interviews.

A lot goes into preparing for such interviews, including mentoring advice, networking and work place experience, especially in the university. Women applicants are generally at a disadvantage because they neither encouraged, mentored nor supported. Members of such panels are also mostly males.

Factors which influence promotion and retention in the universities are also varied. They include collegial relationships, availability of mentors, potential for further studies or scholarship and social recognition. It is my belief that these are factors which male faculty members have advantage over females, thus more males than females get promoted and retained in the universities.

Other studies have also indicated that inequalities can be explained in terms of the considerable difference between the context of overall experience and opportunities in which men and women work and pursue their careers (Burton, 1999; Cullen & Luna, 1993; Ramsay, 2000). Ramsay (2000) indicates that generally women have an unequal share of domestic and particularly child rearing responsibilities. The career impact of this responsibility on some women in the universities is that they tend to have career interruptions leading to minimal accomplishment levels, hence lower

remuneration and having fewer years in the university employment. Men in addition have greater access to mentoring, sponsorship and patronage through informal systems of information and networks.

Ramsay (2000) sees women's exclusion from informal communication channels as constituting another critical barrier to their advancement into leadership positions in private companies. Again this is applicable in the higher education sector. She also writes that women's exclusion from networks prevent them from obtaining the right and adequate knowledge needed for them to accumulate the experience critical for leadership positions in their organisation.

It is evident from the points raised above that structural bottlenecks deter women form participating meaningfully within the leadership ranks of the universities. Addressing these bottlenecks, therefore, becomes a critical precursor in ensuring that women participate actively in university leadership. This is attainable if the situation on the ground with regards to the structuring facilitators and barriers to women's participation in leadership is thoroughly understood at the UCC. Such a study is crucial and timely given the call for higher educational leadership to be expanded to include other groups. A more inclusive participation in leadership of the universities, rather than sustaining the marginalization of women in leadership is essential. Such an intervention holds the potential to impact positively on the overall leadership and quality of higher education.

The issue of interest should not be whether women leaders can perform or not, but instituting practices and strategies that motivate those who qualify to

aspire and succeed in, leadership positions becomes paramount. A thorough understanding of the structural and the cultural requisites that predispose women to participate meaningfully in university leadership becomes crucial. This study, therefore, aims at identifying the facilitators of, and barriers to, effective women's participation in leadership in the University of Cape Coast. Such empirical findings can enable university decision-makers to adopt appropriate measures in support of women's participation in leadership, while at the same time addressing the barriers to it.

1.3   Meanings of Gender Equity

According to Morley (2006, p.6) "Gender equity refers to equality of treatment, opportunities and outcomes for both men and women". Gender equity in higher education has both quantitative and qualitative faces. The quantitative face focuses on relative number of men and women in leadership positions and their visibility in organizations. This constitutes just one side of a coin. Securing women's entry or increasing their numbers without offering them the opportunities to contribute meaningfully to the organisational strength and overall development is the problem. Effective involvement of women in university leadership is contingent upon the adoption of qualitative approaches. These approaches take into consideration the identification of organizational and institutional structures and practices that give rise to gender inequality and how best such barriers can be addressed.   Thus there has been mis-understanding in increasing just the numbers and obtaining equity.

1.4   Numbers and Gender Equity Misunderstanding

The literature on gender equity is full of discussions on the need for increases in number of women in the higher education set up either as students and or staff. Admittedly there have been increases in the number of women in higher educational institutions in recent years leading to the assumption of the view by some policy makers that qualitative change will follow automatically (Morley, 2006). Several arguments have been put up to examine both quantitative and qualitative need for getting more women into leadership and decision-making positions. Unterhalter (2006) argues that for many decades the problem has been getting access to study and employment in the university and to work in particular disciplines or at particular levels of seniority. She further argues that:

> for the majority of women who have gained access to higher education new challenges have emerged. These challenges 'relate to contesting the social relations inside higher education institutions which have admitted them' (Unterhalter, 2006 p.621)

A number of scholars (Blackmore, 2002; Harris, 2001; Luke, 2001; Singh, 2002; Unterhalter, 2006) have adopted several approaches in an attempt to explain the challenges faced by women in higher educational institutions in their attempt to move up their career path. Unterhalter (2006) for example, addresses the challenges by visiting the longstanding debates within feminist theory about the meaning of gender equity. The first perspective relates to having equal access to same level of education and profession as well as earning the same salary. This approach which has earlier been discussed by

Harris (1994) and Singh (2002) has been criticised by Blackmore (2002) and Luke (2001) on the grounds of not valuing ideas, context and actions related to institutional power.

Unterhalter's (2006) second approach emphasises 'differences' and values perspectives and special actions that are associated with women, for example the establishment of Women's Studies as a particular field of enquiry. This has also been attacked by Kenway & Bullen (2003) for essentialising women and ignoring the individual qualities of women and treating women as a homogeneous bloc. This approach also fails to take into consideration the fact that gender inequalities get mutated at different settings.

Unterhalter (2006) also developed a four-band taxonomy that enables readers' link theories, associated policies and practices as well as evaluation to a particular approach to understanding gender equality in higher education; these are *Inclusion, Contestation, Critique and Connection*. She admits that the approaches suggested by her suffer from some weakness in the sense that they have been presented as being disconnected whereas they often overlap. Two out of the four classifications, *Inclusion and Contestation* in my view, allow us to see the major differences in policies and evaluation techniques needed for addressing inequalities in leadership positions in higher educational institutions.

Inclusion allows for example, counting of opportunities in positions in the institutions. It aims at increasing numbers and not very much concerned about the means. Increasing just the numbers is problematic. Bagilhole (2006) examines the significance of increasing numbers of women in the

academy. She argues for the increase in order to challenge, for example, men's claim to universal and generally applicable knowledge. She further claimed that because women are always in the minority they are unable to negotiate for their needs.

The inclusion view is also held by Lopez-Claros, Director of the Global Competitiveness Report 2006/2007. Addressing the UN Commission on the Status of Women at a High-Level Roundtable on 'Financing for Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women' on 25 February 2008 he argued that the efficient operation of a nation's knowledge-based economy is not only a function of available finance but also its ability to tap into its reservoir of talents and skills. He said, women who constitute more than half of the population are prevented from contributing to the life of a nation as a result of tradition, the misunderstanding of the purpose of religion, social taboos and plain prejudice.

Unterhalter's (2006) second classification, *constestation*, is more concerned about both the overt and covert powers in institutions that exclude women from achieving their full potentials. Some feminist writers such as Kulke (1993)are likely to be at home with this approach because it 'articulates with the social and political theory that analyse the structure of institutions with the hope of redistributing power to overcome historical, material and tacit forms of exclusion' (Unterhalter, 2006, p.623). Under this classification, the *means* and *end* to increasing inclusion and change are both important.

Unterhalter (2006) also indicates that different approaches require different policies to address change. *Inclusion* for example calls for the commitment of more places and resource in the institution to women while *contestation* will entail internal struggle by marginalised groups. The success of these policies may depend upon individual institutions and the societies in which they are operating. The success of the approaches recommended by Unterhalter may also depend upon the challenges, the internal processes of institutions and the environment in which they are situated. The general situation in Ghana and the Commonwealth countries is briefly examined in the sections that follow.

1.5   The Ghanaian Context

One explanation for women's under-representation in Ghanaian universities is that the sector has a shorter history than that of high-income countries. University education in Ghana began in 1948 with the establishment of the University of Ghana (Legon) as a college of the University of London. The initial aim of establishing that university was to produce qualified personnel to manage the affairs of the country after the withdrawal of the colonial government. Since then, five other public universities including the University of Cape Coast and about 21 private university colleges have been established in Ghana.

The University of Cape Coast (UCC) was established in 1962 as a college of the University of Ghana and was charged with the responsibility of producing graduate teachers for the first and second cycle institutions in Ghana. The mandate of UCC has expanded to include the training of

managers of schools and to undertake a variety of new programmes. UCC began with 155 students, including 13 females. At the onset, the managers and staff of UCC like any colonial institution were mostly expatriate males (from UK and mainly developed countries outside Africa). Between 1975 and 2007 there has been massive expansion in student population; from 1,500 to 16,840 respectively. Within the same period, the percentage of women's enrolment as students increased from less than 15 % to 33 % (UCC Basic Statistics, 2007), accounting for the significant upsurge of undergraduate enrolment figures at the university.

The management and academic staff of UCC have also seen some expansion and change in personnel. However, the growth in female academic staff, administrators and managers has not been significant in terms of numbers and influence. In 1980, women constituted 12% of the academic staff and by 2006 this had grown to only 15%. In 2008, the percentage remains unchanged. The proportion of women professors (Full and Associate) in UCC has remained less than 10% for several years. Women in senior administrative positions constitute less than 25% at the end of the 2007/2008 Academic Year. Women are disproportionately represented in the lower academic and administrative grade in UCC. There are 49 women lecturers, 11 senior lecturers, 5 associate professors and 1full professor. The corresponding figures for men are 244lecturers, 86 senior lecturers, 44 associate professors and 21 full professors (UCC Basic Statistics, 2008). The situation at the two older public universities namely; University of Ghana and University of Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology are similar (Tsikata, 2007). Prior to the appointment of the current and also the first ever woman Vice-Chancellor of the University in October, 2008, no

woman academic staff has even climbed the ladder to the position of a Pro-Vice-Chancellor.

The issue of women's under-representation in leadership positions in Ghana is observed not only in higher educational institutions but in many other sectors nation-wide. Women constitute about 51% of Ghana's population and yet form less than 15% of parliamentarians and less than 10% of Chief Directors at the various government ministries (Prah, 2002). It appears, however, that since the adoption of the Beijing Platform for Action at the Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, over a decade ago, a conscious effort has been made at the national level to remedy the situation. This is manifested by the recent appointments of women into various top-level leadership positions in government. Prominent among them are the appointments of the following as the first females to occupy various top-level offices in the country – the Speaker of Parliament, the Attorney General, the Chief Justice, Chairperson for the National Chamber of Commerce, the Acting Inspector General of Police, Director of Immigration Service, and recently the appointment of the first female Vice – Chancellor of the University of Cape Coast.

In line with the Beijing Declaration, the Government of Ghana has since 1999 put in place an affirmative action policy to observe a 40% quota for women at all levels of leadership in the education sector (Oduro, 2005). The idea is to set aside quotas for qualified females for either admission or positions in the university system. This decision by the Government is to support Article 4 of the World Declaration on Higher Education for the 21st Century (1998). The article requires the elimination of all gender

stereotyping in higher education, to consider gender aspects in different disciplines and to consolidate women's participation at all levels and in all disciplines, in which they are under-represented and in particular, to enhance their involvement in decision-making (UNESCO, 1998, p.2). However, this policy is not effectively monitored in UCC and in fact other public universities in Ghana. Individuals in the universities occasionally draw attention to the absence of women and gender implications of certain decisions.

Prior to the above declarations, the Government of Ghana had been a party to, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's Convention Against Discrimination in Education which was adopted in 1960 and The World Education Forum on Education For All (EFA) adopted in 2000 at Dakar. The Government of Ghana is also among the African countries which adopted and agreed to adhere to the third goal of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which aims at promoting the right of women and girls to enjoy equal educational opportunities with boys and men.

The presence of fewer women in leadership and decision-making positions in Ghana may also be explained in term of other factors such as ethnicity and cultural perceptions. Weber (1968) referred to ethnicity as that group of people that share common identity based on descent, language, religion, and tradition among other common experiences. Ethnicity is tacitly tied to social attributes such as intelligence, moral or behaviour characteristics. The issue of ethnicity is relevant to my study because of the way in which in Ghana, it permeated all social interactions and sometimes influenced attitudes and

behaviour towards women. Thus, to understand what lay beneath how women are viewed and sometimes treated, one had to understand the social context in which their lives were lived.

There are about 60 different ethnic groups in Ghana (Langer and Ukiwo, 2007), with four main ethno-linguistic groups which together constitute about 86% of the population comprising the Akan (49.5%), Ewe (12.7%), Ga-Dangme (8.0%) and Mole-Dagbani (16.5%). Each ethnic group has sub-divisions with a common cultural base. Besides, ethnicity and language are closely related as many ethnic groups are named after the language they speak (for example Akan and Ewe).

Regions and cities differ in the level of ethnic heterogeneity. Accra, the capital city, is the most ethnically heterogeneous. The largest ethnic group in Accra is the Ga-Dangme by virtue of the fact that they are the indigenes. The second largest ethnic group is the Akan. Cape Coast, which is the capital city of the central region where UCC is located, is populated by Akans of Fanti origin. The university being a centre of higher education would be populated by a diverse range of people with different ethnic backgrounds, but with the Akan group dominating. Ethnicity is well entrenched and permeates the social structure of Ghanaian society and extending to even those with a higher education may be found to hold dearly the values of the ethnic group they belong to.

Politicians in Ghana have used ethnicity in their campaigns and appointments are not always free from ethnic influence (Ansa Asamoa, 2001) – for example, the office of the Vice-President in recent Ghanaian

politics has almost always gone to Northerner to send signal about their importance in national affairs and secure votes from that part of the country. Ethnic groups do have their own religious beliefs and practices; as well as kinship systems. Ethnicity also serves as a conduit for establishing relationships for various gains such as securing positions. Some people, for example, join religious groups to make contacts necessary to secure jobs or business contacts (Ansa Asamoa, 2001). It is therefore not a coincidence that ethnic, religious, and kinship ties factored, though informally or indirectly, in the recruitment and appointment process of at UCC.

Culture is said to represent interdependence sets of values and ways of behaving are common in a community which tend to perpetuate themselves over long period of time (Kotter & Heskett, 1992). Cross-cultural researchers such as Gardiner (1996) also claim that organisations are penetrated by environmental influences such as beliefs, norms and ideals. Thus, these cultural values have the possibility of influencing how leadership in a community or organisation is conceptualised and enacted. Members of the university community come from a diverse range of ethnic backgrounds with strong cultural beliefs and values, some of which might influence the way in which relationships and leadership roles and responsibilities are perceived and practiced. Part of what this research sought to do was to explore experiences and perceptions about women's roles in the university that may have roots in some of the deeply rooted cultural values and belief about women in Ghanaian society.

Some dimensions of national cultures have been identified by Hofstede (1984) to influence organisational performance and leadership. These are the

individualistic, masculinity/femininity, uncertainty and extent of power distance that pertain in the community. Ghana, like other sub-Saharan African nations, is still in transition from a purely traditional to a more modern society. It also aspires to move from being a low to a middle-income country. Thus, understandings about leadership may still be influenced in part or whole by the traditional beliefs, behaviours, practices and attitudes. Cultural factors such as socialisation towards authority and power and the extended family system have been known to influence the selection and appointment of leaders within Ghanaian society (Gardiner, 1990), and may disadvantage women who often are seen in many traditional roles as subordinate to men. A woman aspiring to a position of leadership may be viewed as 'acting the male role', and indeed may have to adapt to such roles to access positions of power and authority and be 'respected' by other men in that role. Women who make it to these positions may thus be perceived to have attained their position by virtue of 'acting like men', and comes with risk to their identity and relationship with other women.

Another point to make is that in Ghana, social gender roles are clearly differentiated with men expected to be assertive and tough while women are supposed to be tender, nurturing and concerned with the quality of life (Oduro, 2005). This undercurrent belief about gender roles therefore raises suspicion among men, (and some women) when women strive for positions of power and influence. In my years of working at the university level I have heard the odd comment from men about women who seek to exercise a liberated identity which ignores traditional gender stereotypes about what a woman can and cannot do.

In Ghana, the largest ethnic group the Akan, is traditionally matrilineal (Nukunya, 2003) which means in their system of kinship, descent is traced through maternal lines. As a result, in inheritance, a man's nephew (sister's son) has priority over his own son. The matrilineal system tends to push men into leadership positions (head of clan - *ebusua payin*). Heads of this type of traditional system also tend to encourage their nephews to aspire to be leaders and their eventual successors. Thus, the traditional stereotypical socialisation constructs boys as being fit for places of responsibility while girls are considered to be dependent (Oduro, 2005). This traditional thinking is sometimes so deeply ingrained in society that even at the university level, this sex role spill over may still influence behaviour. Quite commonly, people think of certain positions as 'naturally' going to men and a man to go for a leadership position whilst ignoring a woman with equal professional standing as the man.

The statistics on UCC listed in the earlier paragraph reveal a clear picture of quantitative under-representation of women in both academic and administrative positions in the University of Cape Coast. Thus the University of Cape Coast has not adequately responded to the international and national calls to increase the quantity and quality of women's positions in academic and managerial positions. It could be that women academics and administrators in UCC may be facing social and structural impediments, which even though they may not be unique to the university, need to be examined.

Severe gaps appear to exist between policy decisions taken at the national level and their implementation at higher education level, UCC in particular,

where gender disparity in leadership still persists. This is in spite of the drive and concern for inclusive gender orientation in higher education from the international community, Association of African Universities (AAU) and the Association Commonwealth Universities (ACU) of which the public universities in Ghana including UCC are members (Mama and Barnes, 2002).

1.6   **Women's Under-representation in Commonwealth universities**

Women's under-representation in the universities appears to be a global phenomenon (Brooks 1997; Dines 1993; Singh, 2008). Dines (1993) for example described the global picture in the universities as one of men outnumbering women by the ratios one to five and one to twenty in the middle and senior management levels respectively. This situation according to Singh (2008) is still evident in all countries with the numbers decreasing significantly in upper echelons and academia. Singh (2008) has indicated that even though the situation pertaining to the status of women in senior leadership and management positions in Commonwealth universities has improved marginally during the period 1997 and 2006, women were still under-represented at all upper levels of the academic and administrative hierarchies of Commonwealth universities as depicted in Table 1.

Table 1: Status of Women in Commonwealth Universities, 2006

Status	Women	as %	Men	as %	Total
Executive Heads	42	9.8	387	90.2	429
Heads of Admin.	64	16.2	331	83.8	395
Finance Officers	54	15.4	297	84.6	351
Deans	375	17.0	1,836	83.0	2,211
Chief Librarians	125	41.5	176	58.8	301
Personnel Officers	101	37.4	169	62.6	270
Professors	6,394	15.3	35,502	84.7	41,896
Assoc. Prof. etc	18,554	29.1	45,160	70.9	63,714
Heads and Directors	3,180	21.4	11,702	78.6	14,882
Commonwealth	31,283	25.3	92.378	74.7	123,661

Source: ACU, 2008

The data above indicate that among the very top positions in Commonwealth universities women comprise only 9.8% and 16.2% of the Executive Head (Vice-Chancellors) and Registrars (Heads of Administration) positions respectively. The percentages of women Chief Librarians (41.5%) and Personnel Officers (37.4%) appear to be relatively higher than other positions. Many of the Commonwealth countries had no women Vice-Chancellors in their universities. It may be of interest to note that the figures for women working in senior positions in Ghanaian universities are even far below the averages listed for the Commonwealth universities (see Table 1a below).

Table 1a: Status of Women in Public Universities in Ghana (2006)

Status	Women	as %	Men	as %	Total
Executive Heads	0 (0)	0.0	6 (1)	100.0	6
Heads of Admin.	1 (0)	16.7	5 (1)	100.0	6
Finance Officers	1 (0)	16.7	5 (1)	83.3	6
Deans	4 (2)	13.8	25 (8)	86.2	29
Chief Librarians	2 (0)	33.3	4 (1)	66.7	6
Personnel Officers	0 (0)	0.0	6 (1)	100.0	6
Professors	6 (0)	5.7	100 (8)	94.3	106
Assoc.Prof./Snr.lect. etc	80 (4)	14.4	474 (31)	85.6	554
Academic Heads and Directors	28 (1)	12.6	195 (55)	87.4	223

Source: ACU, 2008

( ) Figures for the University of Cape Coast

The Table 1a above indicates that as at the 2006 academic year there was no female chief executive in the six public universities in Ghana. Heads of Administration and Finance Officers were mere 16.7%. The percentage of women Chief Librarians in Ghanaian universities is also relatively higher as that of the data for the Commonwealth Universities. The quantitative under-representation of women in the positions indicated above is of concern because these are the officers who form the majority and members of the various committees in the universities; the Appointments and Promotions Committee, the Admissions Board, Development Committee, Scholarships Committee and several others. For example, women in Ghanaian universities

are only 5.7% of the professors who constitute the 'college' from which the Chief Executives for the various universities are appointed. As at the end of the 2006/07 academic year there was no woman with full professorial status.

Singh (2008) further reports that the developed Commonwealth countries - Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the United Kingdom were moving somewhat faster than the developing countries in getting women into key positions. Also among the developing countries - India, Jamaica, Malaysia and South Africa were performing better than many others in appointing women to senior positions. The University of Cape Coast community is now beginning to appreciate the importance of mainstreaming gender in its activities and to fall in line with current discourse in gender equity.

1.7   Research Questions

Taking all the various arguments into consideration, I have been keen to investigate why women are so under-represented in my place of work, University of Cape Coast. I want to know whether the reasons are structural, social or cultural or complex combination of all these. With these views in mind I have developed the following research questions to help focus my inquiry:

1) How is leadership perceived and experienced by both male and female managers and other staff at the University of Cape Coast?

2) How is female leadership perceived by male and female senior managers?

3) What aspects of organisational structure influence the involvement and motivation of women as university leaders?

4) What are the characteristics of women who have managed successfully to enter into leadership positions?

1.8   Organization of the Research

The structure of the study is guided by the pattern set out in the Handbook for Research and Professional Doctorate Students program in the Sussex Institute of Education. It begins with the introduction which sets out the background and the importance of the research. Chapter 2 examines the key concepts that frame the study - literature on gender and leadership and sets out the theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

Chapter 3 discusses the current scene on higher education in Africa, with special attention being paid to universities in sub-Saharan Africa e.g. how they relate to the community, their purpose and mission. Issues such as the university's role in wealth creation, regional impact and policy transfer. Current issues like the impact of Globalisation on HE the application of indigenous knowledge and gender linkages to knowledge construction and dissemination will be examined. The local context of the study will then be outlined in Chapter 4 by presenting the history, structure, power functions and the gendered composition of University of Cape Coast.

The methodology of the study will be discussed in Chapter 5. Justification for the chosen design and the methods to be used for the collection of data

shall be discussed. The challenges, advantages over the disadvantages of using alternative methods will also be shared in this section.

Chapter 6 will present the substantive data which includes interview reports, and documentary evidence such as statistical data. This will be followed by Chapter 7, which will bring together the study's findings. The conclusion, recommendations and the research's contribution to knowledge will then be discussed.

CHAPTER TWO

Theorising Leadership

2.1   Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on the theoretical and conceptual frameworks with regard to the meaning and intersection of the key issues of leadership (in general), and gender equity. Specific themes to be addressed in the chapter include a description of leadership theories in general and higher education in particular, the types of leadership that exist in the universities as well as the gendered nature of leadership in Ghanaian universities. Further, barriers to the advancement of women including discrimination, sexual harassment and institutional culture will also receive attention.

2.2   Leadership Theories

Leadership, like all social constructs, is devoid of a universal definition. Its meaning can at best be expressed in a relative sense. Leadership has been studied over several decades leading to more than 850 definitions of the term (Bennis & Nanus, 1997). Bennis & Nanus (1997) claim that in spite of thousands of empirical investigations there is no clear and unequivocal understanding as to what distinguishes leaders from non-leaders and what distinguishes effective leaders from ineffective leaders. The various studies have also led to several theoretical categorisations of leadership starting with

the 'trait' theory. Other categorisations include behavioural, influence, style, instructional, transformational and several others (Klenke, 1996).

The first set of theories described as 'trait' theories identified personal characteristics that appear to contribute to the individual's ability to succeed as a leader. The trait theory assumed that leaders were born, not made. It was an essentialised theory that overlooked social construction and the role social class and gender play in determining entitlement to leadership positions. Stogdill (1948) defined leadership in terms of certain general behaviours which were adaptable to a variety of situations. The behavioural theory focused on relationships and interaction between leaders and followers and the achievement of tasks. The main assumption of the behavioural theories was that leadership skills were learned (Klenke, 1996). Yukl (1989) defines leadership in terms of group processes that involve interaction between at least two persons in pursuit of a set of goals. Stogdill and Yukl's definitions appear similar in their emphasis on group and goal attainment while the emphasis of Bass (1999) is on influence. It is, however, observed that some of the earlier writers either tend to emphasise goal attainment as the focus of leadership or the importance the leader attaches to the welfare of followers in their definitions.

A much broader definition of leadership was attempted by Tannenbaum, Weschier and Massarik, 1961). Their definition emphasises both goal attainment and the importance of followers. Richman and Allison (2003) argued that leadership researchers approach the topic from many different angles and come up with different conceptions, thus these conceptions cannot compete for theoretical superiority because we are not sure they had

examined the same phenomenon. Bennett, Crawford and Cartwright (2003) hold similar views on leadership as Richman and Allison (2003). According to them leadership is a relative concept, thus the way one defines it provides a picture of one's perceptions of it.

Bennett, Crawford and Cartwrite (2003) approach the leadership issue by writing about leaders who have been placed in particular positions in an organisation by virtue of some special or personal skills and knowledge that they possess. Following this viewpoint, therefore, it could be said that leadership as exercised by leaders locates the activity in individuals rather than in social settings. The modern concepts of leadership began with what Burns (1978) described as transactional and transformational leaderships. A transactional style of leadership is adopted by leaders who try to meet the needs of their followers through the exchange of rewards or favours. The transformational leadership is associated with leaders with the ability to change organisational structures.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, leadership theories tended to shift from the singular reality model of leadership to the adaptive type, thus focusing on collaboration and teamwork (Bennett, 2001; Earley, 2003; Gardiner, 1988; Hays, 1999; Northouse, 2003; Senge, 1994). Gardiner (1988) defines effective leadership as the ability to involve individuals in teamwork. Senge (1994) introduced into the leadership discussion, innovations such as systems thinking, mental models, shared vision and team learning. According to Hays (1999), the reliance of management and organisation on information technology and the need for teamwork makes the old model of leadership at the top of organisational hierarchy disseminating information

down the ladder ineffective. Northouse (2003) adds an ethical dimension to the leadership discourse by examining the ways in which people interpret the behaviour of leaders based on demographic characteristics. The collaborative leadership model clearly demonstrates transformational leadership qualities. This is because leadership style that highlights teamwork has a stronger tendency to bring about positive organizational changes than others.

It is also worth noting that most of the studies on leadership have been based on masculine ideals of leadership characterized as being hierarchical, authority-based, power and influence-oriented (Kezar, 2000). However, Hays (1999) argued that collaborative leaders are those who could listen, facilitate discussion and demonstrate collaborative decision-making and stressed that women are more likely to exhibit these traits better as leaders than men. In spite of this revelation, a number of the current definitions of leadership support the emerging view that leadership is not gender-specific. MacBeath (2003, p.1) indicates that leadership is a sophisticated concept which is 'full of ambiguity and a range of interpretations'. According to him the meaning of leadership depends on the kind of institutions in which it is found. Some literature (Stogdill, 1974; Bass 1981) suggest that whereas the old theories are centred on individuals the newer theories (Richman and Allison, 2003) recognise the presence of more and different variables in the leadership concept thus supporting the view that different types of organisations experiencing different types of situations might require different styles of leadership (Kampel, 2006).

Literature on leadership, as can be seen from the various writers, comes with different themes (Richman and Allison, 2003), but the most common themes among them had been on group, goal attainment and influence of individuals or group. The difficulty with these definitions lies with the inability to apply the various definitions to fit all national, social and organisational contexts. An example is that, a definition of leadership with goal attainment as the theme may be applicable in pre-tertiary institutions where student outcomes may be the defined goal. However, the same set of leadership concepts would not be applicable within the context of higher education where goals and the exercise of power are much more multi-faceted and also exercised by both individuals and groups of people.

Generally, leaders direct and coordinate the work of group of members. They transform followers, create visions of the goals that may be attained, and articulate for the followers the ways to attain those goals by taking actions that focus resources to create desirable opportunities. Leadership, thus, entails the process of persuasion or example by which individual (or leadership team) induces a group to follow in order to attain a set of objectives (Fiedler, 1967; Tichy & Devanna, 1986; Campbell, 1991; Gardner, 1990). Invariably, the foundation of effective leadership is the ability to think through the organisation's mission, defining it and establishing it clearly and visibly (Drucker 1995). The ability to establish the foundation for effective leadership, theoretically, is not gender determined. However, it is so in practice in most patriarchal social contexts, where women in leadership are sometimes received with resentment because of their gender, rather than their capabilities. Attaining gender neutral leadership demands that higher educational institutions motivate women to

accept leadership positions and also to succeed in that dispensation. However, taking that decision in itself is a leadership problem.

2.3   Leadership in Higher Education

Leadership *per se* has been widely researched and theorised at the international level and especially in the world of business. The indispensability of leadership in the educational sector for the purpose of change in management and for policy implementation has been recognised by many (Oduro, 2005; Sawbridge, 2000). In the educational sector, leadership has been studied extensively at the pre-tertiary level where instructional leadership has been found to be the dominant model. Studies into instructional leadership in pre-tertiary institutions are aimed at examining how effective leadership can be utilised to improve students' achievement (Sawbridge, 2000).

However, leadership at the higher education level has been examined by relatively fewer scholars (Baldridge, 1978; Bennis, 1998; Cohen & March, 1986; Kezar, 2000; Klenke, 1996; Shattock, 2008), and these have been mainly on institutions in developed countries - USA, U.K, Canada, Australia and the New Zealand. They have also often neglected to consider gender in their theorisations of effective leadership. Some studies approach the issue through organisational and management theories, focusing on organisational cultures, decision-making processes and links between leadership styles; thus concentrating more on process and structures of organisations (Bass, 1999; Bennett and Harris, 1999; Bolman and Deal, 1997; Schein, 1992).

The concept of leadership under this orientation is that leadership is not something which is said to reside within any individual (Earley, 2003). The implication of this position is that leadership is generally dispersed within the higher education organisation or institution. In the organisation or institution such as the university therefore, the leadership demonstrated by whosoever is put in any position, for example the vice-chancellor, is obviously crucially important, but part of that leadership is to distribute or disperse responsibility and to empower others to give their best (Earley, 2003; Shattock, 2008). According to Shattock (2008), higher education, especially universities are dependent on distributed leadership rather than having charismatic figures at the top of management. However, he concedes that since universities are mainly communities of scholars they are to be led by distinguished scholars who understand and excel at the core business of teaching and research.

In the university context, leadership is experienced by 'teams' occupying statutory positions established by the structures, such as the university council, the academic board, office of the vice-chancellors, faculty boards, office of the registrar's department, members of the departmental boards (academic and non-academic), staff and student union leaders, faculty members by virtue of teaching groups of students, and members of the sub-committees of the university council and academic board. This conception of leadership is important to this study in the sense of evaluating the visibility of minority groups including women in the various leadership levels expressed by this orientation.

Other authors of higher education leadership studies focus more on the 'actors' within the organisations / institutions; Vice-Chancellors or Presidents or Rectors, Deans, Registrars, Departmental Heads etc (Hoff, 1995; Ramsden, 1998; Sathye 2004; Wolverten, Mimi, Marvin & Sarros, James, 1999). This second approach represented by Hoff (1995) conceptualises leadership as persons who have been placed in particular positions in an organisation by virtue of some special or personal skills and knowledge that they possess. Thus in this regard leadership as exercised by leaders locates the activity in individuals rather than in social or organisational setting (Bennett, Crawford and Cartwright, 2003).

Under this dispensation therefore, a reference is made to the traditional notion of leadership which tends to limit leadership to the single individual occupying the formal headship position; thus in the university we will be looking at the Chancellor, Chair of the University Council, the Vice-Chancellor or the President, the Registrar among other executives. Studies which looked at actors have examined leadership in terms of their successes and or effectiveness.

The concept of effective leadership in the 'normal' university is very difficult to define. Writing from the point of view of an insider, I am tempted to describe an effective university leader, for example, an effective Vice-Chancellor as one who demonstrates such features as authority and courage; one who is able to motivate the Academic Board or Senate at meetings and also make his or her presence felt at University Council meetings, stem students' agitation , negotiate conditions of service with the government of the day as well as being one who understands the importance

of initiative, innovation and stimulating creativity in helping the organisation to reach its potential etc.. However, definitions of effective leadership can be culturally specific. For example, elsewhere, especially in the United States, an effective and a successful president could be described as one who is a good fundraiser and a smart public relations person.

Earlier writers such as Baldridge (1978) and Cohen & March (1986) had explained the difficulty in defining leadership in the universities in terms of the complex and muddled structure of the institutions. Universities were said to have confused goals coupled with both internal and external regulations, assumed faculty autonomy, shared governance and decentralised decision-making. These in general had placed significant limitations on effective leadership. Currently, the massive globalisation of neo-liberal policies has rendered the definition of leadership in the university context more difficult. This is because universities, presently, respond differently to the impact of globalisation. There is no "one size fits all" approach to leadership in the universities.

Hoff (1995) believes that leadership has become crucial in policy implementation, human resource management, financial and project management. She also argues that in view of the constantly changing society and the continuous learning, there is the need for someone (a leader) to ensure that dwindling resources are effectively managed. These claims are implicitly emphasizing the importance of leadership in the success of educational institutions.

Much of the literature is mute on the gender of the leaders or the managers of the institutions studied. Such exclusion of gender in the leadership literature perpetuates the myth that leadership is gender neutral. Also, for most of the studies that have looked at leadership in higher education not much had come from the developing countries. The applicability of the concepts and also research findings to institutions in the developing countries like Ghana with different cultural and difficult economic environment for the purpose of policy change and management may prove difficult.

The concept of leadership in colleges and universities sector itself is variously defined. Some have described it in terms of academic leadership and defined it to embrace teaching staff, non-teaching staff, students and the entire university community (Middlehurst, 1995). Others restrict academic leadership to teaching and research departments only (Sathye, 2004). This thesis will place more emphasis on the first definition because the second definition, in my view, can safely be placed under the umbrella of the first since teaching and research departments are but one part of a 'bigger body', though they are the most important functions of universities. Furthermore, through the first definition more light could be shared on the different conceptions and styles of leadership that coexist in the university system. The issue of gender positioning in the university could also be seen well through the 'bigger body'. Further, Morley (2005) observes that the literature on higher education in the 'developing' world tends to be characterised by a gender-neutral approach. Gender only tends to be a category of analysis in relation to access and quantitative representation. The qualitative experiences of women in leadership remain under studied.

45

Acker (1991), however, argues that institutions and organisations are by the nature of their structures not gender-neutral as normally perceived. Most structures of organisations reflect those masculine norms such as titles for addressing position holders, time for holding meetings and values of men who created and led them over the years. Meyerson & Fletcher (2000) shares similar view that the organisational structure - foundation, the beam, the walls, the air among others present systematic forms of discrimination that holds back women from getting to the top of organisations. Although this situation has been explained from various perspectives, most of them were developed in non-educational settings. Yet, these perspectives provide some useful insights to the gender and leadership dialogue in higher education as captured in the subsequent sections.

2.4 Barriers to Women's Leadership Aspirations in Universities

Joyner and Preston (1998), through their examination of some leadership styles adopted by senior academic women, document some barriers they face in the performance of their work: lack of tenure, qualifications and publishing record, domestic responsibilities and interpretations of the principles of merit. Other researchers (Burton, 1991; Collinson and Collinson, 1997; Joyner and Preston, 1998; Kennedy, 1993; Morley, 1999) have also pointed out a number of subtle masculine strategies that exist in the universities that do not promote and or encourage female leadership in the academy. Women in some universities are often hurt and disempowered by their male counterparts through cracking of jokes and making uncomplimentary remarks about them (Morley, 1999)

Joyner and Preston (1998) for example listed undermining and marginalization of women's endeavours, demeaning of women's contribution in management meetings and the lack of acceptance of women's leadership styles as some of the barriers confronting women leaders. This is consistent with the observation made by Morley (1999) that organisational culture, negative micro-politics and informal practices are some of the factors which impede parity of participation in higher education organisations.

Other institutional barriers to women's progression to senior positions have been identified by Husu (2000), Morley (2006) and Onsongo (2003). These are institutional rules, laws, policies and systems of applying for promotion. For example, the inactivity and refusal to implement progressive policies are some of the micropolitical strategies that Onsongo (2003) cited as being used in impeding the progress of women into senior positions in some higher institutions. Male behaviour and attitude towards female colleagues constitute another set of constraint to women's progression into leadership positions within the academy. Taking advantage of their numbers, men in the academy tend to constitute the major resistance to arguments for gender justice as well as ridicule those who attempt to voice gender inclusion (Pereira, 2007).

Some male academic staff have negative perceptions about the capabilities and attributes of women colleagues, as reported by Bond (1996), constituting a major problem in universities in New Zealand. These perceptions have made it possible, in certain instances, for male colleagues to appropriate academic contributions made by women academics. It is

worth noting that these observations about under-representation of women in senior management positions in the universities have come from studies conducted in various regions of the globe (Morley, 2005; Odejide, 2003). These barriers have been well documented and legislative policies for intervention carved out in the developed countries. There is however little documentation of the barriers that academic and non-academic women in institutions in low-income countries like Ghana face, hence the need for the study.

2.5   Oakley's categorization of barriers faced by women in attaining leadership positions

According to Oakley (2000) there are three categories of theories that offer useful explanation to the barriers faced by women in their attempt to attain senior leadership positions. These are first that corporate practices that tend to favour the recruitment, retention and promotion of males over females. The second category is the behaviour and cultural causes that centre on issues of stereotyping, tokenism, power, preferred leadership styles, and the psychodynamics of male/female relations. The final category refers to the feminist arguments that deal with questions of power and influence. The ability to use the various theories listed by Oakley to explain the paucity of women in the leadership bracket depends upon the institution or organisation or the society within which leadership is being experienced. Oakley's theories described above provide a simple but rigorous framework for analysing the under-representation of women in leadership positions in Ghanaian universities.

According to Buckmaster (2004), the barriers encountered by women in aspiring to leadership positions emanate from the notion that women lack experience necessary for taking up senior-most positions. Valian (1999), however, shares the contrary view and asserts that the issue of unequal treatment borders on the variables such as sex stereotyping and discrimination against women through interviews for promotion or recruitment into positions. Leadership positions in the universities, it should be noted, take their source from senior academic and non-academic members and currently, in most institutions there are more males than females in these categories. This situation needs to change if women are to have any opportunity to participate in leadership.

2.6 The Role Congruity Theory

To help explain the issue of the masculinisation of management, I have consulted Role Congruity Theory. This was developed by Eagly & Karau (2002) and posits that prejudice can arise from the relation that people perceive between the characteristics of members of a social group and the requirements of the social roles that the group members occupy or aspire to occupy (Eagly & Karau, 2002). According to Eagly & Karau, prejudice toward female leaders emanates from the perception of incongruity between the characteristics of women and the requirements of leaders' roles. This theory is in line with the social role theory, which is premised on the notion that the roles of men and women differ from each other. Men's roles are more related to the public domain and women's roles to the private. The socialization process for men and women is therefore different, reflecting the differences in the gender roles. Women are socially perceived as

communal in character, sensitive, nurturing and more concerned about the welfare of others and hence less desirable to become effective leaders. Men on the other hand are aggressive, self-confident, self-sufficient and in control, which are critical in leadership (Buckmaster, 2004).

Buckmaster (2004) lists a number of contextual variables that affect how prejudice or less evaluation of female leaders comes about. These are the degree of incongruity between gender role and leadership role, the level of organisation at which it occurs, the sex of the perceiver, the cultural milieu in which it occurs and how assertive women are in leadership roles. A major criticism of the Role Congruity Theory by Klenke (1996), is that of the retention of the basic dualism and worldview about gender. She claims that historical times and contexts are far more important factors than gender in the leadership discourse. Klenke (1996) also argues that the borders of leadership behaviours and roles are usually defined by the rules and regulations of organisations. Klenke has a case because in the general university setting the powers of vice-chancellors, deans, heads of departments, and even chairpersons of the various bodies are statutorily determined making the actual practice of leadership role in principle, less gender sensitive. However, the conscious and unconscious prejudice that people have about women can result in discrimination against them.

2.7 Joycelin Massiah's 'Gender lens'

Massiah's (1993) gender analysis framework sometimes described as 'gender lens' assumes that women are not visible. Massiah indicates that the 'gender lens' is concerned with "the identification of women in statistical

systems, using the framework to see whether women are clearly visible groups in a given population, whether their problems are distinctly articulated and made public; and seeks to identify available research data on the perceived problems". Massiah (1993) classified 'visibility' into five types which operate at three hierarchical levels - conceptual, subjective; theoretical, statistical; and socio-economic, political, and domestic visibilities. She opines that movement from a lower level to a higher level indicates recognition of a gender-disadvantaged situation to an action designed to reduce or eliminate the disadvantage.

Conceptual and subjective visibilities represent the two lower levels. Conceptual visibility "represents the perception of external observers that a particular sex is subject to a gender disadvantage", and subjective visibility "reflects the recognition by individuals themselves of the effects of gender domination on their own attitudes, behaviours, material and emotional circumstances" (Prah, 2002, p.16). The theoretical and statistical visibilities constitute the second level. These visibilities are obtained through the generation and analyses of quantitative and qualitative data. The mechanism by which the disadvantage is perpetuated is elicited from the trend presented by the data and thus giving direction to the appropriate intervention.

The socio-economic/political and the domestic visibilities constitute the third and final visibility level. This final visibility level is based on the legal and political barriers to the power resources of the disadvantaged. Domestic visibility is based on action at the individual and household level. Prah (2002) concludes that the level of visibility flows directly from the conceptual and subjective and indirectly from the theoretical and statistical

levels. The visibility of women at the various groups and leadership positions in the University of Cape Coast will be examined in Chapter Four of this study.

2.8   Analysing gender inequalities in higher education

Various methods have been used to analyse gender inequalities in organisations and institutions. As indicated earlier one useful method is Massiah's (1993) 'gender lens' method which uses basic statistics in identifying inequalities at the various leadership positions in organisations. The problem is not so much about identifying the inequalities, but the issue of obtaining qualified women to fill positions so identified. An Association of Commonwealth Universities (ACU) study concluded that "women were still not waiting in large numbers in the wings to step up to more senior management or academic positions" (ACU, 2000; p.1). It is therefore necessary to work concurrently on improving the quantitative and qualitative deficiencies in the 'stock of women' ready to fill identified positions.

What are some of the factors that have been used in explaining the dearth of women in leadership positions in the universities? Some writers on women leadership in higher educational administration have argued that stereotypes of women leaders act as a deterrent to other women (Massiah, 1993; Prah, 2002) . Morley et al. (2005) argue that one reason why some women do not press on for leadership in higher educational institutions is because of the lack of role models and evidence of success for women who have aspired for leadership positions.

In a number of private sector studies, White (2003) indicates that the masculine nature of institutions results in women leaders and managers leaving to set up their own businesses. She concludes that this action results in the loss of potential mentors and role models for female staff and even students in institutions. Ramsay (2000) contends that the dearth of women leaders in the universities is not due to the fact that women lack the attributes demanded by the universities nor they are ill-equipped to respond to these challenges, but that women's leadership contribution and further potential continue to be neglected, under recognised and insufficiently integrated into the management structures of the universities.

Structures such as the statutory requirements for promotion within the university system have also been identified as contributing to the lack of women leaders. Oakley (2000) mentioned recruitment and promotion as partly responsible for the inequality. This observation can be seen to be applicable in the international context. At the University of Cape Coast, for example, men are easily chosen over women because of the stereotype linking leadership to masculinity. This becomes a glass-ceiling to women in their effort to access leadership positions.

Further, factors such as collegial relationships, availability of mentors, marital status, potential for further studies or scholarship and social recognition also influence retention in the universities.   Other studies have also indicated that inequalities can be explained in terms of the considerable difference between the context of overall experience and opportunities in which men and women work and pursue their careers (Cullen & Luna, 1993; Ramsay, 2000).

Ramsay (2000) sees women's exclusion from informal communication channels as constituting another critical barrier to their advancement into leadership positions in private companies. Again this is applicable in the higher education sector. She also writes that women's exclusion from networks prevent them from obtaining the right and adequate knowledge needed for them to accumulate the experience critical for leadership positions in their organisation. Reporting on a study conducted in the United States in the 1990s, Ramsay says that women who occupy leadership positions experience isolation due to their lack of critical mass thus lacking mentors and role models. She further observes that in the universities, women peer support falls away as they rise in hierarchies. This observation is evident on the international scene as well where women academics face a "deficit of resources" compared with their male counterparts.

The deficits are by way of lack of prestigious mentors, time, international and collegial networks. In the academic world, international networking influences funds available for research as well as access to prestigious journals. In the universities collegial networks act as the means of transmitting, reproducing and reinforcing standards as well as socializing. Benefits such as career planning, setting career priorities and using time productively accruing from mentoring are scarcely available to women for obvious reasons (Ramsay, 2000). Following the identification of the various factors that account for the gender inequality in leadership in the higher education sector and in the universities in particular a number of studies and policy measures have been made in attempt to address the issue.

2.9 Addressing the inequality and the gender gap

A number of writers approach the gender and leadership intersection differently and suggest strategies to address the inequality. A few of them are discussed in this section.

2.9.1 Ely & Meyerson Fourth Frame Model

Ely & Meyerson (2000) identify four frames which present different conceptions of leadership and the peculiar way organisations attempt to address the inequalities identified by the frames. The first frame described as *fix the women* argues for the elimination of gender difference which comes through sex-role socialization. It argues for the provision of both sex with the same opportunities and skills to enable individuals pursue positions in terms of merit.

The second frame - *value the feminine*, emphasises the leadership advantages women have over men by virtue of their relationship orientation. This frame acknowledges diversity intervention route. Frame three - The *equal opportunity frame* assumes that structural barriers constitute the impediments to women's access and achievement. It claims that men have greater advantage over women through networking. The intervention route suggested by this frame is by policies enacted to eliminate these advantages or compensate women. The fourth frame - *Non-traditional approach to gender frame* suggests continuous identification of variables that impede women progress within and without the organisation. This intervention mode is largely aimed at disrupting or revising the social order.

Buckmaster (2004) advances the view that the fourth frame model calls for the acceptance of what she calls 'post heroic' leadership which focuses on collaboration and egalitarian practices. The post heroic leadership, elsewhere called the shared leadership, is assumed to be gender and power neutral and rooted more in social interaction. Valian (1999) explains the inability of women to benefit from this notion of female advantage from the relational leadership model which is very relevant in organisations. She argues that the way individuals interpret the same action(s) taken by a man or a woman is influenced by gender schemas. When women put into practice many of the relational skills and capabilities that they bring to the workplace, they are easily discounted or dismissed as just doing what women do. Fletcher (2003) similarly argues that when women enact the kind of leadership practices that shares power and contribute to development of others, they are likely to be seen as selfless givers who 'like helping' and expect nothing in return. The main challenge to the Fourth Frame model is about the characterization of leadership as a social process. Locke (2003), according to Buckmaster, argues that such a stand or conceptualisation undervalues the individual's capabilities of carrying out better than others the processes involved in successful leadership.

It is important to note that the four frames elucidated earlier can only become meaningful if the social phenomena holding back the value of women in organisations are understood. Buckmaster (2004) identifies varied categories of such social phenomena as being responsible for upholding the value of men above women. These are formal policies and procedures, informal work practices and norms, narratives and rhetoric, language and other symbolic expressions, and patterns of everyday and social interactions.

These workplace social practices overtly and covertly seek to perpetuate male dominance by coding and assigning meaning as either superior (male/masculine) or inferior (female/feminine), while at the same time maintaining the plausibility of gender neutrality (Ely & Meyerson, 2000). A classic example of this is the workplace requirement that places senior executives of organisations on-call almost all the time. This demand has been most unfavourable to women in view of their additional home or out of office responsibilities. The perceived inability of women to respond to this responsibility is open to all kinds of interpretations with respect to commitment to work or organisation.

2.9.2 Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming strongly comes across as a feasible philosophy in addressing the problem of gender inequality in leadership and decision-making. This concept of bringing gender issues into the mainstream society was explicitly established as a global strategy for promoting gender equality in the platform for Action adopted at the United Nation's Fourth Conference of Women, held in Beijing, China in 1995. It highlights the necessity to ensure that gender equality is a primary goal in all area(s) of social and economic development. Embracing this strategy should be the first step to take in addressing the problem of gender inequality.

The United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1997 defined the concept of gender mainstreaming as follows:

> "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 any area and at all levels. It is a

strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part 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 of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality"

Gender mainstreaming differs from previous strategies for integrating women's concerns in that, a gender perspective informs all stages of policies, planning and decision-making of an activity instead of simply 'adding on' a women's component to existing policy. Gender mainstreaming thus essentially transforms underlying paradigms of activities or programmes. Since the inception of the gender mainstreaming paradigm, a number of countries have embraced it at the macro level trickling down to some changes in institutional and organisational changes at the micro level. Some universities in Africa, notably the Makerere University in Uganda (Kwesiga and Ssendiwala, 2006) and the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania (Lihamba, Mwaipopo, and Shule, 2006) have given the strategy of gender mainstreaming a chance in ensuring gender equality in their institutions (Morley, 2007).

At the University of Cape Coast, gender mainstreaming seems to be taking place slowly, but surely in some areas. Various committees have recently been formed to address some of the factors impeding the effective participation of women in the overall development of the university. One such committee is the Sexual Harassment Committee (SHC), which has been approved by the Academic Board. The SHC receives complaints from

victims, investigates and recommends sanctions. It also recommends rehabilitation and educates the university community.

It is likely that further strides will be made in addressing the gender inequality at the university by making gender mainstreaming an official policy at the university. This obviously will have some opposition, since many have become used to the "malestreaming" and might find it difficult to give it up. Since most institutional changes are received with initial resistance, an initial opposition to gender mainstreaming should not be seen as deterrence, but rather as a normal process in bringing about institutional changes.

Several other methods relating to gender mainstreaming have been suggested for addressing the dearth of women in high leadership positions in the universities. The measures include policy decisions taken by international organisations such as the UNESCO and the Association of Commonwealth Universities as well as those taken by individual educational institutions. The policy decisions are aimed at raising awareness of the problem, improving skills and competencies for women, changing university structures and procedures, changing attitudes of men and women, and creating a more enabling women-friendly environment (Morley et al., 2004).

These policy discourses have been varied. In some locations, the emphasis is on affirmative action aimed at attaining positive change and gender equalities in the universities (Manya, 2000). In South Africa, the policy focus is on redress and repairing damage/injuries to women – particularly black women (Samson, 1999). In Europe, the discourse used to be equal

opportunities (Morley, 1999). Presently, however, it is more likely to be on social justice and inclusion (Currie, Thiele and Harris, 2002). Hearn (1998a, 1998b) writing about the situation in the UK indicates that the opportunities for women in academia could well increase if the policies and procedures for implementing restructuring were based on gender mainstreaming.

2.9.3 The 'Room at the Top' and other approaches

The 'Room at the Top' approach adopted in 1997 by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors' and Principals' (CVCP) UK was aimed at increasing the pool of potential women leaders in higher education. Through this intervention, an extended programme of personal/professional development to help individuals achieve career progression to positions of institutional leadership was implemented (Morley et al., 2005, p.2). The Australian Vice-Chancellors' committee (AVCC) has developed an action plan with a policy statement requesting all universities in the country to collate base line quantitative data on the position of women employed in higher education; to recommend the inclusion of gender equity performance measures in institutional plans and quality assurance processes; and to monitor and promote more equal representation of women to men on AVCC committees (Ramsay, 2000).

Australia is reported by Ramsay (2000) to have set up two networks for women in universities which are said to be effective both in counteracting the factors which prevent women from advancing to more senior levels of employment in universities and in enhancing their leadership effectiveness and impact. Morley et al. (2005) report that similar policy measures have

been taken by the University Grants Commission of India and Sri Lanka, and the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE in Nairobi, 1998).

At the institutional level, the Institute of Education (University of London) offers short training courses on the position of women in educational management. A key personality in that programme has been Anne Gold. She has also been involved in working with the ACU to deliver women into management courses across the Commonwealth. The Professional Development Office of the University of Cambridge has also for sometime now organised programmes in women and leadership. The Makerere University of Uganda in its Gender Management System (GMS) programme has aimed at ensuring gender sensitivity in the governance and administration in the university. The Women's Executive Development program (WEXDEV) at the Australian Technology Network universities is reported to run courses for senior women in universities on how to be more 'intrapreneurial' and entrepreneurial, and how to participate meaningfully in leadership (David and Woodward, 1998).

From the analysis of the problem it is discernible that the issue is very complex. It is not just a question of quantitative inequalities; the issues have global dimensions and also country-specific problems which may have their roots in the history, politics and the culture of the people. Brooks and Mackinnon (2001) argue that some measures intended to address gender issues in the universities contain curiously contradictory aspects. They refer to the inconsistency in the WEXDEV programme, for example, which is highly regarded as a model both within and beyond Australia. The model is

based on the notion of women as a group, and built on a sense of collegiality strengthened through mentoring, which is a key element of the programme. It further prepares women for the fierce competition they will face as they progress through the university career structure. It is worth noting that different institutional peculiarities may warrant differing approaches in encouraging and incorporating women in higher educational leadership.

Yeatman (1995) among many writers is optimistic that with the restructuring that took place in the universities in the early 1990s, especially in New Zealand and Australia, the pressure for transparency and accountability, equity and participation offer potential for change. Others are not so optimistic. Bradley (1993) cautions the threat that the rapid industrial change could pose to women's education and work. Bradley's argument that women lack strong and influential advocacy in places where change is being negotiated finds a perfect example in the universities.

2.9.4 'Mapping the terrain'

Another strategy of addressing under-representation of women in senior positions in the universities is by 'mapping the terrain' (Morley, 2003, p.109). Studies advocating this strategy have been conducted by institutions such as the Association of Commonwealth Universities. Several of such studies have come up with revealing statistics on gender equity. However as earlier indicated, there are many subtle qualitative and micro political changes needed to make the academy more inclusive. Morley et al. (2005), therefore, recommend that paying attention to awareness, advocacy, strategic planning, accountability, monitoring, evaluating and professional development would be essential for the promotion of gender equity in higher

education. Understanding gender inequality in each country and developing appropriate interventions, therefore, demands contextual clarity.

2.10 Summary

The theoretical and conceptual frameworks regarding the meaning and intersection of the key issues of leadership have been explored with particular emphasis on leadership in higher education and gender equity. Varied theories have explained leadership, thus eluding us of a definite definition. Personal, behavioural, influence, style, instructional, and transformational categorizations among others have provided the basis in the definition of leadership. Leadership is therefore sophisticated and a concept fraught with ambiguity and multiplicity of interpretations.

A convergence in meaning, however, is discernible from the literature. That is, whereas the old theories of leadership are centred on individuals, the newer theories recognize the presence of more and different variables in the leadership concept. This supports the view that different types of organisations experiencing different type of situations might require a different style of leadership. The definition of leadership therefore becomes relative and context-specific.

The role of gender in leadership is of utmost importance in this study. Though the ability to establish the foundation for effective leadership, theoretically, is not gender determined, it is evident that in most patriarchal social contexts women in leadership are sometimes received with resentment because of their gender, rather than their capabilities. Attaining gender neutral leadership, therefore, demands that higher educational institutions

motivate women to accept leadership positions and also to succeed in that dispensation. Attaining this feat is difficult because of the glass-ceiling confronting women aspiring for leadership positions in universities. These barriers are ripe because of organisational culture, negative micro-politics and informal practices which impede parity of participation in higher education organisations.

In spite of the barriers listed above, gender consideration has often been a peripheral issue in the theorisations of effective leadership. Even where gender comes in, it only tends to be a category of analysis in relation to access and quantitative representation. The qualitative experiences of women in leadership remain under studied, hence the need for this study. An understanding of the qualitative experiences of women in leadership is of critical value in the attainment gender mainstreaming with its objective of gender equality in leadership.

CHAPTER THREE

Higher Education in Africa

3.1 Introduction

The literature reviewed in the previous chapter discussed mainly theories of leadership noting little attention paid to gender perspective. Furthermore, the literature indicates the existence of numerous perspectives on how leadership is theorized and understood. A standard formula to address the problem across the board therefore seems impractical. This chapter provides an overview of the background to the current system of higher education in Africa placing special emphasis on the institutions south of the Sahara.

The colonial and post-colonial eras are examined with the view to exploring the basis for the observed disparities between men and women in contemporary higher education systems. Examples will mostly be taken from Anglophone African countries where this study is situated. Other issues such as brain drain, internationalization, globalization and the emergence of private sector involvement and their impact on higher education leadership and gender positioning in the affairs of institutions will also be considered. The discussion will be in three phases - the period before 1960, the period between 1960 & 2000, and the post 2000 period.

3.2 Establishment of Higher Educational Institutions in Africa

The establishment of higher educational institutions in Africa is recent compared to those in the developed countries, except for those in the

northern and the southern parts of Africa. Most universities south of Sahara have been initiated or established during the latter part of the colonial era. Universities in sub-Saharan Africa were mostly set up after 1948 when the colonial administrators were beginning to hand over power to those who were to take over from them. Before then the only higher educational institute in the sub-region was the Fourah Bay College in Freetown, Sierra Leone. A few of the universities were also established as a result of nationalist struggles, examples being University of Ibadan in Nigeria and University of Ghana, Legon. These universities were therefore seen as signs of national pride and of self-reliance (Pereira, 2007).

During the period prior to 1960, most countries of sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) had one or two universities or university colleges that were fully funded by the state. The higher education system in Africa was therefore very small in terms of institutions and in student enrolments because the colonial authorities wanted just a few elitist male nationals to assist in administering the colonies. The universities in SSA were characterized by certain features which continue to be central to their running, even now. The patriarchal system of governance, residential system, admission policies and procedures, the language of instructions, restricted curricula and policy transfer are some of the features (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

Governing systems of African universities were virtually a replica of universities in Britain or France (Green, 1997). They had Governing Councils as the overall supervising body and the Academic Board or Senate as the body responsible for purely academic matters. These two major bodies were supported by other lower bodies such as the Faculty and

Departmental Boards. These were bodies which scarcely had women as members. The Governing Councils were made up of a combination of government nominees, heads of the institutions and specialist individuals who had experiences in either university administration or teaching from outside Africa and sometimes within Africa, but outside the country of the institution. These forms of governing councils were to ensure quality as well as international recognition/accreditation (Daniels, 1999). In addition to governments being represented on Governing Councils they were also involved in the appointment of the leaders of the universities. The Academic Boards were made up of a few professors who were also heads of department and mostly males.

The universities were established to run strictly on a residential basis and admission into them was carefully controlled and as already indicated, was mainly for men who were being trained to take over the reigns of government. This had gendered implications. Infrastructure for women was not catered for in earlier institutions of higher learning. The language of instructions of the institutions depended on the country of the colonial authority; these were mainly English, French, German and Spanish.

The first few universities set up in Africa by the colonial authorities also had their text-books based on European experiences (Brock-Utne, 1999) and curricula restricted to those subject areas such as law and religion which needed less investment outlay (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). The subject areas were those reserved for men as they were in Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century. Emphasis in most institutions was on the study of arts and humanities to the detriment of subjects such as agriculture, technology,

engineering and other practical courses. Educational policies during the colonial period advocated different curricula for men and women (Pereira, 2007). Musisi (1992) also reports that the content of education for women was imbued with the ideology of domesticity. Thus women's education did not prepare them to take up public and leadership positions outside of the home.

In summary, sub-Saharan African universities set up during the colonial era were small in terms of infrastructure and admitted few men into residence to read programmes which were designed to help in running the colonies. Two distinct features of African universities were the adoption of European languages as the medium of instruction and secondly the curricula were limited to few subjects. The involvement of women either as students or staff in higher education during the colonial period was very minimal. Higher education in the colonial era was certainly gendered in terms of structures and policies.

3.3   The Post colonial era (1960 – 2000)

The number of university institutions in the sub-region started increasing rapidly immediately after the colonial era as these institutions were seen in the light of the joint role the states and universities were expected to play in national development (Mamdani, 1995). Modernisation and the need to improve human capital also constituted some of the driving force behind the expansion of higher education in Africa (Dunne and Sayed, 2003). Between 1960 and 1980 Nigeria built four new universities while two new universities were established in Ghana between 1957 and 1962. The number of universities in Sub-Saharan Africa increased from 6 in 1960 to 97 in 1997

(Amonoo-Neizer, 1998). On the basis of the roles higher educational institutions were expected to play in national development, policies and legislations were enacted to guide them (Moja, 2000). In Ghana for instance, The Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST) was mandated to undertake programmes in science and technology and the University of Cape Coast (UCC) was to train teachers of science and mathematics for the secondary and technical schools. The challenge was how to ensure that these policies were implemented.

Investment in higher education appears to have been concentrated on physical structures leading to proliferation of higher educational institutions. The consequences are the difficulties institutions are experiencing currently. More money had been spent on infrastructure to the neglect of equipment provisions, and personnel to handle these institutions. The increase in enrolment and the lack of corresponding increase in academic staff is said to have had adverse effect on the quality of products. Quality appears to have been sacrificed on the altar of quantity (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). The institutions also continued to carry the same academic and governing structures even after the colonial era (Green, 1997). Governments also continued their involvement in governance of institutions because universities were thought of as national assets and the training grounds for human resource to manage development (Sall, 1995). During the latter part of 1980s, universities in the sub-region began to restructure their governing councils by expanding to include other stakeholders such as faculty, staff and students' representatives into their councils (Manuh, Gariba and Budu, 2007). Hayward (1997) however, argues that most of the governing councils of African universities seemed to have lost their traditional roles of

protecting the university, its autonomy and academic freedom because powerful members on the councils were appointed by government and they take their 'cues from the political sector'. The Academic Boards or Senates during this period also got expanded to include Vice-Chancellors, Deans, Professors and Heads of departments. Membership of Academic Boards and Senates had increased but still with fewer women than men as members.

The continued involvement of governments in the appointment of Vice-Chancellors in African Universities constituted a very sticky relationship between universities and their governments. The appointment procedures for Vice-Chancellors of African universities may be said to lie within a continuum. On one hand, the appointment is made directly by the Head of State. On the other hand, the Vice Chancellor is selected by a university body. Presently, the appointment of Vice-Chancellors in Commonwealth African countries is predominantly by the university body, but must be approved by the government (ACU, 1997). The modes of selecting these leaders have their own implications for the gendered nature of leadership in the universities. Vice-Chancellors are usually drawn from a pool of professors, either within the university or from other universities within the country. The low numbers of women professors reduces the chances of appointing women Vice-Chancellors. Out of the 17 Commonwealth countries in Africa only 5 have some of their universities headed by women (ACU, 2004).

Unlike the universities in the developed countries, for example the United States where presidents have several sources of funds, most Vice-Chancellors of African publically-funded universities depend upon just one

major source of funding - the government, and are also answerable to the Governing Council to which he or she is a member. The performance and the role university leaders in Africa have played in the post colonial era have been mixed. Vice-Chancellors' powers and influence have been eroded by government intervention and repression (Hayward, 1997). Green (1997) also argues that leadership in higher education is influenced by both national and academic cultures.

The combination of national and academic cultures has made the position of leaders in African higher education particularly difficult. They were to support creativity and questioning of government's actions and inaction by their faculty and students. Leaders were at the same time expected to respect the authority and also support government who have confirmed their appointments. The extent of government involvement in such high level appointment also determines their involvement in issues like admissions, infrastructural development and other policy matters such as gender equity (Pereira, 2007). Governmental involvement in the affairs of universities was therefore considered as the norm in most African countries.

Leadership in the university as elsewhere indicated, is experienced by other actors in the university system. The academic staff, non-academic staff and students exercise leadership responsibilities in various ways in the university. During the colonial era there was little or no voice for the general academic staff and the student body. The Academic Staff Unions in Africa have been very vocal and politically active in the postcolonial period. They have sometimes, through strikes, crippled the management of universities or as in the case of South Africa, sparked major restructuring such as gender

equity in higher education (Figaji, 1997). It is worth noting that in South Africa, the course of the various groups in changing the equity situation has greatly been improved with the end of Apartheid.

Students in sub-Saharan African universities got involved in the management of their institutions after independence and especially when the military started taking over the reigns of government in African countries (Dwarko and Kwarteng, 2003). In Ghana, for example, the Governing Councils of the public universities were restructured to include student representatives. Students have since played active part in most African universities today. They have been at the forefront of the struggle against repressive governments in Ghana, Kenya, Namibia, Nigeria and South Africa (Hayward, 1997). African students have also kept pressure on university leaders to protect or improve higher education.

During the latter part of the 1980s, with the economies of most sub-Saharan Africa countries performing poorly and funding to the universities declining, some concerns were raised about university systems. These had to do with the overall aims of the universities ensuring increase access, equity, democratization and the role of the state in the wake of neo-liberalism (Pereira, 2007). These concerns will be discussed during the latter part of this chapter. Though the various stakeholders in the university systems in Africa (government, governing boards, academic leaders, faculty member and the student body) have played several roles in either improving facilities or ensuring equity they have not openly highlighted gender inequity on the various campuses. Thus women in African higher educational institutions, either as students or staff, have not been visible in terms of university affairs.

3.4 Enrolment and Gender Equity in Higher Education

After the colonial era, enrolment into universities and other higher educational institutions in the sub-region started to increase rapidly with the increase in the number of institutions. The total students' enrolment into higher education institutions in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) rose from 100, 000 in 1970 to one million in 1980 (UNESCO, 2003). Between 1991 and 2005 enrolment into tertiary institutions in SSA tripled (World Bank Report, 2008). In terms of absolute numbers enrolment in sub-Saharan Africa lags far behind that of other developing regions of the world such as the Latin America and Caribbean as well as South and West Asia. In 2006, the enrolment figure for SSA was 3,723,000 and the corresponding figures for Latin America and Caribbean, South and West Asia were 16,247,000 and 17,253,000 respectively.

Even though sub-Saharan Africa, compared with other regions of the world has the lowest higher education enrolment, it experienced the highest average regional growth rate and for more than three decades student numbers have risen by an average of 8.6% each year. The expansion in enrolment peaked between 2000 and 2005 with an annual growth rate reaching 10% (UNESCO Educational Statistics, 2009).

The rapid expansion in the university system in some countries in Africa has been phenomenal. Currently Africa, with a total of fifty-four countries has about 300 or so universities with Nigeria having the highest number of 60 universities with close to 1,289, 655 students of which females constitute 35%. Sudan, South Africa and Egypt have 26, 21 and 17 universities

respectively. Few other countries such as Cape Verde and Djibouti do not have universities of their own (UNESCO, Educational statistics, 2004). Some also had their first universities not long ago, like the Gambia, which established its first university in 1999. With such number of countries in the continent there is bound to be diversity in function, gender distribution, performance, quality, orientation and financial support for the individual institutions in the various countries.

Enrolment figures for tertiary institutions in the sub-Saharan Africa indicate that women were poorly represented in institutions in the sub-region (see Table 3.2 below) compared with European countries, Latin America and the Caribbean and North America where women constituted the majority of tertiary students (UNESCO, 2003). Teferra and Altbach (2004), report that the extent of imbalance in female enrolment in sub-Saharan Africa's higher educational institutions has been fostered by cultural, sociological, historical and political factors. The low level of women enrolment is also said to be acute in almost all disciplines in higher education and in all countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Okolie, 2003). They account for only about 20% of students in engineering, manufacturing and they are also weakly represented in science and agriculture (EFA: GMR 2003, Statistical annex).

Table 3.1   Gross Enrolment in Tertiary Institutions

Region	1970	1991	2006
sub-Saharan Africa	100,000	1,000,000	3,723,000
Arab States	400,000	3,000,000	7,038,000
South & West Asia	4,000,000	18,000,000	17,253,000
Latin America & Caribbean	2,000,000	8,000,000	16,247,000
Developing Countries			85,331,000
Developed Countries			43,961,000
World			143,723,000

Source: UNESCO (1993, 2000 & 2009)

In terms of the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER), countries of sub-Saharan Africa also stand far below the average for both the Developing Countries (10.4%) and that of the World (22.9%) (see Tables 3.2 & 3.3). With the exception of South Africa no nation in the sub-region has a GER above 15% (UNESCO World Report, 2000). Compared to other regions of the world, sub-Saharan Africa has striking variations in terms of access, Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER), and women enrolment in higher education. UNESCO World Education Reports 2000 and 2006 indicate that in all education indicators the figures for sub-Saharan Africa are below world and developing countries figures.

Table 3.2   Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER), 2000, Figures in Percentages

Region	Total	Male	Female	F/M
sub-Saharan Africa	2.5	3.3	1.3	0.48
Arab States	22.1	20.8	23.4	1.13
South and West Asia	6.6	8.5	4.6	0.55
Europe	55.0	53.3	56.8	1.07
Developing Countries	10.4	12.0	8.7	0.73
Developed Countries	56.4	53.6	59.3	1.11
World	22.9	22;5	23.4	1.04

Source: UNESCO (2003)

Table 3.3   Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER), 2006 Figures in Percentages

Region	Total	Male	Female	F/M
sub-Saharan Africa	5	6	4	0.67
Arab States	22	22	22	1.00
South and West Asia	11	12	9	0.76
Latin America	6	5	8	1.69
Developing Countries	17	18	17	0.93
Developed Countries	67	58	75	1.28
World	25	24	25	1.06

Source: UNESCO (2008)

Between 2000 and 2006 the GER for females in sub-Saharan Africa had increased by more than 300% and the F/M ratio increasing by about 0.19. This increase compares favourably with that of the Arab States (0.13 increase) and the South and West Asia (0.21 increase) regions; though the

figure is still below the world average of 1.06. Manuh, Gariba and Budu, (2006) noted that there are several structural inequalities in enrolment in higher education in sub-Saharan Africa. The inequalities are based on age, region, social class, gender, ethnicity and rural/urban origin of candidates seeking admission into universities.

In terms of infrastructural facilities in higher education women were also disadvantaged by the facilities available to them on higher education campuses. Universities in sub-Saharan Africa were initially built mainly as residential institutions but halls of residence were provided for men rather than women (Manuh, Gariba and Budu, 2006). In addition to infrastructural inadequacies social behaviours such as gender violence and sexual harassment abound on campuses of higher educational institutions in Africa (Pereira, 2007). Morley (2003, p.113) also notes that gender violence 'can impede participation and achievement and contribute to drop-out, illness and in some instances suicide'. The concern about the prevalence of gender violence in Nigeria led to a national survey in 2001 to examine the extent of violence against women in universities and polytechnics (Pereira, 2007). Thus the environment in the higher educational institutions in the region did not seem to encourage more women's enrolment. This partly explains the disparity in gender enrolment in higher educational institutions in Africa.

There appear to be some common factors, such as the nature and structure of governance explaining the low levels of women in African higher education. A few other reasons, however, have been identified as being country-specific. Pereira (2007), writing about low female student enrolments in Nigeria attributed this to social and economic constraints, and the

stereotypical perception of the economic benefit of sending daughters to school. She further indicated that 'practices such as early marriage effectively block girls from access to higher education' (p.6). In the case of the few women who managed to get to higher education they faced problems such as sexual harassment, unsatisfactory living conditions on campuses and inability to secure jobs after graduation. These constituted enough disincentives to pursue higher education.

In South Africa, race and gender were the important determining factors for women accessing higher education during the apartheid era. Black women faced the triple problem of race, gender and violence. Makosana (2001) indicates that funding now constitutes a major factor in determining the opportunity for women to access higher education. Gaidzanwa (1997) attributes the low level of access of women into Zimbabwean higher education to early marriage and its social responsibility. Female students in Zimbabwe were found not to have the aspiration to acquire postgraduate qualifications because they lacked financial and family support. There were also no encouragement, opportunities and role models (Gaidzanwa, 1997).

Access to higher education training in Ghana has often disadvantaged women, and could explain why there still few women teaching and working at the university level in Ghana. There are also social and traditional factors which make it less likely for women to study abroad. For example, married women may find that the society somehow frowns on them if they 'leave' their children to study abroad and leave them in the care of their husbands. This section provides some data on access to higher education training and

how that might have shaped participation rates in higher education academic and administrative positions.

Two types of Ghanaian students study abroad - those sponsored by the Government and those who are self-sponsored. Every year, hundreds of Ghanaians travel abroad to pursue both undergraduate and post-graduate qualifications. Most of those who are sponsored through Government of Ghana scholarship go to institutions in the USA or the UK. Traditionally, over the past forty years the Ghanaian Government awarded five (5) scholarships every year to staff of each public university to pursue programmes abroad. These scholarships are made with no attempt to ensure gender equity in the distributions of scholarships to staff. Records from the Scholarships Secretariat indicate that most of the awards have gone to men between 1989 and 1995; only thirty-nine (39) women were offered scholarships to pursue postgraduate studies abroad as against one hundred and ninety-one (191) men. From 2000 and 2008, the corresponding figures for women and men were one hundred and fifty-eight (158) and four hundred and sixteen (416) respectively (The Scholarships Secretariat, Ghana, 2010). A similar trend occurs with scholarships awarded at UCC for example, between 2001 and 2010 of the twenty-six staff members of UCC who were awarded scholarships to pursue PhD degrees abroad only two were women (see table 3.4)

Table 3.4: Gender Distribution of Ghana Government Scholarships, UCC

Academic Year	Male	Female	Total
2001	5	0	5
2002	5	0	5
2003	4	1	5
2004	5	0	5
2005	3	0	3
2006	1	0	1
2007	1	1	2
2008	-	-	-
2009	1	0	1
2010	1	0	1
	26	2	28

Source: Division of Human Resources, UCC, 2010.

In addition to the Ghanaian Government annual scholarship, there are other bi-lateral arrangements between the Ghanaian Government and several other countries and organisations. Examples of these scholarships include the Commonwealth Scholarship, the Fulbright Scholarship with the USA, and the Eastern Europe Scholarship. These other scholarships are keenly contested, and there is no indication that issues of gender equity in the award of these scholarships count as an important criterion.

The need to award these scholarships and the pressure to pursue postgraduate studies outside the country are due to several factors including the inability of local higher educational institutions to absorb all qualified students, and the unavailability of certain specialized programmes in local

universities. The scholarships reserved for the universities have been open and very competitive, and this seems to have taken priority over any consideration of gender equity in the award of scholarships.

However, the other Scholarships open to the general public, for example, the Eastern Europe Scholarships, were accessed by relatives (mainly male) of top government personnel (civil servants) who knew of the scholarships, and the time for their application. Graduates who have benefited from such scholarships hold advantage over their local colleagues in terms of early completion and recognition. This view is clearly observed in the annual brochures published by the various public universities during their congregations (Vice-Chancellor's Annual Report, 2008).

A few women have indirectly benefitted from these awards by way of travelling with their partners to those countries and pursuing programmes while in abroad. Women who obtain such awards also have some advantages over their colleague who pursue their programmes at home/locally. The demands for women pursuing postgraduate programmes in Ghana are usually perceived to be more difficult than in overseas. At home, as a result of social roles/gender division of labour, female students carry the burden of having to combine their studies with other difficult responsibilities such as caring for child (if married) and caring for the home. The academic environment at home is also less friendly in terms of facilities (library and access to the internet), and support given by supervisors.

A few women who study at home do have the privilege of being supported by the extended family relatives, for example, mothers and servants; but this

also comes with both social and financial cost. This probably explains why even when it comes to postgraduate training in Ghana, more men than women appear to have benefitted (see table 3.5). Women who manage to study for their higher education qualifications in the country often have to juggle their traditional gender roles and responsibilities with the high expectations of postgraduate training.

Table 3.5: PhD Graduates from 2000/2001 – 2009/2010, UCC

Academic Year	Males	Females	Total
2000/2001	1	-	1
2001/2002	1	1	1
2002/2003	2	-	2
2003/2004	4	-	4
2004/2005	4	-	4
2005/2006	2	2	4
2006/2007	6	3	9
2007/2008	2	1	3
2008/2009	9	2	11
2009/2010	5	-	5
	38	9	47

Source: School of Graduate Studies and Research, UCC, 2010.

In summary, the women aspiring to careers in higher education have to overcome social and institutional challenges that start from how they access scholarships for study. It also explains why they are so few women working in higher education in Ghana given that very few have been able to access scholarship given to study abroad for Masters or Doctorate degrees. Also

some women may delay their aspiration for further study, at home and abroad, due to expectations of them to fulfil certain traditional roles e.g. get married at a certain age, or care for their families. For example, the idea that a married woman with children would go to study abroad, and leave the care of the home to her husband or other family relations may be frowned upon by some traditions, and this may further discourage some from pursuing further study, or postpone this till much later, by which time many of their contemporary male counterparts have acquired qualifications that give them an edge in terms of professional progression.

3.5 Academic and professional women in Higher Education

As indicated earlier women's under-representation in higher education is not limited to students' enrolment. The globally noted low female representation among academic and professional staff is very severe in African universities and the percentages of women staff are much smaller than that of the students (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

Table 3.6 Tertiary Teachers in Sub-Saharan Africa, 2007 (% Female)

Country	Percentage Female
Ghana	11
Guinea	03
Lesotho	47
Madagascar	30
Malawi	34
South Africa	51
Tanzania	18

Source: UNESCO (2009)

Comparative figures show that there are fewer women teachers in tertiary education in Sub-Saharan Africa than the rest of the world (see Table 3.6)

Table 3.7   World (Regional) Tertiary Teachers 2007 (% Female)

Region	Percentage Female
Sub-Saharan Africa	26
Arab States	34
Central & Eastern Europe	52
Central Asia	50
North America & Western Europe	41
World	42

Source: UNESCO (2009)

The sub-regional figure of 26%, it is presumed has been influenced by that of a few countries like Lesotho and South Africa that have relatively higher numbers of women teaching in the tertiary institutions. Sylla (2003), reports that women constitute only 4 per cent of the academic staff in higher educational institutions in Guinea. In Uganda, women form 20 per cent of the established academic post and in South Africa they constitute 51 per cent of the academic staff (UNESCO, 2009). The percentages of women academics also differ even amongst universities in the same countries. In Nigeria, for example, universities in the north have lower percentages (less than 10%) of female academics than those in the south (less than 27% but greater than 15%) (Pereira, 2007).

Manuh, Gariba and Budu (2006) report that female representation among academic and professional staff is fairly low in all Ghanaian institutions.

They also explained that whereas the career path of male staff are normally continuous that of females are often disrupted by considerations of family life. Male colleague are therefore likely to progress faster than their female counterparts. Onsongo (2002) listed a number of reasons for the low level of women's under-representation in both the academy and on management in Kenyan universities. Some of the reasons were lack of accommodation on campus, lack of child care facilities, lack of encouragement and the perception that career ambition was unfeminine. She also indicated that sexual harassment was so rife and that alone discouraged women from seeking promotion because successful ones were assumed to have had relations with senior men.

The low percentages of women in both administrative units and the academic departments are reflected in the acute under-representation in decision-making and senior leadership positions. An ACU survey conducted in 1997 found that women were poorly represented in senior management positions in universities of the Commonwealth.

In summary, the period after the colonial era had seen rapid growth in higher education in sub-Saharan Africa in terms of infrastructure and enrolment. However, absolute growth in enrolment has been slow compared to other regions of the world, in the sense that those who have access to higher education represent less than 3% of the age-group who are supposed to be enrolled (UNESCO, 2003). Thus the demand for access to higher education remain high despite the leap in enrolment from 1million in 1997 to 3million in 2002 (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

Fielden (1994) maintains that rapid increases had been recorded in a number of higher educational institutions in sub Saharan Africa during the period following independence. Effective planning in ensuring expansion in higher education, however, had been disturbed in many countries due to instability as result of military coups and governance changes. The consequences are the difficulties institutions are experiencing currently. Imbalances in gender enrolment as well as representation at senior management level continue to be a major problem. Financial inadequacies and its attendant problems face the leadership of higher educational institutions in the sub-region. These are some of the issues to be discussed in the next section.

3.6   Contemporary issues

A number of issues plaguing the higher education scene in sub-Saharan Africa are examined here in the light of the role leaders would have to play and the impact they are likely to have on gender participation, governance, funding, pressure of expansion in enrolment, gender disparity, tools for research, infrastructure support, emergence of private universities and addressing the problem of brain drain. These issues which have become problematic to higher educational institutions in Africa have come about as a result of the combined effects of their history, the post independence performance of the economies of the various countries and globalization (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

Some years after independence most sub-Saharan African countries had turbulence in governance as a result of series of military coups. Leaders and management of universities were not spared these national upheavals.

Academic staff and other officers were persecuted and harassed and some thrown into jail for being outspoken against military dictatorship. Leadership and governance of the universities in Africa became problematic for two reasons.

First, universities had been politicized due to active involvement of governments both during and after the various military regimes (Pereira, 2007). University leadership could not freely control their missions, plans and enrolment targets. They depended on governments for policy directives, especially on student intake. The second and major problem university leadership faced involved dealing with inadequate funding from their governments. Universities in sub-Saharan Africa still depend on their governments for funds for both recurrent expenditure and capital projects. The levels of funds released to universities are determined arbitrarily. Manuh, Garibah and Budu (2006) writing on Universities in Ghana, report that the major concerns about funding were (i) the adequacy and timeliness (ii) the sharing responsibilities and (iii) the utilization and management of resource.

Virtually all African universities now face severe financial crisis which have their sources from the pressure of increasing enrolment, the inability of students to pay tuition fees and economic problems faced by individual countries (Altbach, 2001). The Education For All (EFA) policy adopted by some countries in SSA during the late 1980s also resulted in a massive increase in the number of students who qualify to enter universities, and the universities are under pressure from both government and society to increase enrolment.

The universities which until recently were 90 to 95 percent funded by governments are being asked to seek alternative sources of income to support what governments can give (Teferra and Altbach, 2004). Public expenditure per student in real terms had declined from $6,300 in the 1970s to an average of $1,500 in 1988 and to $566.1 in 2001 (UNESCO Statistics, 2003). The extent of financial challenge Ghanaian Universities face is indicated in Effah's (2003) report that in 2000 the five public universities received only $18 million out of the budgeted $32 million.

Universities in Kenya, Ghana, Nigeria, Uganda, South Africa and a few others have currently adopted cost-sharing strategies with students and parents to supplement funds from their governments. Success has been made in the area of cost-sharing in countries like Uganda with the experience of the Makerere University (Musisi, 2001). However, this policy has gendered implications especially in a society where women's education is undervalued and seen as consumption rather than investment (Licuanan, 2004). Thus, as earlier indicated, families which have very limited financial resources prefer to sponsor boys rather than girls to pursue higher education.

The effects of the shortage of funds on the current performance of sub-Saharan African universities are numerous; inability to purchase published and teaching materials, laboratory equipment required for research and most importantly to pay attractive salaries. Insufficient capital funding has also led to difficulties in maintaining physical structures which are already under stress due to overcrowding. Inability to maintain or increase physical structures such as accommodation has gender implications as well. For example, universities in sub-Saharan Africa have accommodation for some

academic and administrative senior staff on campus. Provision of accommodation serves as incentives for retention of staff and also offers security in terms of location. In situations where there are fewer housing units it is senior academic and administrative personnel, mostly men who benefit from the available facilities (Pereira, 2007).

3.7   The effects of globalization on African universities

The crisis situation in higher education in sub-Saharan Africa has also been exacerbated by the impact of globalization. According to Blackmore (2000), globalization has differentiated effects on nations, higher educational institutions, communities and individuals. Globalization is seen as generally emphasizing the declining power of the state and the ascendancy of the market, thus less involvement of the state in higher education in terms of funding (Slaughter and Leslie, 1997). Globalization effects on universities are numerous but those which are of interest to this study are the concerns over gender, the changing role of the state, the changing leadership/management approach and the changing legitimacy of the university as the sole site for the production of knowledge and the neo-liberal policies that higher education leaders have to deliver.

African universities have adopted the globalisation practices of pushing towards corporate managerialism. The administrative and academic cultures adopted as a result of their colonial linkage tend to value and reproduce concepts of career, academic achievement and intellectual work that are based on male traits and characteristics. Universities in Africa just like their counterparts elsewhere, also discount such factors as domestic and family

responsibilities that tend to affect some women academics in their career advancement (Currie and Thiele, 2001).

For years the nation state has been the sole financier of the university but not so now (Delanty, 2001). As a result of this shift in financing, universities are being forced to change their mode of management and behave like businesses. They now have to look for other financiers, compete for students, top professors and professionals and also compete amongst themselves for the state's diminishing budget (Delanty, 2001). The new approach to management described by writers (Blackmore and Sachs, 2001; Delanty, 2001) as the 'new managerialism' requires universities' Vice-Chancellors and Presidents to be astute entrepreneurs while Deans and Head of departments behave as managers.

In addition, faculties, departments and sections now become cost units and their processes systematically evaluated and controlled by managers. Universities are thus required to examine and account for the efficient use of resources. Comparing the previous system of academic self- governance with the new managerialism, Delanty (2001, p.107) argues that the earlier system was 'not time-efficient' and that the 'new managerialism' concentrates power in the hands of few senior managers, mainly men, who take quick decisions. Since universities in the sub-region are part of the global education community they have to behave like other universities elsewhere on the globe. How have African universities been affected by globalization and what has been the impact on governance/ leadership and gender involvement in leadership?

Alternative financiers in the sub-region are few or not available and students are unable to pay tuition fees. This state of affairs put pressure on management since the public will be seeking for efficient utilization or account of the few resources. This also raises the competitiveness for leadership positions in higher education where applicants use all sort of unprofessional conduct and tactics to acquire positions.

Globalization is also said to have 'redefined many professionals as knowledge workers' and knowledge is also seen as a 'commodity and resource to help create wealth' (Brooks, 2000, p.17). Professionals have thus become difficult to manage or lead because they have become 'international commodities' which might be purchased by the highest bidder. This poses a difficult problem for leaders of higher educational institutions in Africa and other developing countries in stemming the brain drain. This situation in many respects reinforces the inequalities between universities in Africa and those in the Western World (Altbach, 2004).

Altbach (2004) discusses some positive and negative impact that globalization has had on higher education in Africa and other developing countries. He argues that globalization, through the use of improved information and communication technologies has expanded access and made it easier for students and scholars to study and work anywhere. Improved mobility has resulted in a number of African students seeking higher education in the developed countries. This is also because universities in the sub-region do not have the capacity to absorb the increase in demand for higher education. Unfortunately it has also opened avenues for scholars to seek appointment outside the region.

Altbach (2004) considers the English language as a factor in globalization to which Anglophone Africa university scholars have benefited in terms of their ability to access reputed internationally circulated journals which are mostly published in English. Individuals from these universities can also attend international and regional scientific meetings which are exclusively held in English. The English language is also used extensively on the internet. The question is, have these African institutions benefited from these facilities? Not much, I think. Universities in sub-Saharan Africa do not have enough funds to either purchase the journals or attend the meeting and or to hook fully onto the internet.

Globalization and the declining role of the state have also impacted on the style and type of leadership and management of African higher education. African higher education leaders have until recently held on to the collegial approach to leadership and governance introduced during the colonial era (Hayward, 1997). The attention of these leaders was focused more on the welfare aspects of their university communities. Leadership of African universities now faces the task of changing the perception of the university community and the general society about the need to adopt a more business and entrepreneurial approach to management. Leaders of universities in this region face serious difficulties as result of the cultural orientation of the societies within which their institutions are sited.

Societies in sub-Saharan Africa have very strong cultural traditions of obedience to authority and attachment to paternalistic leadership (Oduro, 2005). Further, the complexity of the university system and the need to listen

to both the internal and external constituencies make things difficult for them. Leaders of universities have to serve as links between the various campus 'militant' communities and the government. This militant posture has gendered implications. The militant nature of students and sometimes that of staff make people assume that leadership in the universities in this area are the preserve of men (Odejide, 2001). Leaders in higher education also act as peacemakers in view of the numerous strikes by students and staff against governments, and at the same time act as business advocates for financial and infrastructural support for their institutions.

Globalization is said to open access and makes it easier for students and scholars to study and work anywhere but at the same time imposes barriers and standards on institutions (Altbach, 2004). Barriers to knowledge and to journals via the internet are imposed by way of high cost of band width and equipment. High global standards are also set for institutions in the sub-region in spite of their weak financial and infrastructural support. As indicated already, the universities in sub-Saharan Africa were originally set up to cater for limited number of students. However, over the past two decades there has been massive demand for access which has been made possible by the advent of new information technology.

The doors of higher education, through improvement in ICT, have been opened through distance teaching to many other students especially women, who would normally not have been admitted to the regular university. Despite the openings created as result of globalization and the increase in female enrolment in higher education over the past few years the impact has not been felt at leadership and decision-making levels. Morley et al. (2006),

report of the slow rate at which women are entering senior management and academic positions in some Commonwealth African universities.

Higher educational institutions in the sub-Saharan Africa have generally been neglected in terms of funding due to the poor economic performance of the countries during the 1980s. Governments have had to pay attention to other pressing issues like wars, draught, health and developmental projects (Ajayi, Goma and Johnson, 1996; Manuh, Gariba and Budu 2006). Manuh et al. (2006) noted that this state of affairs led to the stagnation and deterioration of physical facilities, and massive reduction in research activities in many universities in Africa. Other consequences of the neglect were the emigration of academic and other staff thus placing enormous burden on the remaining teaching staff.

3.8   Brain Circulation

Brain circulation, until recently labelled 'brain drain', has had a severe impact on higher education in most developing countries including sub-Saharan Africa, however, its gendered implications are difficult to map as the gendering of brain circulation is complex (Morley et al. 2006). A number of African countries experienced a massive exodus of its academic staff during the 1990s. The Government of Uganda took a bold decision via improvement in conditions of service and salaries of academic staff to halt the brain circulation (Musisi, 2003). The massive nose diving of Ghana's economy during the 1980s led to the emigration of all kinds of professionals (doctors, nurses, basic and secondary school teachers, lecturers) from the

country. In 1990, nearly 120 medical doctors were estimated to have emigrated from Ghana (Teferra and Altbach, 2004).

The effect of brain circulation on institutions and individuals in higher education in sub-Saharan Africa varies. While discussing the gender pattern of brain drain in Nigeria, Pereira (2007, p. 148) said: 'even the freedom to leave the university is not the same for women as it is for men'. Women academics whose husbands have travelled out either have to stay back at home to take care of children to the neglect of their research work or travel abroad and while there, work to support their husbands who would be pursuing postgraduate programmes. This results in indirectly interrupting some African academic women's career path and consequently their professional progress.

Brain circulation is implicated in the massive decline in the economy of most developing countries because many professionals do leave the developing countries for the advanced countries in search of better salaries, benefits and working conditions among other factors. Within countries of the sub-Saharan Africa the economic difficulties lead to another set of brain circulation; the situation where due to poor working conditions, academics move from higher educational institutions into civil service and other non-academic institutions such as the banks. The specific gender implications of these kinds of brain circulation are difficult to assess in view of the fact that even though some academic women are indirectly involved in the movement they are generally not the initiators (Dodson, 2002).

3.9   Private Higher Education

As has earlier been indicated public universities in the sub-Saharan Africa have been unable to expand significantly enough to absorb the increasing number of applicants who qualify for higher education (Pereira, 2007). The public universities in Ghana, for example, are only able to admit just about 40 percent of the qualified applicants (Effah, 2003). The remaining qualified applicants, the greater number of them being females; have to look elsewhere for higher education. Varghese (2004) has argued that the involvement of the private sector would constitute a viable alternative to solving that problem.

A number of reasons have been given for the emergence of private universities in sub-Saharan Africa and other regions of the world. Notable among these is the inability of the public sector to satisfy the growing social demand for higher education, and the inability of public universities to respond to certain market-friendly courses and programmes (Varghese, 2004). Varghese (2004) also argues that the globalization process reinforces the need for the public to go beyond the public universities for higher education. In some African countries including Ghana, it is believed that the rapid growth in private university colleges has been the unintended response to policy measures taken by governments and the international donor agencies on the expansion in primary and secondary education without corresponding expansion in higher education.

As earlier indicated globalization has forced universities to behave like businesses and the competition for students also becomes a matter of

concern. With the opening of more windows to higher education several universities in the developed world have now turned their attention to international students as a means of generating income. Several overseas universities have begun opening campuses in the developing countries where existing institutions are unable to meet the demand for higher education. Many private higher educational institutions on the African continent are owned and or affiliated to foreign universities (Varghese, 2004). Bond University in Australia, Monash University in Australia, Business School Netherlands in Holland, the United States International University (USIU) and Daystar University both in Kenya are examples of universities in the developed world with campuses in Africa.

Private universities in sub-Saharan Africa, especially in Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Tanzania are predominantly religion-initiated (Manuh et al. 2006; Pereira, 2007) and that raises concern about diversity and gender equity. The churches are known to have pioneered that type of education for women which focused on domesticity and also divorcing them from the political, public and lucrative sphere of the economy (Pereira, 2007). Though the greater proportion of the provision of higher education in Africa remains in the hands of governments or the public institutions, private higher educational institutions have expanded faster than that of the public in terms of number of institutions.

In Ghana for example, there has been only 5 additional public universities since obtaining independence in 1957 while between 1999 and 2007 the number of private university/university colleges has risen from 1 to 20 (NCTE, 2006). Rapid increases in the number of private universities have also been recorded in Benin, Kenya, Nigeria, Senegal, Tanzania, Uganda

and South Africa. Varghese (2004), reports that there are now more than 100 private universities in sub-Saharan Africa. However, in terms of student enrolment, the public universities still dominate the scene.

Private universities are known to offer courses that have a premium both in the education market and the labour market. However, serious consideration is given to subject areas which require lower levels of investment in infrastructural facilities and also easier to attract staff. Most private universities in Ghana offer courses in Business Administration, Computer Science, Religious Studies, Education and Social Studies. On-going studies by Morley et al. (2007) indicate that female enrolment in private higher education institutions is on the increase. Females constituted 51.7% of students admitted during the 2005/2006 academic year into the largest private university in Ghana - Central University College (NCTE, 2006). Musisi and Muwanga (2003), report that private universities in Uganda attract higher percentage of women than the public universities. Female students are also known to outnumber males in some private universities in Kenya. Varghese (2004) reports that in Daystar University, female students account for 59% of total enrolment and that female students also outnumber males in USIU in Kenya.

The level of gender-parity in terms of staff employment in private universities in Africa cannot be easily generated because of the absence of adequate statistics. In terms of leadership and management, private universities in the sub-region are known to be managed by their private owners or church leaders. Women in leadership positions in these institutions are rarely discussed in the literature in view of the dependence of

most private universities on part-time staff from the public universities. Private universities also tend to depend upon senior professors from the public universities to act as heads (Varghese, 2004). These professors tend to be people who have had long experiences in public university management.

Ghanaian private universities are mostly managed by retired Registrars and Vice-Chancellors from the public universities (Manuh et al., 2006). Academic staff (both men and women) has very little involvement in the management of private institutions. Whereas the academic leadership of the institutions are placed in the hands of these retired academicians, financial management are handled by either the owners or by professionals co-opted from the religious bodies in charge. Private universities have certainly become an important segment of the higher education sector in Africa offering opportunities and access to both male and female applicants.

Summary

This chapter has tried to capture the historical factors and the environment within which the universities in Africa have developed and operated over the past four decades. The universities have been established partly as the desire to train indigenes to take over from the colonial authorities and partly as a result of nationalist struggle. Major problems of access, funding, governance and leadership, gender inequity at both student and decision-making level, and lack of research among others have been identified.

Sub-Saharan African higher educational institutions have experienced massive increase in enrolment. Enrolment into higher education in the Sub-Region has since 1990 tripled to almost 4million (Morley et al., 2010).

Women's access into higher education has also improved from 'one out of six students in 1990 to approximately one out of three today' (Morley et al., 2010, p.17). The increased participation has provided greater opportunity for access while at the same time producing more high-level skills necessary for economic growth. Access over the years has been skewed in favour of men and the consequences have been serious under-representation of women in all facets of higher education. However, at continental level, Africa has experienced massive increase in female enrolment. The change in female enrolment has taken place much faster than anticipated, for example female enrolment at UCC has risen from less than 15% in 1963 to about 32% in 2006/7 academic year (UCC Basic Statistics, 2008). This remarkable improvement in female students' enrolment has not been matched by women involvement in management and leadership positions, hence the need for a study which might provide the necessary insight into the gap in gender involvement in leadership in this university.

Social upheavals, including wars, and poor economic management in several African countries have led to funding crisis leading to inability of the public universities to expand admissions significantly to match the demand for higher education. Poor conditions of service in universities in sub-Saharan Africa as compared to the prevailing conditions in the richer countries have also resulted in the problem of brain circulation with adverse impact on the quality delivery of higher education as well as the career movement of some academic women. One of the significant issues, however, is the emergence of private investors in the higher education sector to help in expanding access to both men and women to higher education in Africa. On the other hand, the dependence of private colleges on academic staff from the public

universities tends to have negative effect on the time available for research and consequently the quality of research and graduates.

CHAPTER FOUR

Gender Inequality in Leadership – The Case of the University of Cape Coast

4.1   Introduction

This chapter examines the level of women's involvement in leadership positions as well as the workings of the University of Cape Coast system that may have contributed to or sustained gender differentials in leadership.

4.2   Historical Background and Structure

The University of Cape Coast was established as a college of the University of Ghana in 1962. The Act which gave recognition to the establishment of the institution was passed by parliament in 1971. It attained a full university status in 1971 following the receipt of the presidential assent on December 1, 1971. The university started with three faculties: Arts, Education and Science and a student population of 155 including 13 female students. The original mandate of the university was to train and produce highly qualified and skilled graduate teachers for the pre-tertiary educational institutions. It has since the mid-1970s expanded its mandate to include the training of agriculturists, health educators, educational planners and administrators, labour officers, tourism managers, actuarial scientists, physical and ophthalmic scientists and has also opened its doors to distance education students.

In order to achieve its mandate, the University of Cape Coast had to depend upon a diverse range of key actors and bodies for the purpose of policy-making and implementation. The University Council and the Academic Board constitute the two most powerful and important bodies. Each has a number of sub-committees which examine issues and make recommendations for final approval by the mother body. Other non-statutory bodies such as the Administrative Committee and Management Board help in the management of the institution. The existence of a relatively large number of committees and boards means that there tends to be a considerable input into policy-making and implementation.

In terms of academic structure, the University of Cape Coast has eight faculties/schools with a number of departments under them. Faculties and school are headed by Deans who are elected from among professors or senior lecturers (in the absence of professors). Heads of department are however appointed by the Vice-Chancellor on the recommendation of Deans. The Faculties and Departments also have a number of boards and committees which help Deans and heads in managing the affairs of the faculties and departments respectively. The Governing structures and women's involvement in leadership positions in the university are discussed in the following sections.

4.3   The Governing Structure of the University

Analysis of the statistical systems of the University of Cape Coast provides a picture of the gendered nature of the institution. The organisational and leadership structures of the University of Cape Coast are similar to most of

the pre-1992 UK universities. Considerable attention in this study has been given to gender and power distribution in the structures that constitute the various leadership modes in the institutions. Leadership in universities or higher education could be approached either by looking at the statutory structures or the actors. The University Council, the Academic Board, several other management and statutory committees of Council and Academic Board and the various Unions constitute one side of the leadership coin. The principal officers - the Chancellor, Chairperson of the University Council, Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Registrar, Deans of faculties/schools, Librarian, Finance officer, Heads of departments, Senior academic and Administrative officers, Chairpersons of statutory boards and committees as well as staff and student unions constitute the actors. The gendered nature of the structure on which the University of Cape Coast runs can be assessed beginning with the two most important and powerful regulation- making bodies - the University Council and the Academic Board.

The University Council is a distinctive feature of all public universities in Ghana, which was 'imported' from UK universities. The University of Cape Coast Council, among other functions is "responsible for the management and administration of the finances and properties of the university and has the general control over the affairs and public relations of the university including the use of the common seal of the University" (UCC Statutes, 2003, p.4). It provides a buffer and a link between the University and the Government which provides the bulk of the finances.

The University of Cape Coast Council is thus expected to provide financial as well as administrative leadership. The UCC Council started as an Interim

Governing Council in 1962 with six people and has grown to the current membership of thirteen. Between 1962 and 2007 academic years there have been 13 regimes and chairpersons for this governing Council of which only one has been a woman. In terms of membership of the sixteen-member council regimes, the maximum number of women in each has been two.

Women constitute 15.4% of the current membership (UCC Council Attendance Register, 2007). The University Council by virtue of its functions and role is considered as performing a leadership role and constituting the apex of power in the institution. In the late 1980s the Council became politicized and the membership of the Council was extensively restructured by the Military Government to exclude two vital representatives on the Council; "a person distinguished in University affairs from an African country other than Ghana" and "a person distinguished in University affairs from outside Africa" (University of Cape Coast Calendar, 1985-1987). The inclusion of representatives from outside Ghana and Africa was to provide international flavour and recognition to that leadership body. These two were replaced with representatives of the students (undergraduates and post graduates) and senior and junior staff unions.

According to the University of Cape Coast Act, 1971 (Act 390) which established the university, the government appoints the chairperson of the Council and three other representatives onto the council. These appointees are normally people within the government. Other Council members are there by virtue of their positions in the university; the Vice-Chancellor, Academic Board representatives and union leaders or presidents (staff and students) who are almost invariably males. Even those who are "in

attendance", at Council meetings - the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, the Registrar, the Director of Development and Director of Finance have always been dominated by men.

The picture presented above indicates that the most powerful decision-making body in the university has over the years been overwhelmed by men. Women in the University of Cape Coast Council are therefore statistically not visible because of their low representation which is also not reflected in any official statistical documents. This situation is likely to be the same for a long time to come if the composition is not altered in the statutes.

While the duties of the Council have remained fairly constant over time, the environment in which it operates has changed dramatically. Membership composition remains the same. The current composition of Council reflects representation of stakeholders; the government, staff (academic, administrative, senior and junior) and students. Apart from government nominees, the rest are representatives who have to compete and be voted for those positions and because women are in the minority they scarcely get appointed. This constitutes some of the features within the university structure which combine to give rise to disparities between men and women in leadership positions. This confirms the general notion that power imbalance, in terms of gender in the university, is partly structural and this trend endures in other bodies that run the university. The next policy making body after the University Council is the Academic Board.

The Academic Board, originally called the Senate, "is responsible for regulating the academic work of the university both in teaching and

research, approve the curricula of programmes, the award of degrees, diplomas, certificates and other academic distinctions, and the regulation and superintendence of the education and discipline of the students of the university" (UCC Calendar, 1985-1987). As a group, the Academic Board provides the academic leadership of the institution. It oversees the activities of departments and also determines the admission requirements for admitting students into programmes run by the departments.

The Academic Board's leadership may at best be described as participative as indicated by Sawbridge (2000). This type of leadership has some commonality with the moral leadership in the sense of involvement of followers in decision making. However, the emphasis here is on "participation and consultation based on pragmatic decision-making needs of the organisation or the institution rather than on any ideas of *moral rightness* or *what ought to be"* (Sawbridge, 2000*)*.

Sawbridge (2000) further noted that at the core of the participative leadership lies the need to establish ownership of decisions leading to;

- better quality decisions
- greater consensus and acceptance
- better understanding of the decision by those responsible for implementing it
- the development of decision-making skills throughout the organisation
- enhanced motivation and job satisfaction for staff involved in decision-making

- resolution of conflict and the development of the team (Sawbridge, 2000)

These have been the bases on which the Academic Board of the University of Cape Coast has worked or performed over the years. Relatively better quality decisions as well as greater consensus are ensured through the various sub-committees of the academic Board who examine issues thoroughly before making recommendations for ratification by the bigger body. The use of the sub-committee system ensures that more people contribute to the process of decision making. However, both membership and chairpersons of these committees are mainly males.

The membership of UCC Academic Board can be categorized into two groups; the first comprises the principal officers of the university and professors who constitute the core or permanent members. These members are: the Vice-Chancellor (Chairman), the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Deans, Professors, Associate Professors, the Librarian and the Registrar (a non-voting member) who is also the secretary to the Board.

The second group is made up of the elected members. This category has been described as 'elected' because they become members of the Board by virtue of their appointments to certain positions in the university. The statutes specify that the elected members shall hold office for two years subject to renewal for a further term only. These are Heads of Departments, Directors of Institutes, and one other full-time representative of academic departments, members of the University Council who are not elected members of the Academic Board, Heads of Halls and the Director of International Programmes.

As expected the Academic Board is dominated by men. Women form only 7.2% of the current membership of 110. The situation may be explained by the fact that all the principal officers are males, only 7.5% of professors and associate professors are women. Women constitute 9.4% of heads of Academic departments and are only 7.8% of the departmental representatives.

The statutes require that the other representatives of departments should be elected by members of the teaching staff, however, there are a number of departments where there are no women and therefore male members were automatically elected. This is another example of situations where the system appears not to have a solution to, but points to the deficiencies in the institutional structure. Thus the disparities in gender representation are sometimes not intentionally created but to attempt any changes will require special effort or statutory review.

The Academic Board also decides the criteria for the promotion of senior members, both teaching and non-teaching. Because the issue of women under-representation on the Board has not been pictured by many as problematic, the unfavourable criterion has never been raised at meetings where conditions for promotion were being considered. No doubt the under-representation of women serving on the academic board has implications for their future participation in leadership.

The meetings of the Academic Board serve as a forum where policies are formulated and major decisions are taken. It also serves as the arena for junior members of the academic staff to learn how to present issues publicly,

how to control and guide meetings and also influence decisions. Young women academics are therefore disadvantaged by their inability to benefit from this prospect. The chairpersons of the Academic Board sub-committees, thirty-three (33) in number, are appointed during Academic Board meetings. This may partly explain the link between the low levels of women in leadership positions at committee levels.

Table 4.1: Distribution of Academic Board Membership by Gender (1988-2006)

Year	Men	Women	% Women	Total
1988/90 – 90/91	60	3	4.7	63
1990/91 – 95/96	63	5	7.3	68
1995/96 – 00/01	66	3	4.3	69
2000/01 – 05/06	70	3	4.1	73
2005/06 – to date	102	8	7.3	110

Source: UCC Academic Board Attendance Register, 1990 - 2006

It is discernible from Table 4.1 that women's membership of the UCC Academic Board has been stable and very low over the years. Women's membership has been constituted by almost the same people who have occupied certain specific positions over the years; three associate professors, two heads departments and three departmental representatives. Vocational and Technical Education (VOTEC) is the only department whose head and representative to the Academic Board are women. This is not surprising because the department hitherto called Home Economics is populated mainly by women staff and female students.

The male and female composition in the Academic Board constitutes a massive power imbalance in favour of men. Thus women in the Academic Board are numerically invisible. This implies that, similar to the situation in the University Council, women are hugely underrepresented in the largest body that takes decisions on academic matters and also determines the criteria for the promotion of both academic and administrative senior members in the university. Besides the University Council and the Academic Board, the other bodies which influence decision-making in UCC are the various staff and student unions.

There are six staff and student unions in the university of Cape Coast. These are the University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG), the Ghana Association of University Administrators (GAUA), Federation of Senior Staff Association of Ghana (FUSSAG), Teachers and Educational Workers Union (TEWU), the Students Representative Council (SRC) and the Graduate Students Association of Ghana (GRASAG). The various unions have their areas of influence in the system.

The UTAG for example, by virtue of its presence in the Academic Board and Council exercises some amount of influence in the appointment of chairpersons for the various committees and boards. The TEWU executives wield a lot of power by virtue of the fact that it is the only union among the six with a bargaining power. It is important to note that leaders of all these unions are selected through voting and over the years none of these unions in UCC has ever been led by a woman. Some of the reasons for this state of affairs are indicated in the responses obtained during the research interview.

4.4 Principal and other Executive Positions

This section examines the numerical representation of women in the various executive and top academic and non-academic (administrative) positions in the University of Cape Coast. The Parliamentary Act 390 of 1971 establishing the UCC lists the following as the principal officers of the university - the Chancellor, Pro-Chancellor (Chairperson of Council), Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar. Other executive officers are Deans, Heads of Department, Directors of Institutes, Health, Development and Finance Sections. Table 4.2 below presents the numerical strength of women who occupied those leadership positions over the period 1962 to 2006.

Table 4.2: Percentage of women in Principals and other Executive Positions in the University of Cape Coast (1962- 2006)

Position/Post	Regimes	% and actual numbers of Women
Chancellor	4	0(0)
Chairperson of Council	13	7(1)
Vice-Chancellor	12	0(0)
Pro-Vice-Chancellor	15	0(0)
Registrar	10	0(0)
Deans of Faculties	40	10(4)
Finance Officer	8	13(1)
Director of Health	6	17(1)
Director of Development	6	0(0)

Source: A History of UCC, Dwarko and Kwarteng (2003) and VC's Annual Report 2007. ( ) – Number of women

A historical background of how Vice-Chancellors of UCC have been appointed over the years is relevant here. Ten individuals and one Commission have been appointed to that office from 1962 to date. The first five (1962-1978) were essentially political appointees and their appointments were terminated the same way, i.e., by government directives (Dwarko & Tenkorang, 2003).

After that, i.e. beyond 1978, the next Vice-Chancellor came to office through a competitive appointment system (Prof. Dickson's era). The importance attached to leadership with doctoral degrees and highest academic rank played a hand in the appointment of Professor Dickson as the Vice-Chancellor (UCC VC Search Committee's Report, May 4, 1979).The argument used was that since the Vice-Chancellor is the chairperson for the Appointments and Promotions Committee, he/she is expected to be present for all appointments and promotions to Associate Professor or Professor and equivalent grades (UCC Statutes, 2003; Schedule B 5 (6)). This provision implies that for the Vice-Chancellor to be able to preside over all appointments, he/she must be a Full Professor and possibly a PhD degree holder.

Records indicate that the term of Professor Dickson was truncated by the revolutionary government of Flt. Lt Rawlings, which appointed a Commission in his place to stabilize the feuding situation on campus. The Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Government again appointed the next Vice-Chancellor (Prof. Adjepong) from among senior faculty of the university who had not been embroiled with any of the factions on the campus conflict.

The tension and the conflict on campus, at that time, seemed to have revolved around the attempt by the Chief Executive and his allies to use research activities as the sole criterion for recognition, reward and promotion (Dwarko & Tenkorang, 2003). The Adjepong era was a transitional period as the university moved to secure a more research oriented image that was somehow resisted by others who felt threatened by the research oriented focus.

The records also revealed that the appointment of Vice-Chancellors during the earlier periods (1962-1992) was influenced by factors such as qualification level i.e., terminal degrees, opposing campus conflicts, and individuals who had some influence in the affairs of the Government of the day. Gender involvement in leadership at that time was not an issue. The only woman Associate Professor in UCC during the period under discussion was also deeply involved in the conflict (Dwarko and Tenkorang, 2003) and therefore the opportunity for a woman moving into the highest leadership position in UCC became elusive.

Unlike the 1970s and 1980s when the government of the day had a lot of influence on who became the Vice-Chancellor, currently, when the Vice-Chancellorship and Registrarship positions become vacant they are advertised locally in the institutions and in the international media and individuals compete for those positions. The immediate past Vice-Chancellor (2001 – 2008) who at the time of his appointment was the Pro-Vice-Chancellor was selected by the University Council after competing with three other contestants who had previously acted as Pro-Vice-Chancellors. It may be worth noting that, up till this day no woman has ever

been appointed a Pro-Vice-Chancellor in UCC. However, with effect from October 1, 2008 a woman Vice-Chancellor has been appointed. She is the first woman to be appointed to this position in the history of the university and the country.

There has also been only one woman out of thirteen chairpersons for the University Council. The positions of the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and that of the Registrar have never been filled by a woman. This situation is not surprising given the almost non-existence of women in the 'colleges' from which these officials are appointed. The statistics of the gender distribution of professors in UCC show the percentage of women as being on the average less than 12% over the years (1990- 2006).

The information above implies that the chances of women academics being nominated for executive positions such as the Pro-Vice-Chancellor are correspondingly low. Records from the Division of Documentations Office, however, indicate that previous Vice-Chancellors have always nominated a female professor as one of the three contestants for the Pro-Vice-Chancellorship post but in each case they have never won the election. Over the period 1962- 2006 there have been 4 Chancellors, 10 Vice-Chancellors, 15 Pro-Vice-Chancellors, and 10 Registrars; no woman has ever been appointed to these positions. Within the same period stated above, there has been only 1 woman out 8 Finance Officers, 3 out of over 40 deans of faculties and 10 out of 112 Heads of Departments. In the Registrar's department no woman has risen to the Deputy Registrar's position. The data provided above indicate that women's representation in management or the arena where decisions are taken is abysmally low.

Further, women's representation on bodies and committees has also been fairly low. This is in spite of the increasing numbers in female undergraduate and graduate enrolment in recent times. In 1980, 1990 and 2006 female students constituted 15%, 26% and 33.3% respectively of the total student enrolment. The corresponding figures for female academic staff were 10%, 12% and 15% respectively (UCC Basic Statistics, 1980, 1990, 2006). As at now there are no policies in the university to encourage female postgraduate students to seek appointments as academic or professional staff.

4.5   Institutional Cultures and Structures

Institutional cultures largely determine how things are done in individual institutions (Pereira, 2007). Blackmore and Sachs (2001), Brooks (1997) and Morley (2003), writing about barriers that impede women's participation in higher educational institutions, mentioned institutional cultures and structures as playing active roles in disadvantaging women. The situation is no different in universities in Ghana and the University of Cape Coast in particular. In terms of appointments, heads and departmental boards are made to review applications and recommend them for consideration by the university-wide Appointment and Promotions Board (Statutes of UCC, 2003). In most cases gendered networks and negative perception about women are likely to influence such recommendations.

It was confirmed during my interview of some of the participants that in UCC intimidating practices such as 'name calling' account for low participation and discourage women academics, administrators and students

from seeking elective positions. Anecdotal evidence indicates that a few women academics in UCC have either moved away from their departments or boycotted departmental meetings as a result of intimidation by senior male colleagues. Junior male academic staff easily fraternise with senior colleagues by way of attending committee meetings and social gatherings and thus picking 'unofficial' mentorship and experiences which lead to relatively quicker promotions. Women academics and administrators do not enjoy this informal privilege because those who appear to be closer to their heads are easily judged and labelled negatively by others without any evidence. Women academic and administrators, therefore, lack mentorship critical for their promotion and effective participation in the affairs of the university, particularly at the top level.

Over the years the issue of low representation of women in leadership positions in the university has not been problematized (Prah, 2002). This appears to be an extension of the conceptualisation of men as leaders within the society at large (Tsikata, 2007). The situation has also been assumed to be normal because until recently (2005) no conscious attempts or efforts have been made to educate the university community on this lapse. Attention is gradually being drawn to this and measures and some policies are being put in place to address the situation. The Ethics and Sexual Harassment Committees have been set up within the last academic year (2006/07) and a university-wide course in Gender Mainstreaming started during the 2007/08 academic year (Minutes of Academic Board, March 19, 2007).

4.6 'Times-Space Surveillance' in UCC

Collinson and Collinson (1997) examined the relationship between organisational restructuring, managerial competences and gender. The issue of 'time-space surveillance' of managers and its implications for female managers have also been examined by Fuchs Epstein, Sautee, Oglenstry and Gever (1995). Fuchs-Epstein et al. (1995) found out that while most working women try to make maximum use of their workplace time in other to have time for other domestic activities their male counterparts stay late to catch the eyes of their bosses who erroneously equate that to being industrious. Unfortunately, this observation still has some relevance in UCC.

Though the study by Fuchs Epstein et al. (1995) was in relation to lawyers and not applicable to all female workers, these studies have some relevance in the study of the gendered nature of management and leadership of the universities. Experience in UCC shows that some male faculty members are noted to stay in office late into the night when there may be less interruption from students in order to do academic work when most female colleagues hurry home to take care of their families.

Indeed this observation has its practical manifestation in UCC where Deans and heads of departments are likely to assign positions to male faculty on the false assumption that they spend more time at work. Again, this is to the disadvantage of the female academics and projects which could count towards promotion may even be assigned to male lecturers on those bases. This stresses the gendered division of labour, and many women's over-responsibilities for the private/domestic domain leaving them with less time

to participate fully in leadership. Women academics in the University of Cape Coast must have very adroit planning to hold career and domestic responsibilities together. Some professional women in Ghana try to resolve this problem by employing the services of domestic servants, mainly poor and less educated women, to perform the domestic work, sometimes at financial and social cost. The background of the situation in the University of Cape Coast with respect to its historic beginning, governing and social structures form the bases of the methodology adopted in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE
Methodology

5.1   Introduction

Earlier chapters of this thesis have been used to highlight the issue of under-representation of women in higher education leadership in terms of contribution to corporate development. The theoretical frameworks and critical reasons for leadership challenges in higher education institutions have been examined. These include, particularly, the socio-economic factors that have conspired to bring about gender inequalities both at international, national, and local levels. The situation in sub-Saharan African universities discussed in Chapter 3 provided the historical and economic reasons for the sustenance of under-representation, taking into consideration the difference in the socio-cultural, economic and political settings in which higher education institutions are located. In this chapter, the methodology adopted for the studies and the challenges associated with their usage are presented.

The units of analysis for the study are the top executives of the University of Cape Coast, who were selected to provide the management perspectives about leadership, and women leaders to react to and or discuss the issue of equity in the university. Other participants purposively selected were to provide the equity and women leadership discourses circulating around the university. Further, the organisational and other related structures that tend to influence/impede the involvement of women as university leaders also constitute a focus of enquiry for this thesis. The data collected involved

semi-structured interview with students, middle level academic and administrative staff and top level executives. The sample size for the interview was 20 and the participants were selected for various reasons ranging from their current or previous involvement in leadership positions.

5.2   Research Questions

The research questions which were used in probing the topic were as follows:

How is leadership perceived and experienced by both male and female managers and other staff at the University of Cape Coast?

How is female leadership perceived by male and senior managers?

What aspects of organisational structure influence the involvement and motivation of women as university leaders?

What are the characteristics of women who have managed successfully into leadership positions?

5.3   Research Design

This study was exploratory in nature and was based on a case study design. The grounds for my selection of case study site were convenience and accessibility and the intent was to seek a contextualised account of settings, experiences and perceptions of the problem under study. Conducting research in one's own organisation enables the researcher to 'develop a level of detail about the individual, or place and to be involved in actual

experiences of participants' (Creswell, 2003, p.181). The data collected came from a number of sources of data – unobtrusive measures based on the analysis of documents and existing statistical data, 20 semi-structured interviews and non-participant observation.   Such triangulation ensures interactiveness as well as a broad-based approach to unravelling the problem of gender inequalities in higher educational leadership (Crosswell, 2003). The intention was to investigate and understand the case of under-representation of women in leadership positions in the University of Cape Coast. Consequently the methodological approach was informed by my research questions. This methodological triangulation was achieved by using documentary materials obtained from Academic Board and Council files and minutes, books, statistical data on students and staff of UCC, world and regional data on tertiary education, and the information obtained through the semi-structured interviews.

5.4   The Study Site

The University of Cape Coast is the research site. As already indicated the site was chosen primarily because the statistical data showed the presence of under-representation of women on its major leadership bodies; for example, there is only 1 woman on the current 16-member University Council and there are only 10 women in the 124-member Academic Board. UCC has a Faculty of Education, a faculty offering programmes which are normally assumed to be women friendly and yet women are under-represented on its Faculty Board (5%) and academic staff (22.7%) (UCC Basic Statistics, 2007). Further, the study site was chosen because it is my place of work, and for that matter it is convenient and also because of accessibility.

The University of Cape Coast is the third public university in terms of age of higher educational institutions and it has similar structures as all other publicly funded universities in Ghana. The overall governing body – University Council, the Academic Board, sub-committees of the two bodies, Faculties and Schools are headed by deans, staff and students unions, and the admissions procedures, appointments and promotions policies are about the same as that University of Ghana, Legon and the Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology (KNUST). The university is surrounded by eight villages which also exercise social influence on both staff and students' behaviour.

5.5   Data Collection

There are multiple means of collecting qualitative data. These include documents, archival records, interviews, direct and participant observations. According to Tellis (1997) letters, articles, administrative documents, agendas and minutes constitute documents. He also claims that these constituents of document help in the triangulation of evidence. In this study 3 sources of data were collected; first is the use of unobtrusive methodology. This entailed the use of considerable amount of statistical data from United Nation Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), ACU, Basic Statistics from the three oldest public universities, Minutes books of UCC Council, Academic Board, Appointment and Promotions Board, and Faculties of Science and Education Boards and Convocation file, all of UCC, and the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE) were consulted. The statistical data present in absolute terms the extent of gender

imbalances in leadership positions in higher education at both the global and local levels.

The second set of data was collected from 20 semi-structured interviews with eighteen administrative and academic staff, and two students. Fetterman (1989) describes interviewing as the most important data collection technique a qualitative researcher possesses. The purpose of interviewing is to access the perspectives, perceptions and experiences of respondents (Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). The flexibility of this form of interview enabled me to vary the order of my questioning to suit the participants and also to follow new leads emerging from individual interviews. The interview also allowed participants to freely express their thoughts about any particular issue relating to the study, though, this approach has the potential to unnecessarily extend the time for the research and also lead to loss of focus.

According to Mason (2002) sampling should be driven by the 'concern to identify who it is that has, does or is experiences, perspectives, behaviours, practices, identities, personalities and so on that the research questions will require to investigate', (p.129). In my case, it was a question of who can represent or talk about women leaders in my organisation. My methodological position as discerned from my orientation to this study was one of critical realist (Gore, 1992). I was not only interested in unpacking the 'hidden' challenges that women faced in rising to positions of authority and power in higher education, but was also committed in ensuring that such insights would produce pathways for reforming the system so that women had better chance of taking up leadership positions and be respected for their achievements in reaching those heights. To achieve this, my own positioning

and approach to the research was very important. I sought to use the interview approach to offer a space for my respondents to articulate their experiences, and together with me as an inquirer, think of how the university might respond better to the challenges they describe. In that sense, I always positioned myself in relation to the women I interviewed as an empathic reformer genuinely interested in their stories beyond what it revealed, but to what it meant for reforming the system.

Thus, my methodological position was informed by theories of power and gender in social discourse and interaction (Gore, 1992). Because of this theoretical orientation, I wanted to work with women who had actually overcome barriers and who understand deeply what might be required to reform the structures and process at UCC. I was also interested in what some men had to say about the issue of women in leadership position, and how they have perceived the challenges from their perspectives. Partly this was to triangulate my data, but also to 'test' some of the insights emerging from my primary source (women), and develop a more robust analysis of my data and strengthen the basis of my findings.

This led me to identify administrative and academic leaders at UCC who would be in the position to share their knowledge and experiences of aspiring to leadership positions and/or their experiences once they had attained a leadership position at the university. The identifiable leadership positions included individuals (actors earlier identified in chapter 2) who were members of the University Council, Academic Board, Committees, Union Executives or Students Union Executives.

The individuals chosen for the study were from the Chief Executives Officers (CEO), University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG), Ghana Association of University Administrators (GAUA), Deans, former and current Heads of Department, Academic Board, Committee and their sub-committees, and Students Representative Council (SRC). Some participants belonged to one or more of the categories, for example a former Head of department had been a member of University Council and at the same time a member of UTAG. A CEO could be also be a member of GAUA, and therefore could provide a more or several perspectives, a perception required to respond to the research questions. Except for the two student leaders, I had known each of the remaining participants for more than three years either as members of committees that I have serviced or have interacted with by virtue of their positions.

Table5.1: Distribution of Interviewees by Position and gender.

Category	Male	Female
Chief Executive Officers (CEO)	3	0
University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG)	1	3
Ghana Association of University Administrators (GAUA)	0	2
Former Head of Department	1	2
Current Head of Department	1	2
Dean	1	2
Student	1	1
Total	8	12

In terms of the power distance between me (the researcher) and the participants, it is instructional to note the following about the structure of the University of Cape Coast. Teaching and administrative positions in the university have equivalences, for example; Assistant Registrar/Assistant Accountant are equivalent in status to the Lecturer while the Deputy Registrar/Deputy Finance Officer are equivalent to the Associate Professor and so on. The Academic Registrar, normally a Deputy Registrar, works closely with heads of departments and Deans of Faculties for the purposes of admissions and examinations. There existed wide power distance between me and the students (one male and one female) and I had to take time and effort to negotiate the relationship, especially the female student.

The relationship between me and the other participants had thus developed from my duty as the secretary to a number of committees to which they were members or chairperson. My position as the Academic Registrar responsible for admission and examinations also improved my access to them. As Deputy Registrar I had over the years established rapport with various faculty members and understood the 'language' of communication that was appropriate to create trust and collegiality. By the same token, I was fully aware of how my position could raise suspicion and create distance between me and my research subjects. In seeking for 'trusted' subjects to engage with in this research I used opportunities during meetings to problematise certain observations that learnt themselves to my subject of enquiry, and approached those who were interested in the subject. But before the actual interviews however, I explained why they were chosen and why I thought they might provide me with some insights into the issues I was exploring. None of the possible candidates I spoke to refused to participate, however, a few were

not available for the interview during the appointed time for reasons I do not know.

A total of 20 participants were interviewed including 8 men and 12 women. The average age of the men and the women was 56 and 45 respectively. All the men except 2 were of professorial status (for academics) or equivalent level (for administrators). Those in the academic areas had doctoral degrees (PhD) and those of the administrative positions had masters' degrees. All are married with children except the student. In the case of the women, 2 were of professorial status with doctoral degrees, above 56 years and married with children. The ages of the 9 women staff range from 37 to 52, and are of lectureship status even though 5 of them have been heads of department before. Two had PhDs and the rest had master's degree. The female student was 24 years. The distribution of the interviewees is given below.

Table 5.2 Distribution of Interview Participants by Staff Category

Category	Male	Female	Total
Academic Staff	3	6	9
Administrative Staff	4	5	9
Students	1	1	2
Total	8	12	20

After the initial pilot interview I decided against the use of a recorder in most of the interviews because I realised participants felt rather more comfortable without it since they could cite names of other

individuals/officers during the interviews. However, I recorded the interviews involving the two highly placed women. This was done because I could see from their attitude that they were very confident and very willing to provide information. Thus, in the other interviews I had to fall on my experience of copious minutes recording to pick maximum information from such interviews. I also had to devote the next two to three hours after each interview to 'fill in' the gaps. A prepared interview schedule (Appendix A) was used as a guide to ensure areas indicated in my research questions were considered during the interviews.

The third set of data was obtained through non-structured non-participant observations. Observations were made at several settings; at formal meetings such as Academic Board, Executive Committee of Academic Board, Management Committee and Faculty Boards where women in leadership positions such as deans and heads of departments were present. At most of these meetings I was there in my official capacity as the Deputy Registrar or secretary where record and observation of power relations, reactions and contributions to women's' concerns were made. Secondly, observations were made at public forums or meetings of staff unions and that of students.

The third observations took place at offices of Deans and Head of departments and units where women were heads. These observations were intended to capture the attitudes, confidence and approaches of women in leadership positions. They also gave me the opportunity to observe the reactions of staff, both males and females to female leaders' actions in offices and at meetings. How colleagues and subordinates reacted to

suggestions, contributions and directives or instructions of women leaders were captured through these observations. These covert observations did help in avoiding any reactivity on the part of the individuals who were observed. In order to make a fair interpretation of the observations, the data gathered were cross-checked against the data obtained from the interviews.

I am not unaware of the ethical issues and the possible biases that come with covert observations. The issue of not obtaining permission to enter the settings and to study the situation creates a big ethical problem (Creswell, 2003). The difficulty with this approach is also that, sometimes, it takes a long time to achieve or even pick data; for example, on two occasions when I sat in a union meeting, no female spoke to enable me capture the reaction of other members. In the reporting of the data collected from observations special care was taken such that there was no disclosure of highly sensitive information or mention of names or items which could be traced to individuals.

Finally, in all cases of this study, I have taken note of the British Educational Research Association (BERA) Ethical Guidelines, especially with respect to responsibility to participants.

5.6   Data Analysis

Data were collected from different sources; documents (such as United Nations, University of Cape Coast - yearly statistical publications, minutes books), observation and semi-structured interviews. Data were collected from twenty (20) semi-structured interviews. The recorded notes were

ordered to take the form of sequential narratives. Data from observations were also turned into textual descriptions.

The responses from the semi-structured interviews were first classified according to the questions raised in the interview schedule to take the form of sequential narratives so as to compare responses horizontally. This method also allowed for inserting subheadings under which discussions were made, thus giving a descriptive sense of what each section of the text is about.

Having decided on what constitutes the data from the semi-structured interview the next approach was to sort and organise the data. This I did by adopting the cross-sequential/categorization/coding (Mason, 2002, p. 152). The idea was to generate a systematic overview of the data and locate and retrieve information and themes which do not appear in an orderly or sequential manner. Categorisation and coding was used specifically to address the research questions.

Data analysis is one of the bigger challenges of qualitative research, given the various tasks involved in it. Bogdan and Biklen (2003) describe qualitative data analysis as "working with data, organising it, breaking it into manageable units, synthesizing it, searching for patterns, discovering what is important and what is to be learned, and deciding what you will tell others" (1982, p. 145). Qualitative researchers tend to use inductive analysis of data, which allows for critical themes for discussion to emerge out of the data (Patton, 2002). This process requires a degree of creativity, given the challenge of placing raw data into logical, meaningful categories, examining them in a holistic fashion, and finding ways to communicate such

interpretations to others (Hoepfl, 1997). There are, however, a number of effective tools and techniques available for the analysis of qualitative data (Miles and Huberman, 1994). The use of inductive and deductive approaches has been identified as effective tools for qualitative data analysis (Berg, 2001). The inductive approach allows for the emergence of themes from the data collected whereas deductive analysis starts with a hypothesis and usually happens in the confirmatory stage of the analysis. For this study, therefore, a combination of inductive and deductive approaches was adopted to categorise the factors and variables entailed in the data. The analysis progressed in two stages.

Stage one of the analysis entailed thorough individual interview transcripts:

1. Transcripts were reviewed manually, line by line, in order to identify patterns or themes and produce key words and phrases (inductive process). This process is sometimes referred to as "open coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

2. Labels or categories were produced from the key words or phrases as a way to uncover common factors or variables.

3. Relationships among the factors or variables were established.

4. Identified factors or variables were matched with those from the literature.

Stage two of the analysis involved cross interview transcripts:

1. Similarities and differences in the factors or variables were identified in order to determine how they were linked. This process is referred to as "axial coding" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998).

2. Integrated links among the factors and the variables were established.

3. Similar factors and variables were identified and given common names, while retaining the unique variables.

4. Key factors and variables related to the study's objectives and research questions were identified.

5. The identified factors and variables in the transcripts were used to answer the study's research questions.

"Qualitative research reports are characterized by the use of "voice" in the text; that is participants' quotes that illustrate the themes being described" (Hoepfl, 1997). In line with the general trend of qualitative research reports, direct quotations of responses were included in the thesis. Names of respondents, however, were not attached in order to protect the confidentiality of respondents

5.7 My Role and Ethical Considerations

I have chosen to discuss my role and the ethical issues involved in this study because I realised that 'ethical angst in the field is inevitable when the work involves others – whether they are colleagues, respondents, assistants or people in positions of authority' (Curran, 2006, p.198).

Ethical problems had been encountered during my data collection process. These were during the interviews as well as around the issue of observation and during what one might call 'covert' observation in particular. The major problems had revolved round the power dynamics which operate around my role as well as the issue of informed consent and my rights over the data and analysis.

The ethical challenges that I faced revolved round the power dynamics which operate around my role, some of which I discussed earlier, Here, I discuss them in more detail. I was aware that as a senior male manager, many informants might feel obliged to participate in my research. Also, there was the possibility of role strain, with some participants relating to me as a manager, rather than as a researcher.

It is important to identify the contexts within which the study took place and the sort of issues I faced as the researcher. Mason (2002) stresses on the need to obtain the consent of the people, however, care should be taken about how readily such consents are given. She also cautioned that 'power distance between the researcher and the interviewees may influence a potential interviewee into saying yes' (p.81).

The contexts have been challenging, as in many African universities. First, there were no ethical guidelines or policy in the research site. Secondly, my position in the institution/community and that of the participants in terms of power as reflected in the society in terms of balance. Ethical issues faced which needed special attention included permission to collect data from official records, to observe participants especially covertly at meetings and forums, interviewing women/females in my office and obtaining the consent of participants.

Consent to participate was verbally given by all the participants. In the case of the two students they were specifically asked if they felt intimidated to which they answered in the negative, and further requested to decide on the venue which was most convenient for me to conduct the interview.

As indicated earlier, much of the ethical issues raised have been addressed in section 5.7 of the thesis. Most difficult of the power distance issue was with the students and specifically the female student I interviewed. It took considerable time and skills to negotiate the platform for conducting the interview with her which eventually took place in my office. I would not have chosen this venue to conduct the interview, as this location comes withal its characteristics of authority and power. However, it appears that the respondent saw this as a 'neutral' ground as from her perspective this was as an appropriate to be seen to hold a discussion with a senior member of the university administration. Had I asked her to meet me in a place outside this environment, there could have been other interpretations that might be given to this which would have made her feel rather uncomfortable.

On the two occasions when the interview took place, I had to keep my office door open throughout the duration of interview, this, I observed, improved and relaxed the atmosphere for the interviewee. I had also taken measures to ensure that there was no interference so as to ensure that nobody heard what we were discussing.

In this study I had to negotiate my different roles; as a researcher, as an administrator, as part of the management team, as a colleague and as an insider. For example, during the interview of middle level female academics and administrators, the two roles – as a researcher and as part of management team – had sometimes given me very conflicting reactions and feelings. For example, do I just listen and record as any other researcher or bring the story to the attention of authorities. I had to pay special attention and to show concern for the stories they told. Hawkings (1990) describes insiders as having initial understanding of the social settings of the

organisation but he cautioned about the several difficulties and lapses that may come the way of such researchers. He explained that familiarity may result in the researcher taking things for granted, not asking questions which seemed obvious, and not challenging assumptions. There were few things I took for granted – permission to conduct the study from the university authorities, permission to observe participants at meetings, obtain information from official files and the consent of participants in the non participant observations.

Access to and handling of both official and private information constituted a major ethical challenge in terms of access (Creswell, 2003; Perecman and Curran, 2006; Stake, 1995). I had taken for granted that the Vice-Chancellor knew that I was pursuing this programme because he signed my sponsorship letter and therefore did not ask for official permission to conduct a research that involved staff and students of the institution. I did not obtain permission to collect data from the files, the Academic Board Minutes since these documents were under my custody. Using my position and my application of a method like observation for example, posed a number of ethical challenges (Silverman, 2001).

I had taken advantage of the statutory requirement of the Registrar 'providing secretarial services for all Boards and all sub-committees' (UCC Statutes 2003, p.21) to attend meetings. My presence at such meetings was therefore, not purely covert but doing official work as well as collecting data. The ethical challenge was how to separate the official from private work. However, my long association with both academic and administrative

staff made my presence at such meetings very 'normal'. Also our system of recording minutes of meetings do not allow for tape recording and mentioning of names for purposes of ensuring anonymity.

I took the opportunity of sitting in at meetings to observe the role women on those committees played and also how their colleagues reacted to their contributions. The aim here was to gather first-hand information in a naturally occurring setting or context. The observations or discoveries made at such meetings and during the period of my research will be discussed in the next chapter. By virtue of my position as the then Deputy Registrar responsible for Admissions and Examinations, I had the privilege of interacting with almost every member of senior academic and administrative staff. I had also assumed that anybody I selected in my purposive sample would willingly participate in the research. Formal written consent was therefore not sought from participants, only verbal agreements were made. Fortunately all 20 persons did not ask for any such formal letters.

An ethical dilemma which was of particular significance to me, as an insider, was what to tell participants before and after they participated in the research. Silverman (2001, p.200) had cautioned that 'researchers need to avoid 'contaminating' their research by informing subjects too specifically about the research questions to be studied'. Particularly difficult was what to tell the students and the male academic heads of departments. I managed to tell the students that I was writing about 'why there are few women leaders in our system'.

5.8 Credibility of Results

Mindful of the scepticism of quantitative researchers about the adoption of qualitative approaches, special attention was paid to issues which normally raise doubts in the mind of critics. Areas of concern normally include perceived lack of representativeness of the sample, the method of collecting, analysing and interpreting the data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that credibility, validity, reliability, transferability and dependability concerns are addressed differently by qualitative researchers. The extent to which the researchers portray the view points of participants impacts on the credibility of their studies. In this study I have tried at the end of each interview to summarize and allowed some participants to ascertain whether what has been written reflected accurately the views that had been expressed during the interview.

Transferability or generalization of the findings has not been the aim of my study since I acknowledge the difference in settings or society in which this university is placed. However, I have described the context of the study (Chapter 4), the frame and the basis for selecting the sample/participants used in the study to guide my readers and any other researcher who wishes to do similar study or do a follow-up study.

5.9 Challenges

Conducting all the interviews without any assistance was time consuming and the fact that I had to combine this research with my normal duties was very tiring. I have typed every part of this work myself even though I am not

a good typist and in spite of the fact that I have a secretary I could have asked to. This slowed down my progress and at times had negative impact on my official work.

I had weighed the advantages of doing the interviews all alone over asking for assistance. Piore (2006) cautioned that it may be counterproductive to delegate the interview task to an assistant because in a semi-structured interview one never knows in advance what will turn out to be important during the interview. Things such as gestures, hesitations and fumbling which are very important for correct interpretation of a study on perceptions and perspectives can be captured only by the eyes of the interviewer/researcher. Deciding the extent of 'digging deeper' into certain aspects of participants background; for example, questions involving individuals family life such as marital problems was also a challenge. How do I establish a climate of ease and familiarity while at the same time trying to learn in some details about respondent's life and its possible impact on her or her career path? This I understand to be part of the disadvantage of being an insider as people may not want to share certain information with me for fear of being judged (Shah, 2004).

My case is not unusual, gaining rapport with a group of people can take far more time, attention, and imagination than one might anticipate. I had the advantage of knowing and working with most of my respondents by virtue of being a member of the university community over a long period and also having served as secretary (on behalf of the Registrar) to the Academic Board, Executive Committee of the Academic Board, sub-committees of the Academic Board as well as other University-Wide committees. The gain I

had was in terms of the time and funds I would have needed to gain the rapport and confidence of my respondents. My position in the university, therefore, carried both advantages and challenges. However, I paid special attention to the possible implications of my role for the credibility and findings of my study (Perecman and Curran, 2006; Silverman, 2001).

I consulted some of the participants by phone and arranged the interviews at times convenient to them. The most common response of the academic members was 'in my office any time provided I do not have lectures'. The female administrators preferred coming to my office for reasons I later got to know had given them the opportunity to talk about the difficulties they face at their work place (faculty). The assumption was that as a then Deputy Registrar, I could pass on the message or difficulties they face at their departments to the Registrar.

During the early part of the research, I decided not to carry a note book to record interviews but to have indirect or casual discussions on the issue with the potential respondents; the Vice-chancellor, PVC, Deans, Heads of Departments, Registrar, and women in leadership positions. I also took advantage of the usual late start of meetings to have informal discussions to test respondents who were interested in talking on the topic. It was quite unusual to have administrators discuss academic/research issues with faculty members. It was only after some time that I began asking formal questions and taking notes. I also took advantage of my presence at Academic Board meetings to observe some leaders react to issues affecting women colleagues discussed at the floor of such meetings.

During the last four meetings of the Academic Board for the 2006/2007 academic year (meetings of 22nd December, 2006; 19th February, 2007; 19th March, 2007) two very important issues concerning women were discussed and major decisions taken. These were the introduction of gender mainstreaming courses in the university and the adoption of a sexual harassment policy for the university. These are issues that the literature claims have some impact on the ability of women to move up their career ladder.

In conclusion, this chapter has been used in explaining the methods adopted in the collection and analysis of data for this study. The justification for the choices made, ethical problems and the challenges faced as a researcher and as an insider have also been made. This chapter then paves the way for the reporting and discussion of the major ideas and findings that have surfaced in the study.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF DATA

6.1   Introduction

The framework adopted for this study concentrates on gathering gender-disaggregated data as well as data on some indicators of gender inequity. The focus of this chapter therefore, is to analyse the data so as to have a clear picture of women's involvement both quantitatively and qualitatively in decision-making at the University of Cape Coast. The indicators relating to UCC include perceptions, representation in decision-making, staff composition, appointment and promotion policies, sexual harassment and some others.

Data for this analysis were collected from official documents, through non-participant observations and semi-structured interviews. The analysis also draws on information obtained from files, Basic Statistics Booklets, Minutes Books and my observations at Academic Board, Executive Committee, Convocation, Union and other meetings such as Open Participatory Forums ('*Bottom-Tree'*) and the responses obtained from the interviews conducted to probe the various research questions.

As indicated in Chapter 5, I have sought to problematise leadership in this thesis, a concept which has for several decades come under review and reconstruction. My approach was to obtain perspectives generally about gender equity, and women and leadership in particular. From the top

executives, I was able to obtain management perspectives, how they climbed up the leadership ladder and the constraints they experienced and the sacrifices made.

6.2 How is leadership perceived and experienced by both male and female managers and other staff at the University of Cape Coast?

6.2.1 Leadership in Context and Sharing of Responsibilities

The concept of leadership is said to be contested and the way one defines it provides a picture of one's perception (Bennett, Crawford and Cartwright 2003). In that sense the meaning that individuals in UCC attach to leadership depend upon their position, responsibilities and experiences of it. Earley (2003) refers to leadership in an organization as best when it is generally dispersed and mirrors what one might find in an institution like UCC. Therefore whoever exercises leadership has to engage with other lower levels of leadership from which the institution derives its impact on both its social and academic responsibilities.

In this study, leadership in UCC has been examined from two broad angles; by locating it in individuals placed in certain positions in the institution (Sathye, 2000) and secondly through the structure or teams that take on certain functions (Earley, 2003). What I found was that these two broad definitions form the basis of perceptions held by most respondents. The first group is exemplified by individuals such as Heads of Department, Deans, and Directors of Institutions in the academic circles and at management level by the VC, PVC, the Registrar, Directors of Municipal Services and their

Deputies. The second category is represented by, for example, the University Council, the Academic Board or Senate, the various sub-committees of Council and Academic Board, Staff and Students' Union Executives who perform functions defined by the statutes.

The general difficulty of participants responding to questions relating to leadership has been the task of distinguishing between 'leadership' and 'management'. Some academic participants have seen position occupiers as managers of available resources rather than providers of leadership in areas like teaching and research.

> *You scarcely 'see' the dean, he is always at meetings. He controls all the vehicles including even the research ones and attends all the conferences. If he allows some of us to represent him.... we may enjoy some per diem and also have some experience (former male HOD)*

Non-Academic participants mainly did not seem to differentiate between academic leadership and general purpose leadership. In fact these two aspects of higher education leadership (academic and non-academic) are not as distinct as they used to be some decades back.

> *Decisions on this campus are taken by the Academic Board, especially, the Executive Committee; the VC and the academic heads virtually take all the decisions and are supposed to be implemented by the Registrar (Senior male administrator)*

Throughout the interview, except two senior academic members who had in their studies worked in areas of leadership, the meaning of leadership did not come out clearly in their answers of what they looked for in leaders. How leadership is perceived in UCC appears to depend upon whether the respondent is an academic, non-academic senior administrator, senior or

junior staff. The perception of leadership by senior university managers - Vice-Chancellor, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Registrar, Deans, Directors and Deputy Registrars was examined. It became evident from the interviews granted to these individual leaders that their perception of leadership largely determined how they rendered their roles as leaders. This influenced how they involved subordinates in the performance and or distribution of leadership responsibilities. One of the top male executives commented that:

Anytime I involved the Deans in taking certain drastic decisions the implementation becomes easier, and I refer individuals who raise questions to them, and they, most of the time don't come back.

This executive saw leadership as a role that demands the involvement of others in the execution of task. Such perception motivated him in involving others in carrying out his responsibilities. This approach, he asserted has been very productive and effective in getting a task accomplished in a timely manner in the organisation. Though all executives did involve their subordinates, the level of involvement varied depending on how they perceived their position. Whilst some saw subordinates' involvement as a critical prerequisite for effective decision-making, others deemed such an approach as an affront to their role as leaders because such delegation takes away some power from them. These individuals will do everything to cling on to power to satisfy their ego rather than seeking for the ultimate good of the organisation.

Decision-making appears to be an issue reserved for a certain category of staff. The invisibility of women and their marginalisation in the decision-

making echelon begin from here since there are fewer women Deans and professors. The questions used in probing leadership perceptions related to the mode of electing and appointing leaders, type and qualities of leaders, opportunities available to both male and female staff, and perceptions with respect to institutional and social context.

6.2.2 Election and Appointment of Leaders

Election and appointment of staff of the university into leadership positions are clearly specified in the Statutes (UCC Statutes 2003; Sections 13-34). The top three leadership positions in the university are the Chancellor, the Chairperson of the University Council and the Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor and Chairperson are appointed by the Government of the day on the advice of the National Council for Tertiary Education (NCTE). The university community has little control over these appointments.

Middlehurst (1995) advises that universities should advertise for posts if they want to encourage more women to apply. The common response that interviewees gave regarding the evenness in the opportunity for women to become a Vice-Chancellor through what is called the 'Search Method' in UCC was that equal opportunities existed for all who had the 'right' qualifications. The 'Search Method' is the process by which a committee is constituted by the University Council to search for a new Vice-Chancellor when the position becomes vacant (UCC Statutes, 2003; 16{11}).

The 'Search Method' involves appointing two members of the University Council, two members of the Academic Board and a former Vice-Chancellor

from any university as a chairperson to constitute a committee to interview candidates who apply for the position of Vice-Chancellor. The 'Search Committee' at the end of the exercise recommends at least two of the candidates to the University Council to select one as the Vice-Chancellor (UCC Statute 2003, 16 {11-12}).

It seems to me that the 'Search Method' is a more transparent method and provides a relatively better opportunity for potential men and women to occupy such leadership positions in the university unlike other leadership positions such as the Pro-Vice-Chancellorship (PVC) and Deanship where the outcome of the election may be influenced by factors such as the size of senior members in a candidate's faculty, popularity of contestants, positions held in the past, gender and even tribe. I have already indicated that no woman has ever been appointed a Pro-Vice-Chancellor in UCC because there are fewer women professors and are also not very 'popular' when it comes to elections.

In the case of appointments that are made within the university such as the PVC and Deanship of Faculties and Schools, candidates competing for those positions should be of the professorial status. For the PVC position, the regulations (UCC Statutes, 2003) give the Vice-Chancellor the prerogative to nominate any three academic members of professorial status to stand and be voted for. Thus the regulations for elections and appointments do not take into consideration the presence of marginalised groups in the university.

The appointing method which includes voting places women competitors at a disadvantage since they are always in the minority. Sometimes they are

the only women in the department and canvassing for support is therefore not always easy. Furthermore, women in UCC like most women in Ghanaian society have not, by their socialisation, been encouraged over the years to fight for such positions (Oduro, 2005).

All those interviewed except the students, were well versed in the procedures for electing and appointing leaders in the university. This was not surprising because they were either members of the Appointment and Promotions Committee or attended their meetings as ex-officio members or secretaries. Most participants, especially the men, appeared to hold the view that elections and appointments in UCC were free and fair from gender considerations;

> *The Statutes are clear on the requirements for appointments and promotions, and for the past three instances when the VC nominated names for the PVC position it included one woman (a senior male Administrator.)*

This confirms the assertion that there is no difference in the treatment of men and women when it comes to the appointment of university leaders (Odejide, Akanji and Odekunle, 2006). In the three instances where a woman had been recommended to compete for the PVC position, none had won the election (Convocation Minutes 2002-2005). The men (top executives) believed that elections and appointments into leadership positions over the years had been clearly executed as defined in the Statutes. This observation is in line with what pertains in the literature that formal

procedures in the universities for selecting, recruiting and promotion are ostensibly neutral.

The appointment of Heads of Department, according to UCC Statutes 28, is normally made by the Vice-Chancellor in consultation with the Deans of Faculties. However the recommendations are normally influenced by an individual's academic qualification. I have already mentioned the belief of the university in terminal degrees, i.e Professors are nominated before senior lecturers and senior lecturers before lecturers. Given the fact that there are very few women (14) in UCC holding terminal degrees and also in those two categories (professorial and senior lecturer) the percentage of women heads is correspondingly low in UCC.

The statutory requirements do not take into consideration the presence of minorities in the system. One male senior administrator commenting on the fairness in the institutional structures for appointing and promoting staff said even though the structures as indicated in the Statutes do not discriminate against women the situation on the ground does not always favour women:

> *I think even the composition of the Appointments and Promotions Committee which is mostly men constitutes some sort of intimidation for women attending the interview (*male senior administrator*).*

I note from the statement that, there is a difference between applying the procedures for nomination and what influences (in this case an all male panel), on the group creates hurdles or opportunities for women to be appointed or nominated.

The Statutes constitute a structural barrier and somehow influence the attitude of implementers. Even though UCC has explicit policies and procedures (UCC 2003 Statutes 50 – 56) relating to staff appointments and promotions, most of the interviewees including all but two of the women complained about the lack of transparent promotion procedures. One female interviewee stated that '*the system lacks transparency and too much of our promotion is in the hands of others*'.

Staff, especially men who have mentors have an advantage when it comes to promotion. The applicants sometime rely on their professorial mentors to push their applications by way of prompting mentees about deadlines and also checking on the status of application at the processing office while most women are disadvantaged due to lack of an effective and efficient mentoring system.

6.2.3 Gender Misrepresentation in Team's Formation

Responses to the issue of sharing leadership responsibilities were mixed. Ten of the participants, both men and women, interviewed preferred to describe leadership by referring to team-work or shared responsibilities without referring to themselves. One male senior administrator observed:

> *Leadership in this university is team-work; almost all decisions are taken by committees and those in leadership positions in UCC quite often consult among themselves*.

On reflection, one of the top male executives explained that leadership responsibilities were exercised by almost the same set of male academics who occupy limited positions, he observed:

Leadership responsibilities in UCC, you know well, are shared but it's always the same people… Deans and occasionally Heads. They are in all the committees. As for the women… something needs to be done about the statutes.

Consultations with women are minimal, even on issues affecting women, since very few are members of statutory committees or are in leadership positions. The absence of women and other minorities in decision-making bodies are clearly observed, however, nothing is done about it. The Statutory requirements are always used as the escape route.

Major decisions are taken by the same group/people; the Academic Board, the Executive Committee and even the A&P (Appointment and Promotions Board)...., you know it; it's all men and professors. (Senior male academic)

The notion/perception of viewing leadership from the point of view of hierarchy, position and status with emphasis on individual leaders' authority was expressed mainly by the teaching staff (academic). One senior female academic had this to say:

This university is centrally driven and managed by a small leadership clique of friends, mainly males who hold power and do not open-up to their subordinates.

151

According to her the 'clique' leadership approach effectively cuts off most women since most of them may not join because of the strong traditional perception about women that, they have other social responsibilities or because of fear of social consequences. Women, not withstanding their marital status, who happen to move with some leaders, are accused of having had relations. What it means is that women, who wish to be part of the leadership, have to join the 'clique'. There is an observed tradition that most committee members socialise together, attend lunch after meetings and go to restaurants after close of work where the 'unfinished issues' discussed at the meeting are further discussed.

6.2.4 Characteristics/ Qualities of Leaders

A range of characteristics were identified by respondents as desirable for university leadership. Some of the characteristics were:

- Fairness, Consistency and Firmness
- Academic brilliance
- Good Human Relationships
- Negotiation Skills

Based on previous experiences, most of the respondents who have spent more that twenty years in the university referred to the experiences of past leaders especially, Vice-Chancellors who have had problems as result of being unfair in their dealings with various categories of staff. Interviewees referred to the unfairness in the award of scholarships, financial support to attend conferences and allocation of accommodation. These go to support Oduro's (2005) view that, in Ghana leaders are assumed to control resources in spite of the statutory requirement that recommendations for awards and

distribution of accommodation and other facilities are to be made by the appropriate committees.

In UCC, and I am sure it is the same in other public universities in Ghana, there are Academic Board sub-committees responsible for sharing scholarships, allocating houses/bungalows and approving loans; yet individuals – academic staff, senior administrative staff, junior staff and students – think the Vice-Chancellor, PVC, Registrar and Deans can usurp the responsibilities and powers of these committees or at least influence their decisions.

The traditional concept of leaders' responsibilities including solving personal problems was also observed in responses. One male senior academic observed:

> *I think that the VC must be accessible so that the numerous injustices and problems in the system are brought to his attention. Scholarships and bungalows are allocated to friends.*

To a male senior member, it should be alright for the VC to be accessible to everybody but I think that this very act (of a VC/leader being very accessible to women who have problems to present) could also be construed differently in this society.

A challenge to transparency is when individuals do not have equal access to leaders either directly or indirectly. Inadequate access will deny sources such as information about staff development and promotion opportunities. The

examination of minutes of the UCC Scholarships Committee revealed that members lobby for the few available awards for staff from their faculties. The allocation of awards to women has been very scanty. This may probably be due to their inability to have access to complain and the fact that they normally do not have mentors who may be serving on such important Boards such as Scholarships and Housing:

> *When I applied for consideration for Ghana Government Scholarship to pursue my PhD, my HOD who was also a female asked who would teach my courses; and that was the end. I couldn't report to the Dean for obvious reasons* (former female HOD.*)*

This comment, coming from a woman colleague, appears to be very significant in the sense that it goes to strengthen the perception held by some people that women leaders do not help other women to progress.

Academic brilliance was cited as required by leaders for them to hold themselves against other academics, especially old professors, who would always want to control the system. Academic brilliance, from the discussion with interviewees, appears to refer to the qualification (level) which position-holders have, especially, a doctoral degree (PhD) as well as being known to be associated with international projects. The areas of academic specialization do not really matter. This has implications for those who do not have them; only 14 out of 57 UCC women academics have PhDs (Vice-Chancellor's Annual Report, 2006).

Except for academic positions like the Dean and Head of Department, most office holders do not have a managerial qualification or leadership

experience or training but have been appointed to those positions because of the qualification they have. The mere possession of a PhD places the individual on a higher pedestal and enhances the chances of becoming a head. This constitutes one and major disadvantage women in UCC face.

Leaders in the university need good human relations and negotiation skills to obtain adequate funds from the government to complete numerous infra-structural projects. Managers/leaders of universities in Ghana these days depend upon the ability to deal with the Unions:

> *'We have had uninterrupted academic years for the past twelve years or so, the last two VCs handled the affairs of the Unions very well. They ruled instead of the university being ruled by the staff, he drew their attention to the need to work within the regulations'.* (Male Dean).

Certain actions or responsibilities of office holders therefore constitute factors with which followers or staff use in viewing the performance of leaders and determine who can be leaders. Not getting involved in activities such as the academic, administrative and other staff unions as well as having the right qualification hinders ones opportunity of getting into a leadership position.

Obtaining leadership positions sometimes depends upon a combination of academic, personal and previous positions held. For example, the last three UTAG (UCC) presidents have all been student leaders either at the undergraduate or postgraduate levels. Presidents of unions such as

University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG), Ghana Association of University Administrators (GAUA), Students Representative Council (SRC) and Teachers and Education Workers Union (TEWU) are very powerful leaders in the university and climbing to such positions requires community and cultural acceptance. Most women are significantly discouraged by both parents and community from seeking leadership positions for one reason or another. One female administrator commented:

> *Our social upbringing makes it difficult to break-up Girls are for example, not allowed / encouraged to speak in the public and girls grow up with a mind-set that boys should be leaders.*

Thus women who even have the academic qualifications and skills to lead these unions may not push enough to become leaders because they may not have the necessary community support or courage to do so.

6.2.4 Opportunities Available

The study revealed that a number of leadership opportunities are available in the UCC system. These are clearly listed in the statutes. A number of other academic and non-academic positions have been created to help in the day-to-day running of the university.

Positions such as Academic Counsellors, Faculty Examination Officers, and recently Registration Officers are in the academic area. Examples of non-academic positions are the Director of Health Services and Hall Masters and Wardens, Director for Centre for International Programmes and Director of

Development. The opportunities that individuals have in occupying positions depend upon a number of factors including what Morley (2003) describes as the micro-politics play in the institution.

In the appointment of a Head of Department, for example, the Dean normally recommends individuals from a 'group of qualifiers' for the consideration of the VC. This is where the micro-politics comes into play. A unique situation has once occurred in UCC in 1997, where there was a controversy over which of the two male senior members with similar qualification should be appointed head of a department, a female senior lecturer, next in line, was appointed as a compromise. Female appointments have sometimes been used 'politically'.

So far as the statutory positions are concerned the guidelines are clear. However, as I have stated earlier, gender and minority groups have not been taken into consideration in the crafting of the Statutes. Almost all respondents did not appear to express concern about this deficiency. The gender imbalance seems to many as normal. The situation of being apathetic to unequal gender opportunities in the various positions and committees was observed in three of the most important committees and boards where critical decisions are taken in the university. These are the University Council, the Academic Board and the Administrative Management Committee. The Administrative Management Committee, for example, meets every Monday morning and there is a complete absence of women on this committee but nobody seems to be worried about that situation.

Frequent explanation for this situation is that there are no females in those positions and these are statutory requirement. The Statutes have been reviewed about twice (1982 and 2003) during the life of this university but no attention has been paid to gender inequalities resulting from the existing regulations. The issue of 'no women waiting in the wings' as indicated in the literature (ACU, 2000) is reflected here. There is the need for constant attention to be drawn to this. There is the need for some whistle blowing at every opportunity.

In theory, there are equal opportunities for men and women. However, in practice they are generally cut off, though there have been occasions where individual men who are known to be gender activists speak on women's behalf. Women in UCC therefore have fewer opportunities to present their own views. A review of the composition of the Scholarships Award Committee over the years indicate that between 1980/81 and 2006/7 no woman has chaired that committee and only two (2) have ever sat on that committee. The decision to give preference to women on the list of nominees before sharing the remaining among men was mooted by a former male Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences in 1998/99Academic Year (Scholarships Awards Committee Minutes 1998/99; min 5). Even though this recommendation is usually referred to at meetings, it has not been incorporated into the statutes.

6.2.5 Perception with Respect to Institutional Context

Leadership positions in the University of Cape Coast are defined in the University of Cape Coast Law, 1992, P.N.D.C Law 278 establishing the

University and also in the Statutes. Effah (2003) argues that in Ghana, leadership is a subject that is often ignored by academia and most of the time viewed as a function of management. I suspect it is because of the perception of the distance between leaders and the rest of individuals within the academy. Effah (2003) further argues that most academics look at the management aspects of leadership, influence and control of resources and administration of power.

Authority and power constitute two dominant ideas that influence the perception of leadership of most interviewees. A senior woman academic compares the current leadership attitude with the period she was first appointed and said:

> *The current leadership cohort wield too much power; though they are open, they are always on the defensive and masculine; they do not know how to deal with women, that's why they adopt confrontational style and also try to sideline women.*

Her observation seems to suggest that leaders, who are mainly men, do not exercise power correctly. She indicated that the tactics used by leaders include bullying and harassment of women. I was not surprised at the comments of the respondent. She had earlier made reference to the confrontation she had with a former head who wanted her to be on her side on a controversial issue. This may be looked as an isolated case but this type of leadership style, i.e improper use of power, might have been used not only on women and that explains why some men academic staff prefer to vote for women heads.

The respondent indicated that the sharing and use of resources are influenced by one's relationship with the leader instead of using the approved structures such as the committees; thus individual leaders have the power to control resources and decide on who gets what. This poses a challenge to the statutory requirements. This view is corroborated by another female former HOD, " *the statutes require that other departmental representative of Academic Board be elected but HODs send names (usually of men), to the Registrar to enable them attend meetings*". Decisions must be arrived at after consideration by committees, not by individuals.

6.2.6   Summary of Leadership Perception

Individual conception of leadership in UCC in particular appears to depend upon where one belongs. Academic staff members consider academic leadership in areas of teaching and research. Getting into academic leadership position such as a Dean or Head of department depends among others, upon one's academic qualification and publications.

Seven of the respondents were people who were either heads of department or had been in that position before. Their responses indicated that they perceived the head of department position not only as leaders but also managers. They did not consider themselves individually as leaders but still talked about leaders for the academy. Occasionally some had referred to their colleagues in the University Teachers Association of Ghana (UTAG) as the leaders, an indication that they did not have a clear and common definition of who a leader was.

Leaders represent the departments or faculties at the various committees and Boards. It is normally more of competing for a position to control resources. (A former woman Head of Department)

An emerging concept of leadership in the academic area of UCC is that of one who represents the department or colleagues at the various meetings or boards rather than leading followers/colleagues in the area of teaching and research. Some respondents indicated reluctance to remain in those leadership positions but for the 'benefits' attached to such positions. One former head commented:

It is not easy being a head, you have to respond to virtually every problem from academic to students' individual problems, but you know it…, you are also a head. The allowances are necessary to block some holes.

All Deans and Heads of department in UCC are paid a monthly responsibility allowance and Deans and Head of Departments are invariably accommodated on campus. Facilities and allowances that the university offers leaders in UCC do not differentiate between genders. Gender becomes a factor when considering access and engagement with power within the leadership hierarchy. Because most women are not heads they do not have campus accommodation and the benefits that go with it such as shorter distances to office, staying longer in the office, getting to the library and internet facilities on campus.

Getting into leadership in the administrative sector depends upon continuous services, presentation of memos and acquiring additional qualifications. It is

observed that most women are disadvantaged here in the sense that those who decide to marry or have children occasionally break their service.

6.3 How is female leadership perceived by male and female senior managers?

Morley (2003, p.114) indicates that 'there is qualitative as well as quantitative lack, with women in leadership positions being perceived as impostors, second-rate and fraudulent'. In addition, the few women who find themselves in leadership positions face difficulties as a result of the absence of feminist politics as well as the gendered nature of institutions (Morley, 2003).

The views of senior men and women in both academic and administrative positions were sought on women in leadership positions to ensure that diverse opinions were captured. I asked about their awareness of the inequality, characteristics, experiences, success, and relationship between women leaders and men as well as between women, the difficulties they faced as women leaders.

All interviewees (20) were aware of the huge quantitative under-representation of women in leadership positions in the university. They also drew my attention to the low visibility of the few women leaders in the university in that their views are rarely heard or considered. A female administrator observed that:

> *The men colleagues will always want to put you down. Even at meetings they do not want to recognise your presence. Sometimes they*

want you to serve them tea at departmental meetings. I refuse doing
that. Female heads of department don't talk much at meetings
because nobody will support them.

Most of the respondents (7 of the women and 6 of the men) seem to give the impression that female leaders were more transformational oriented and tried to behave like men. The impression of female leaders being 'hard' was expressed by 33% of the female respondents, that they insisted on applying the regulations more than the men leaders do. On the other hand, women leaders were said to be more consultative but are generally not liked by fellow females because they do not appear to be sympathetic to women's interest. A middle level female administrator complains:

Women leaders in UCC are perceived to be not interested in helping
other women. They are expected to understand the plight of women
since they could appreciate the enormity of responsibilities carried by
women. Women in leadership positions do not relate well with other
females. This does not send good signal to other women to want to
get there.

This view supports the assertion by Massiah (1993) and Prah (2002) that the stereotypes of some women leaders in educational institutions act as deterrent to other women. This also explains part of the misconception that all women are sympathetic to the cause of women and that getting more women into leadership will improve the lot of women in the institution.

In terms of leadership approach all women respondents (7) who have been heads of department before appear to prefer shared and transformational leadership styles:

> *I initiated activities and created structures that would bring the faculty members together. I established the Faculty Conference room where we meet for seminar. I also created an office for the Vice-Dean and referred all files to him so he will be abreast with issues.* (Dean X)

> *I believe in leadership of reciprocity where you give out and take in something from colleagues and subordinates. This is expressed in my teaching and my dealings with heads of department.* (Dean Y)

It appears to me that these women leaders at UCC face a dilemma of applying rules as leaders or managers. Those of them who take measures against female staff that frequently absent themselves from work are branded as wicked because they are expected to understand the problem women face. A former female head of department has similar feelings and recalls her conversation with a former female Dean:

> *This woman does not want to work with a woman administrator*
> *because she may be giving excuses to absent herself from work.*

This view is suggestive of female staff - academic and administrators, 'expecting advocacy and interest representation' from women in leadership positions (Morley 1999, pg.76).

A male academic in a very senior administrative position however looks at women leaders differently. He says:

There are no differences between women and men leaders. I think women leaders are better in handling other women. This is wrongly perceived as being too harsh on other women and not encouraging other women. Women in authority hate women who try to cheat the system by using their womanhood, for example, other women cannot give excuses such as cooking for their family or taking children to school for being late. On the other hand women leaders are tolerant; they wouldn't rusticate students as we did.

The issue of academic women being a professional and at the same time a woman carrying the stereotypical gender assumption which necessitates kindness and caring is being played here (Caplan, 1997). Being caring therefore becomes a disadvantageous tool to be used in not appointing women to positions which may be considered 'tough' for women. Women leaders are frequently and wrongly compared with men in terms of leadership style. A former senior administrator had this to say about women leaders;

Women who take up leadership positions in the university approach their appointment and position from the point of view that men colleagues would be antagonistic and therefore would face them that way. That is why they are often seen as being hard.

The local concept of leadership being men's domain clearly influenced the views of some respondents. Religion and gender roles in the community (i.e leaders being providers, protectors, strong, autocratic) and women, notwithstanding their academic responsibilities, are saddled with other domestic responsibilities. This appears to shape or form the basis for assessing the performance of women leaders. When asked to give examples of a particular difficulty that she has experienced as a woman leader, a former head of department expressed her difficulties this way:

> *The men, especially those who are of a…….. religious sect find it hard to accept the fact that I (woman) was in charge and directing what he (man) should do.*

A senior female academic thinks that women leadership in UCC is becoming visible in the sense that at least some female concerns are being addressed by the administration through the opinion and pressure being put by the few women in leadership positions and supported by one or two influential men. She said:

> *The appointment of two women to head the Sexual Harassment Committee and the Gender Mainstreaming Office give an indication that gender is now being given attention by the University. The two are very important positions, you know that!*

In spite of the seeming attention being given to gender issues and improvement in the number of women picking up positions there continues

to be huge difference between men and women in leadership positions in the university.

6.3.1   Counting Women in Leadership Positions in UCC

Areas probed under this research question included awareness of relative numbers, areas of acute shortage and reasons for the lack of women in those areas. All participants were asked questions about this issue.

In quantitative terms, the number of women in leadership positions in UCC has not seen much improvement; in fact, the percentage has dropped in certain cases. In the 2004/2005 academic year, there were major faculty changes in UCC which resulted in the creation of new faculties/schools and departments. The Faculty of Science was split into two schools; the Schools of Biological Sciences and Physical Sciences. This led to the creation of six new departments. The School of Business was also separated from the Faculty of Social Sciences and two new departments were also created. A Medical School was also established.

The heads of the eight newly created departments were all men. The percentage of women heads of academic department thus fell from 15% in 2002/2003 academic year to only 6.4% in 2006/2007 academic year. The four Deans appointed for the new Schools (School of Biological Sciences, School of Physical Sciences, School of Medical Sciences and School of Business) were all men, also sending down the percentage of women Deans from 33.3% to 20% in 2006/2007Academic Year (UCC Basic Statistics, 2007).

The percentage of women in leadership positions in the administrative set-up continues to be much less than in the academic area. Currently (2007/2008 academic year), in about 23 identifiable senior administrative, staff unions and student positions there is only one woman who is the Warden of a female students hall of residence and one Deputy Finance Officer.

The gender of participants and the roles they occupy in the university shaped their views. Participants' responses focused mainly on the structures and social responsibilities. Late entry of females into postgraduate programmes, generational gap and self-denial were raised by some of the participants as significant issues. The women participants focused on the institutional structures and social factors to explain the fewness of women in leadership positions. Surprisingly most of the men mentioned lack of mentors and awareness of facilities available in the statutes for presenting memos and expressing views as factors contributing to few women in leadership positions. A senior male administrator indicated that:

> '*until recently the university did not assign mentors to new appointees. Even now it has been very difficult assigning mentors to new female senior members because in most cases there are no female senior lecturers/professors in their departments*'

Structural impediments have in some cases been cited and referred to as being responsible for the few women who are appointed chairpersons of committees. These persons are appointed during meetings of Academic Board and Council. However, since women are very few they scarcely catch the eyes of those making the nominations. In UCC most women who have

got to leadership positions have been through nomination which is allowed by the statutes. It is also evident from records that women rarely get to leadership positions through election. One such woman had on two occasions contested the Pro-Vice-Chancellorship position but had not been successful (UCC, Division of Public Affairs, 2006). Thus, this becomes a structural problem in the sense that if the appointments to leadership roles are on the basis of transparency and the criteria were academic and professional qualifications, proven skills and competence on the job some women might have a fair chance of getting to the top.

6.3.2 Late Entry into Postgraduate Programmes:

One of the routes to leadership positions in the University of Cape Coast is obtaining higher degree(s) especially the doctoral degree (Ph.D). There are few women in masters' degree programmes (less than 30% in UCC) and still fewer in Ph.D degrees. Consequently fewer women have the opportunity to enter the 'college' from which leaders are selected or promoted. This is an indication that the problem of under-representation is much deeper and becomes manifest even before women get academic posts at the university. One needs to be a Senior Lecturer or Professor to be appointed a Head of Department or a Dean of Faculty. A senior female academic explained:

> *Women in our society (universities) delay entry into postgraduate programmes which are the prerequisites into senior academic and administrative positions. Most of our girls think of 'going steady' and preparing for marriage and child birth while a lot of the boys went straight into postgraduate programmes.*

In Ghana as well as other sub-Saharan African countries, few women are encouraged to get back into serious academic work after child birth (Chilisa, 2002). There is actually no policy that debars women from getting back. It is the perpetuation of gender-based division of labour that places virtually the entire responsibility of caring for the child on the woman. The late entry of women into graduate programmes places their men counterparts ahead of them in both administrative and academic areas.

6.3.3 Generational Gaps

The gap between men and women in terms of numbers in actual fact starts from earlier sectors of education. For several decades girls in Ghana were not encouraged to pursue education beyond secondary level. Gender generational gaps have thus occurred at the pre-tertiary level. That might explain the lack of adequate number of women in the university and consequently the number of women in the bracket from which leaders are chosen. A senior male academic and administrator commented:

> *Historically, women in our society have not been given the same educational opportunities as men. Women have not been encouraged to take leadership positions except a few who force their way. Culturally, women have more responsibilities. In our traditional set-up women determine who becomes the leader (Chief) but here that is not the case. In the University they are at disadvantage; some women even break their employment to join husbands and begin new employment / career thus disturbing their upward movement. This makes their men counter parts in school move ahead of them. Recently*

one of our female senior staff scheduled for promotion has resigned to go and seek lower appointment in Accra to enable her to join her husband.

The generation gap is also reflected in advantage and disadvantage a staff has as a result of his or her age. As result of the break in career due to child-birth or travelling with spouse some women here obtain their masters degrees at older age. This carries a disadvantage in UCC because staff above 42 years are normally not recommended for scholarship to study abroad.

6.3.4 Women's Agency

Six out of the eight male participants attributed fewer women in leadership position to reluctance on the part of women in the system to present themselves for positions. They claim most of the women staff do not find themselves adequate to seek leadership positions. According to one senior administrator who services the committee on senior member appointments '*there are no structures that impede women's upward movement*'. He however admits that:

The composition of the Appointments and Promotions Committee (mostly men) sometimes poses a threat or appear very intimidating to female applicants.

Two senior academic women dismissed the self-denial view; they cited statutory requirements for promotion and appointment as being unfavourable to women. For example, candidates are required to compete for the positions of Deanship and Pro-Vice-Chancellorship and the men 'gang up' against

women. The women in both academic and administrative sectors lack encouragement. A former male senior administrator recalls the case of a senior academic staff who advised his wife (an administrator) not to seek further promotion following the uncomplimentary comments other academics made on her minutes writing.

6.4 What Aspects of Organisational Structure Influence the Involvement and Motivation of Women as University Leaders?

This question required a focus on the views of women who have been in leadership before as well as those currently in leadership positions. Men in positions who exercise some amount of influence on structures also shared views on the issue.

Some aspects of the organisational structure have been cited by the participants as contributing to, as well as influencing the involvement of women in the university leadership. These include the criteria for appointment and promotion, award of support for research, scholarship and social relationship among staff and mode of communication.

The study revealed that, in UCC the statutory requirements for appointing and promoting individuals do not take into account the existence of minorities. The statutes, for example, specify the composition/membership of the Academic Board and the University Council. Women respondents complained about the mode of appointing two members of convocation onto Council. The two positions from convocation (Professorial and non-Professorial) are keenly contested for and as previously stated, success at

such election depends upon ones popularity and the number of senior members in the contestants' faculty/department. Men always have an advantage over women here.

In most universities, mission statements tend to assert that both teaching and research are the core priorities. In practice however, universities emphasise excellence in research rather than teaching as the main route to promotion. The study indicated that most of the women academic staff were given teaching assignments of the lower levels where the class sizes were normally large and therefore had little time for research:

> *I blame myself for my present state. The men I came here with are all senior lecturers because they had friends and good advice. I taught several courses including those that were not in my area of specialization (*Female Lecturer*)*

The above comment points to the lack of role modelling and mentoring for female academic staff. This situation becomes an impediment for women to aspire to leadership positions as already identified by Morley et al. (2005). Lack of role modelling and mentoring, therefore, constitutes a barrier to be addressed if women academics are to be motivated to participate more in leadership.

Promotions into higher academic and administrative level in the university are specified in the statutes and are occasionally debated upon and or amended. Criteria for academic promotion include acquiring new qualifications, the length of service, publications in refereed journals and service to the community.

The age structure is sometimes said to inhibit promotion. In UCC staff members of 45 years and above are scarcely awarded scholarships for postgraduate studies. This is likely to affect women more than men as most of them have to break their career for child rearing. Thus most women academics are constrained by their teaching workload from pursuing research and staff development opportunities, which in turn weakens their promotion prospects.

Involvement in any aspect of leadership will require the appointment to a position such as head of department, head of hall, a counsellor, a member of a committee or representing the university on an external body.

6.4.1 What Factors Influence / Impede Promotion of Women Senior Members?

Although the university has policies and practices that inform promotion only two of the women respondents are well versed in them. The two, by virtue of their positions have to sit on the Appointment and Promotions Board and therefore by necessity have to know the rules. Other women respondents felt it was enough to know that one needed to obtain a number of refereed papers to apply for promotion. However, the Statutes requires others such as a contribution to the work of University Boards/Committee and Extension work, teaching and academic leadership (Schedule B of UCC Statutes 2003).

Respondents listed the lack of mentors, lack of collegial support in the system, lack of opportunity to access scholarship, lack of infrastructural and

communal support as some of the factors that impeded promotion of women senior members (academic and administrators). The promotion criteria and composition of most promotion panel in UCC appear to favour men.

Another issue of major concern to the women interviewed is the workload, especially teaching load. All of the women respondents except two said the teaching workload of women academics should be reduced to enable them have enough time to do research necessary for promotion. One female head of department recounted her workload when she joined the department as a lecturer:

> *My department has over-used me. At a time when I was expected to be recommended for scholarship I overheard the then head of department (also a woman) asking – who will teach my courses if I go away?*

The interviewee (a single parent) complained further that not only was the teaching load heavy, but the periods for her courses were either very early mornings or late in the evenings; *'I rush to send my child to school and in the evenings I felt guilt when I went home to see the boy alone'*. Obviously, the drafters of the teaching time table do not take other things, such as social gender roles into consideration.

The issue of heavy workload carried by female staff both on campus and at home appears to confirm what the literature had stated. Unfortunately the two successful women when asked about the impact of academic workload said they also carried similar teaching and other academic work schedule as

well as family/ home responsibilities. Getting promoted and being successful in climbing the leadership ladder is probably more than just workload which has been emphasised by most female participants.

6.4.2 What Factors Discourage /Motivate Women's Participation in Leadership?

Namuddu (1993) indicates that socio-cultural attitudes, sex-role stereotyping and conflicting roles and commitments are some of the factors that interfere with academic women's participation in decision making and leadership. As already discussed, leadership in the university (UCC) is exercised or experienced in several forms; those that are officially conferred through promotion or actively competed for.

This section draws on responses of interviews with women academics, administrators and one student involved in the study. They were asked for their views on what aspects of the university system and societal values motivated or put them off from participating in leadership.

Participation in leadership in my view involves participating in the process by which policies and decisions affecting the organisation are made and ensuring their effectiveness. A female administrator referred to the structural requirements of the university as being very bureaucratic. "*Memoranda and suggestions have to go through different channels before reaching the top*". This she believed "*weakens confidence building and takes a long time to build confidence*".

Though this observation affects both men and women in the university, the chances of women following up on their proposals or memoranda are slimmer. In UCC and Ghana in general, women who show signs of leadership or enforcing rules and getting things done quickly are described as being too forward and called names like 'Margaret Thatcher', the former UK Prime Minister who has been portrayed in Ghanaian papers as a strong lady.

Almost all of the respondents have seen one rigid gender roles, sexual violence and harassment, either singly or in combination as major issues that discourage active participation in leadership. When a female student in the SRC Executive Committee was asked while she did not apply for the position of the President of the SRC she observed as follows:

> *I applied for the position of the Vice-President because conventionally that is the position reserved for girls and the presidential slot for boys. This attitude starts from home,- .. and even the girls will not vote for you.*

Some aspects of society's perception of women being honest and circumspect occasionally hold some advantage or constitute a factor in women's career advancement. Men scarcely win elections to the position of treasurer in all the staff and students Union Executive positions.

In terms of motivation, it was revealed that women are less motivated from seeking leadership appointment and also for promotion. The urge to seek leadership appointment and promotion in UCC are influenced by such things

like financial gains, peer support and mentorship support. Only one out of the twelve women interviewed indicated the massive support she received from her male mentors in her academic pursuit which contributed to her rapid promotions. She also emphasized on her own desire to succeed. The general perception of the rest of the women was that the structures in the university were not women friendly and that they generally favour men.

Women academics and administrators do not easily have access to campus accommodation. This constituted another de-motivating factor because out-of-campus accommodation does not facilitate access to the library and also ability to stay in office for longer hours.

6.4.3 Violence against Women

Violence against women in Ghana takes various forms in the education institutions; teasing, excessive assignments, bullying, rape and sexual harassment. At pre-university level most prevalent form of reported violence takes the form of teasing and sexual harassment. At the university level teasing is also observed amongst students. Violence against women in UCC is subtle and it takes intense observation to note what is happening. Both men and women who participated in the study spoke less about sexual violence. This is consistent with the analysis of the unspoken forces of organisation violations with regards to gender violence by Hearn (2001).

6.4.4 Symbolic and actual violence

In UCC male students call women (both students and staff) names for wearing certain kinds of dress, especially coloured dresses (loud and red

colour). Calling of names and cat-calls deter most women students from attending functions meant to acquire knowledge and or experience in the art of public speaking. A central point about gender violence is that it marks out the territory as male, with women incurring severe penalties if they enter such male domains (Morley, 2003). Recorded cases of sexual harassment among students and between men and women academic staff have been very low because people normally do not want to talk about being victims of sexual harassment for fear of being stigmatized or being labelled negatively. It is on record (Division of Human Resources, UCC) that only three academic men have been dismissed or forced to resign for sexual harassment. It is suspected that a lot more has gone un-noticed because was not reported. UCC has now set up Sexual Harassment Committee to handle such cases. This, in my view, is a step in the right direction. The limited number of women in the academic and administrative positions makes them vulnerable to abuse in the form of men suppressing their opinion at meetings. In most cases women at the decision making meetings are there as the only female participant or the secretary to the committee.

6.5 What are the characteristics of women who have managed successfully to get into leadership positions?

All participants were asked about whether they could identify women on campus who they would describe as having been successful either as academics or administrators. The majority of the responses mentioned the two women Deans in the institutions. However, an attempt at finding common characteristics for successful women would amount to categorising women as being homogenous in terms of behaviour, capabilities and values.

This part of the study therefore concentrated on two of the participating women who are part of the only three, in the history of the University of Cape Coast to have risen to the professorial status and also occupied positions above that of the Head of Department such as the Dean of a Faculty or School. The objective of this portion of the study was to identify perceived factors that supported or impeded their ascension to and or attainment of leadership positions. Their experiences in the role of Deanship were also explored. The first part of the interview was about their demographic characteristics and attributes. The second part was on constraints/barriers, experiences, mentorship, career goal and pathways.

The two participants are married with children who have fairly progressed in terms of education. These leaders have each spent more than 22 years as staff of the university and had terminal degrees before they got employed as lecturers. The PhD degrees for both were obtained after the age 30 and had their children during their student days in universities abroad.

The programmes they pursued and the fact that they studied abroad continued to provide them with advantages. This confirms the literature observation that 'international links play an important role in enhancing academic women's career development' (Morley et al, 2006, p.55). However, the international links and corresponding travels have in some cases created problems and difficulties. One of the women had this to say about her travels abroad to present papers:

One of the accusations raised against me and also for not voting for me when I contested for- X -position was that I do not stay on campus and travel out of the country too often.

On the question of what attracted them to the academic work, they answered that the award of scholarship to pursue masters' degree and continuation to PhD degrees by the university committed them to return to the services of the institution. The two women have risen to their current position via occupying lower positions such as Hall Counsellor, Academic Counsellor, Hall Warden, Head of Department and Vice-Dean. Both participants served as the first women to occupy Faculties' Deanship positions in the history of UCC.

Finally, it was observed that the factors which influenced their leadership attributes were mostly their own personal motivation and their desire to improve themselves through education and professional development. They also took advantage of opportunities which could support their career goals. These opportunities included undertaking maximum research, publishing extensively and attending national and international conferences. They had thus 'behaved like men' and this has cost one of them her senior administrative appointment because complaints have been levelled against her for not staying often on campus.

The study has revealed that, a few of the women in UCC who have been successful and also moved into both academic and administrative leadership have entered the system with terminal degrees, worked for a long time in the university, placed emphasis on scholarship and some amount of networking.

They have also overcome campus micro-politics and social responsibilities such as child birth early in their career.

6.5.1 Career Goal and Pathway

The concept of 'visibility' as defined by Massiah (1993) was used in exploring the career paths of both women in academic and administrative areas. Academic women at UCC are more visible than their counterparts in the administration because they are always recognised in the annual Basic Statistics Booklet of the university. Both categories, however, are invisible because their numbers are insignificant in most managerial and leadership positions and their contributions are not recognised or absent at decision-making points or meetings.

The study draws on data from the Public Affairs Office of UCC and interviews of the top executive men and women participants who are currently holding positions or those who had at some point in time held offices such as Head of Department or Hall Warden. Obtaining leadership positions in UCC depends upon selection, recruitment, nomination or competitive election.

The top executive positions such as the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar are obtained through competitive recruitment. The Pro-Vice-Chancellorship and Deanship positions are by election and Head of Department and Hall Master/Warden are by selection and appointment by the Vice-Chancellor. In 2006/2007 academic year women constituted 28.9% of Deans and were only 4.5% of Heads of Department were women.

Records at the Office of the Division of Human Resources (DHR) indicate that most of the current male Senior Lecturers and Professors started their careers as National Service Personnel or as Teaching Assistants and went over to do their masters' and PhD programmes and joined their departments as senior members. In the case of the women all participants came into the university fully qualified with either masters' degrees or doctorate degrees. About 80% of the women came to UCC with their partners and there were no interruptions in their career for child-bearing because most of them had returned from abroad where they had had their children. Those of the women who had teenage children had a lot of domestic responsibilities as compared with their men partners because of the gendered roles and expectations in the Ghanaian society.

One of the female academic participants indicated that the top executive position became her goal as she moved up the administrative ladder. Another however seemed not interested in pushing further into leadership position at the UCC campus due to social reasons. The partner's position seems to be overshadowing her position achieved through her own hard work. Questioned about how they got into the 'X" position, one of them said she was the only candidate for the position while the other was encouraged by her male colleagues to contest for the position. Her story exemplifies the interplay of micro-politics on UCC campus, which she presented as follows:

> *Initially I did not want to compete; however, my male colleagues encouraged me to do it because they have decided to vote for me, for a change. The incumbent was a dictator and arrogant and will be the*

only eligible candidate if I decide not to contest. I am not sure they would have voted for me if there was another male Professor. They also felt I was strong because I had previously resisted being manipulated by the previous Dean who was also my HOD.

It is possible to argue that these male colleagues may have used her to show their displeasure at the leadership style of the incumbent dean. Not many women could access leadership this way.

Career goals and the pathways of female staff are somehow influenced by micro-politics on campus as well as social factors. These are issues which individuals have little control over. For example, once a female staff member becomes a head of department or a dean she comes into the lime-light (becomes 'visible') and other resources become available.

6.6   Intervention / Way Forward

Despite the knowledge of the huge under-representation of women in leadership positions in the university only two of the participants who happen to be in top positions volunteered interventions. I suspect most people view the situation as normal. When prompted however, a number of suggestions were offered. Several suggestions were made as interventions to getting more women into leadership positions. These included encouraging more women to do postgraduate programmes after which they could be employed as administrators or academics, freeing women academics from heavy teaching load, organising gender sensitization seminars, increasing women mentors, policy on reservation of quotas, provision of structures to support women's social responsibilities.

Women currently in leadership positions have a bigger role and responsibility to create a forum where experiences could be shared to encourage other women to pursue postgraduate programmes. One of the women Deans shares her views on this approach:

I share my experiences sometimes at lectures by letting the young ones (girls) understand that they need to consider other priorities other than marriage and childbirth. You are likely to be a better mother if you allow your body to grow a little bit and by pursuing postgraduate programme you also put yourself in a better economic position to take care of the child you want. I also advise the young men to endeavour to help their sisters become economically independent in order to save their own marriages.

One suggestion which appealed to me was made by a male Head of Department:

There is the need to organize gender sensitization seminars; one for women only and the other for men only. Seminar for women only would allow for discussion and reflection on their weaknesses and strength and what women can do to improve their status. Men only seminar on gender will assure women that at least the institution was showing concern and may start unfolding. Leadership position also hinges on promotion; quotas for positions should be reserved for women or the minority groups to compete for.

Clearly this respondent appreciates the need for a change of attitude and acknowledgment of the problem. These can only come if some initiatives are taken in the absence of institutional policy. The respondent however failed to suggest who should do what; he stopped short of saying the university or faculties or departments should organise these seminars. This supports the view of Hearn (2009) that there usually exist 'passive equality supporters' in the system.

6.7   Summary

Three-fifth of the participants'- (12) indicated that they located leadership in UCC in individuals placed in certain positions in the institution. Leadership perceptions expressed by participants depend upon whether the respondent is an academic or non-academic. More of the academics see those position occupiers as more of managers who control resources rather than leaders. This observation cannot be glossed over. Thus, the control and use of resources of the institutions by mainly male dominated leadership denies women material opportunities.

In terms election and appointment of leaders, apart from the Vice-Chancellor where the position is advertised and individuals compete in their own right, most leadership positions are by either competitive voting or nomination and acquisition of terminal degree. Because there are fewer women who have doctoral degrees, the chances of women being nominated or voted into top positions are very slim. This was expressed by both male and female participants.

Leadership responsibilities are exercised by a small group of males who take all the decisions including those concerning women and this is perpetuated by the statutes. This group of leaders have been described a participant as a clique. Opportunities available to women to push for leadership positions are few. The women's cause is not helped either by their socialization. Women in UCC are not encouraged to seek leadership positions and the few in positions are perceived by their own women colleagues as not being sympathetic to women's cause. Social factors such as socialization in terms of sex roles appear stronger in UCC.

UCC has examples of women who have succeeded in getting into leadership positions. What is common to those women who have made it to the top include the fact that they have gone through a variety of posts such as hall counsellor, hall warden, head of department before getting to the top. They have had the opportunity to study abroad and have excellent scholarship qualities. What I find significant about their experiences is that, despite the fact that these women entered the university system with doctorate degrees they still had to go through several stages before getting to the top.

Finally, the interviews have indicated that structural barriers confront women academics and non-academics in their effort to access leadership roles in UCC. Addressing these barriers is central if the women staff of UCC are to have the opportunity to make an explicit contribution towards the overall development of the institution. Most of the barriers identified in this study are not unique to UCC but it may be the sources and solutions which may be different. In UCC, the disadvantage initiated by the colonial approach to education coupled with socialization and institutional structures

have perpetuated the gender gap at the senior levels of employment in universities. No institutional policies have been put in place to improve the situation. There are no official efforts to support women such as linking them to networks either internally, nationally or internationally as it happens in Australia (Ramsay, 2001). Australian Vice-Chancellors adopted approaches for counteracting the factors which prevented women from advancing to more senior levels in the universities, i.e.; 'creating room at the top' and monitoring its implementation (Ramsay, 2000). In the upcoming chapter, some recommendations are made as feasible ways in counteracting the imbalance in leadership at the university

CHAPTER SEVEN – SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Restatement of the Problem

Women are under-represented in the leadership positions both at the academic and the administrative levels at the University of Cape Coast (UCC). This situation has persisted for a long time and very little attention has been given to it by the university. This study aimed at examining the factors responsible for the above situation as a critical step in structuring appropriate interventions for addressing the problem and also paving the way for the development of the university and the nation. The University of Cape Coast, like many other universities in the developing countries, is yet to incorporate into its statutes policies that can bring about fair gender participation in leadership, hence the need for the study to provide the basis for possible introduction of interventions to rectify the situation.

Gender inequality in higher education has been identified to exist all over the world. The literature on the extent of inequalities varies within the various regions of the globe. It is evident in the literature that many of the studies that have examined the issue of gender disparities in higher education had predominantly come from the richer countries such as United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, Singapore, Hong Kong and Thailand (Brooks 1997; Luke 2001; Morley 2003). Since the issue of gender inequality in higher education has been under studied in the developing world, countries have had to rely on some gender-disaggregated data in order to understand the situation (Morley, 2003). The dearth of

qualitative data on women's experiences in higher educational institutions in the developing world limits opportunities to understand the problem as a critical step in designing strategies to address it.

Even the few studies that have been done mainly in the developed world (Blackmore and Sachs, 2001) have concentrated on the structural and cultural impediments to women's progression into senior level positions in universities. Little attention, however, has been given to the leadership attitudes, performance and development needs of women holding leadership positions in universities, particularly in low-income countries. It therefore became necessary to conduct further research into these other issues - attitudes, performance and development needs of women holding positions as these are likely to bring out the qualitative aspects of gender equity and participation.

However, in the interest of cultural context, the structure and organisational culture impeding the rise and the effective participation of women in leadership positions in the University of Cape Coast have to be examined. Gender and leadership in UCC and in most Ghanaian universities is fraught with patriarchy which is characterized by elitism and exclusion as indicated in the literature (Pereira, 2007). This situation in myriad ways adds to the difficulties of senior academic and administrative women as well as poses problem for several potential women on the brink of taking leadership positions in the universities.

Further, it is vital to note that the dearth of women leaders in the universities is not due to the fact that women lack the attributes demanded by the

universities, nor are they ill-equipped to respond to leadership challenges. The fact, however, remains that women's leadership contribution and further potential continue to be neglected, under recognised and insufficiently integrated into the management structures of many universities of which UCC is no exception.

Structures within the university system have also been identified as contributing to the lack of women leaders. At the University of Cape Coast, for example, and as in most universities world-wide, recruitment into leadership positions in the universities is by responding to advertisement or by promotion. Potential applicants' papers are screened, short-listed and invited to often very intimidating interviews. Women applicants are always at a disadvantage because members of such panels are mostly males. Factors which influence promotion and retention in the universities are also varied. In UCC they include collegial relationships, availability of mentors, marital status, potential for further studies or scholarship and social recognition. All these are factors in which male faculty members have advantage over females, thus more males than females get promoted and retained in the universities.

It is evident from the points raised above that structural bottlenecks deter women from participating meaningfully within the leadership ranks of the universities. As a result, a thorough understanding of the structural and the cultural requisites that predisposes women to participate meaningfully in university leadership becomes crucial. This study, therefore, aimed at identifying the facilitators of, and barriers to, effective women's participation in leadership in the University of Cape Coast. It is believed that

empirical findings emanating from this study can enable university decision-makers to adopt appropriate measures in support of women's participation in leadership, while at the same time addressing the barriers to it.

7.2 Summary of Findings

The study confirmed the view that UCC is a highly gendered institution. In terms of numbers, very few women are found in both the academic and administrative leadership positions. There are only 2 women Deans as against 8 male Deans, only 2 women in the 14-member UCC Governing Council, women constitute only 15.4% of the current membership of Academic Board. These categories of staff constitute the core decision makers. However, recent developments in the university, including the appointment of women to chair two gender related committees, indicate that there has been improvement in awareness of the huge under-representation of women in official and non-official leadership positions. In top non-academic leadership positions, the situation has not seen much quantitative improvement, for example there is still no woman deputy registrar; however, in terms of visibility the university has taken measures aimed at making women visible. This notwithstanding, there is still more room for improving upon the situation.

Despite the existence of relatively large numbers of committees and boards very few of them have women as chairpersons or even members. The University Council has 10 sub-committees and the Academic Board has 40 sub-committees, however, together, only 6 of the committees have women members and in some cases they are the only woman or the secretary. Very

few women occupy top faculty and administrative positions in UCC. Out of the 8 Faculties/Schools only 2 have female Deans and out of the 44 Departments and Centres there are only 3 female Heads of Department. In 8 non-academic directorates there is no female director thus the level of female involvement in decision-making is minimal.

The criteria for election and promotion were found to impede both academic and administrative women's progress. Respondents listed the lack of mentors, lack of collegial support in the system, lack of opportunity to access scholarship, breaks in career to bear children or join spouses studying abroad, lack of infrastructural and communal support as some of the factors that impeded promotion of women senior members (academic and administrators). The promotion criteria and composition of most promotion panel in UCC appeared to favour men.

It is discernible from the findings above that respondents predominantly focused on the structures and social responsibilities as contributing to the problem of low female representation in leadership in the university. Late entry of females into postgraduate programmes, generational gap and self-denial were also raised by some of the participants as significant issues. The women participants focused on the institutional structures and social factors to explain the fewness of women in leadership positions. Surprisingly most of the men mentioned lack of mentors and awareness of facilities available in the statutes for presenting memos and expressing views as factors contributing to few women in leadership positions. Until recently, UCC did not have mentorship policy and women, both academic and non-academic were at a disadvantage.

The study further revealed that sexual harassment and the lack of structural support or facilities do not encourage women to participate in decision making and leadership activities. Another issue of concern to the women interviewed was the workload, especially teaching load. All of the women respondents except two said the teaching workload of women academics should be reduced to enable them have enough time to do the research necessary for promotion. This proposition however is contentious, since distribution of courses for faculties is not gender based or determined, but rather based on expertise and experience.

Unwritten policies exit in the University of Cape Coast for the purpose of selecting females for admission and the award of scholarship to academic staff for training. During admissions additional quotas are given to faculties to increase the number of female students. Advocacy to improve women affairs has not been active even by women in leadership positions. In the case of the yearly Ghana Government / Ghana Education Trust Fund (GETfund) Scholarship, women academics in UCC are always given one slot before the remaining 4 are competed for by the remaining faculty. This 'policy' has not been documented and most of the time the issue is raised by men advocates, since there are usually no women on the selection board.

Findings from the interviews did support the view from the literature that women who progress to leadership positions lose support of their colleague women. Social responsibilities or commitment to domestic responsibilities slacken the progress of female academics especially the married individuals. Prioritization tilted against career progression in favour of domestic

responsibility in the case of married women in both academic and non-academic areas.

The experiences of the few women who have persevered to leadership positions were examined. Most of them got to initial leadership positions through nomination which is allowed by the statutes. It was also evident from available official records that women rarely got to leadership positions through election. This situation therefore posed a structural problem in the sense that if the appointments to leadership roles were more on the basis of academic and professional qualifications, proven skills and competence on the job, some more women might have a fair chance of getting to the top.

The study further revealed that consultations with women were scarce, even on issues affecting them, since very few were members of statutory committees or were in decision-making positions. The absence of women and other minorities in decision-making bodies was evident. The statutory requirements were always used as the escape route. In theory there were equal opportunities for men and women. However, in practice, women were marginalized, except in few occasions where individual men who were known to be gender activists spoke on women's behalf. Women in UCC therefore had little opportunity to present their own views.

Gender and minority groups had not been taken into consideration in the drafting of UCC statutes. Almost all respondents did not appear to express concern about this deficiency. The gender imbalance was perceived by many as it appears to be an extension of the larger society's attitude. The situation of being apathetic to unequal gender opportunities in the various positions

and committees was observed in three of the very important committees and boards (University Council, Academic Board and Management Committee) where a greater number of critical decisions was taken in the university.

The respondents indicated that the sharing and use of resources were influenced by ones relationship with the leaders instead of using the approved structures such as the approved committees. Thus individual leaders had the power to control resources and decide on who gets what. This poses a challenge to the statutory requirements. Decisions must be arrived at after consideration by committees, not by individuals.

An important finding of the study was that most of the respondents gave the impression that female leaders were more transformational oriented and had a more consultative approach to leadership. This finding lends credence to the fact that the university as a whole stands to benefit if more women are motivated and supported to succeed as women leaders. This revelation, in no doubt, adds to the value of this study.

In spite of the transformational leadership styles of women leaders, most of the respondents found women as being less sympathetic to the cause of women specifically. This also challenges the notion that getting more women into leadership positions will improve the lot of women in the institution.

7.3 Conclusions and Contribution to the Field

7.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations are worth considering in ensuring improved female participation in leadership at the University of Cape Coast.

Clearly institutional structural barriers confront women academics and non-academics in their effort to access leadership roles in UCC. Some of these barriers include the use of 'voting method' for appointing statutory senior member to high positions such as Pro-Vice-Chancellor and Deans of Faculty, method of nominating committee members, lack of mentoring for women, sexual harassment, lack of collegial support in the system, lack of opportunity to access scholarships, lack of infrastructural and communal support, and non-involvement of women in important committees. However, contrary to the observation in the literature (Morley 2000, p.1) that, women in the academy 'have been worn down by committee work' in UCC, women are scarcely found on committees. This is a disadvantage for women because committee work in UCC context serves as a training ground for future leaders. Again, the statutes of the university have been reviewed about twice since the inception of the university (1982 and 2003 and currently under review), but no attention has been paid to gender inequalities resulting from the existing regulations.

Respondents demonstrated a widespread knowledge of the huge under-representation of women in leadership positions in the university. Despite this awareness, many respondents saw the situation as normal because the

marginalization of women in the university is deeply rooted within the broader Ghanaian culture, mainly patriarchal in form. This revelation comes as a surprise because universities are expected to be unreceptive to such "inferior" cultures. The under-representation of women in leadership apparent at the university because of favouritism based on affectivity and patriarchy needs to be replaced by meritocracy based on affective neutrality as a norm. A reversal of the patriarchal cultures with its attendant barriers to women's advancement on all fronts in life should begin at the university which is considered as a primary agent of social change. A thorough understanding of the problem of women under-representation in leadership at the university level therefore became important.

The motivation to study the issue of under-representation of women in leadership positions in higher education emanated from the realization that no such studies have taken place in UCC, especially by an administrator of my level. The study's worth lies not only in its contribution to the micro domestic literature in this field of study, but also the utilization and the implications of its findings for improving the level of women's involvement in leadership and decision-making in UCC and other similar institutions, bearing in mind the critical role of the university in effecting changes at the macro level.

Further, I began this study taking note of the paucity of published literature on gender and leadership in higher education in low-income countries and the fact that 'significant interventions to promote gender equity appeared to be taking place in several low-income countries' (Morley 2006, p.1). It is important for such interventions to be premised on scientific evidence, hence

the need for the study. The findings and implications of previous researchers have been utilized to trace the roots of the dearth of women in leadership positions in UCC and thus making a case for the adoption of some strategies for addressing it. It is expected that this study will contribute to UCC's knowledge base in the area of gender equity. This is required to shape and plan the university's focus in the direction of areas capable of ensuring responsiveness to the needs of women in both academic and administrative positions.

The conceptual framework for this study takes Oakley's categorization proposition as its basic premise. The categorization theory offer explanation to barriers faced by women in their attempt to attain leadership positions. The theoretical benchmarks adopted from the works of Oakley 2000; Messiah 1993 served as the basis for extracting data on major tenets of the study - the barriers to recruitment, retention and promotion of women. These theories were developed in different socio-cultural milieu. This thesis notes that, in UCC, in addition to the structural barriers, the colonial beginning of higher education – i.e ., admitting only men, providing fewer facilities for women in higher institutions – combined with socialization and domestic roles – i.e. girls not encouraged to seek leadership positions and paying more attention to their domestic/family roles serve as additional barriers and influence women's decision to seek leadership positions.

There is a further contribution to theory. The study contributes to the contextual explanation for the Role Congruity theory by Eagly and Karau (2002). The Role Congruity theory refers to the assumed communal, sensitive and nurturing characteristics of women which are less desirable for

effective leadership. In UCC context the perception of incongruity between characteristics of women and leadership exist and tend to discourage women, even in the academia, from competing for leadership positions (Oduro, 2005). Certain top positions are assumed to be the preserve of men and others like vice-president and treasurer reserved for women.

The study therefore presents an opportunity to provide a cultural relative point of view on the issues. This stance correlates that of Scott & Marshall (2005) that concepts are socially constructed and vary across cultures, and the standards, meanings and values of the culture in which they occur offer the bases for making judgment.

I have applied the theories which have different social and historical settings to interrogate the problem in the context of a developing country. The different conceptions of women's role in leadership in the pre-colonial, colonial, and the post-colonial eras and the problem posed by such conceptualisation cannot be underestimated. This is particularly evident in the authoritarian, social and political context within which most universities in Ghana and Africa are located (Pereira, 2006). Notwithstanding the cultural relativism debate, I believe that the globalised nature of universities provides a similar platform for applying theories.

A further contribution this study provides is the approach that the researcher, as an 'insider', adopts in the research. First, this study has not been confined to the dictates of any sponsor. The aim had been an attempt to illuminate an emerging issue and provide insights into the basis for addressing the problem of under-representation of women in leadership, particularly in UCC and in other universities in Ghana and other developing countries. The

difficulty of getting around ethical issues encountered by me constituted a major problem for studies of this nature, especially; when the researcher can use his/her position to extract information with or without the consent of participants.

Finally, unlike other studies or even commissioned projects that happen and then pass with no follow-up or consequences, this study has the potential to directly or indirectly influence decisions. As a result of the researcher's position in the institution, there is the possibility of directly or indirectly disseminating the findings through different forums. In UCC, the findings and recommendations could influence decisions at the Admissions Board – for the purpose of admitting more female students – and also the Appointment and Promotions Board in appointing and promoting individuals for the ultimate benefit of the institution.

7.4.1 Professional Development Opportunities

There is the need for more women to be encouraged to pursue postgraduate programmes after which they could be employed as administrators or academics. Women currently in leadership positions have a bigger role and responsibility to create a forum where experiences could be shared to encourage other women to pursue postgraduate programmes. The mere encouragement of women to enter the university work culture, however, might not be an effective solution to the problem. Rather, ensuring that structures are in place to enable women to succeed in the university culture as staff becomes paramount.

The university may consider setting aside quotas for admitting female applicants into graduate programmes as it is partially done at the undergraduate level. This is necessary since this route constitute a major source of recruiting people into the senior member category. Furthermore, women who are appointed into academic and administrative positions should be encouraged and supported to seek promotion by providing them with tools such as journals and sponsorship to attend conferences and workshops. There is also the need to strengthen and publicise the establishment of the Sexual Harassment Committee to serve as a deterrent to would be offenders.

Organisation of gender sensitization seminars by departments, faculties and the university is necessary to draw attention to problems confronting the effective participation of women in leadership in the university. Such seminars will generate interest in the issue and assist in designing strategies to address the problem.

7.4.2 Affirmative Action Policies

Suggestions for affirmative action policies are made, being fully aware of possible problems with such policies. The university should consider implementing such policies only after adequate background education has taken place. Policies in support of the reservation of quotas for women in some leadership positions should be instituted to ensure fair participation of women in critical decision-making levels at the university. This will provide women with an opportunity to aspire to leadership positions in the sense that if the appointments to leadership roles were on the basis of transparency and the criteria were academic and professional qualifications, proven skills and competence on the job some women might have a fair chance of getting to

the top. This would take care of the unfair treatment meted out against women when appointments are based on elections as it is in the case at UCC.

Although having a different assessment for women's promotion at the university will contradict the tenets of the university statute, female staff at the university should be supported to render the dual roles of academics and the ever-challenging domestic responsibilities expected of them. This, however, should go beyond the university. It is therefore recommended that time spent by women on maternity leave for instance should still count as part of the time in active service. This recommendation is being made against the backdrop that maternal responsibility should be deemed as a service to the community. This recommendation is worth consideration by the university, since contributions made by employees in the community play a part in determining their promotions.

The cultural barriers that impede effective participation of women in leadership positions at work places need to be addressed. One way of attacking such a barrier is to use education as the conduit in resocializing people to eschew the cultural traits that define women as "second class" citizens rather than equal citizens within the society. Such cultural overhaul holds the long-run potential in addressing the gender imbalance in leadership. Universities, as agents of social change, should take a lead in the overall crusade towards the attainment of gender equality in Ghanaian society.

7.4.3 Limitations and Areas for Future Research

One limitation of this study is the relatively small size of the sample of staff and students used in this study. The study could have been enriched if, but for time constraint and other technical reasons, I had included few more female graduate students and also used some experienced female research assistants to conduct some of the interviews. Including such people would have provided more variation in the responses and factors that influence / impede and also provided lessons from the future beneficiaries of this study.

Some issues have emerged from this study. Why are very few women getting into graduate programmes? - What roles can women who are already in leadership positions play in getting more women to follow their trail? How can women in leadership positions retain the support of their female colleagues? Research into such issues is required to provide support for advocacy as well as data to guide policy-makers in the university to increase the participation of women in decision-making and leadership in higher educational institutions such as the University of Cape Coast.

Finally, gender inequality in higher education leadership has become an issue of local, national and international concern. The number of extensive research studies undertaken by individuals and for international bodies demonstrates the extent of concern (Gold, 1996; Morley, 2005; Morley, Kwesiga and Mwailpopo, 2005). The University of Cape Coast should show more concern by working towards a more equitable gender leadership through sponsoring studies which scrutinise practices and attitudes that tend to perpetuate under-representation of women.

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APPENDIX 'A'

These set of questionnaires were used as guide to my interviews.

1. How long have you been working here?

2. What made you decide to enter management?

3. Who encouraged or discouraged you to enter management?

4. Can you give me an example of a particular difficulty that you have

   experienced as a women manager? (from male/female colleagues?)

5. What strategies did you use to cope with this difficulty?

6. What kind of support do you get from other people? (Staff, friends, family, mentors)

7 As a woman manager, how do you believe that you are perceived by colleagues, students etc.?

8 What were your expectations when you took up appointment as a lecturer/dean? To what extent have they been fulfilled?

9. How would you describe your experiences of being a woman in the leadership team here?

10. What do you consider makes a good leader/manager?

11. In your view, why do you think that there are more male than female managers here?

12. How do you think the number of women in leadership positions in the universities/this university could be increased? Can you give any specific examples of actions for change?

13. What impact do you believe more women in management would have on this institution?

14. What are your future aspirations?

These set of questions are seeking answers to how leadership / (female leadership) is perceived by senior university executives

1. How do you define leadership in an organisation such as the university?
2. Who do you consider as leaders in this university, and why?
3. What qualities should a leader in a university have?

4. What is your leadership style?

5. Were there (institutional/socio-cultural) structures that impeded/favoured your way up?
6. Have you found anything particularly difficult?
7. How do you cope with those difficulties?
8. What kind of support do you get from other people? (Staff, friends, family)
9. Did you have mentors?
10. What were your expectations when you took up appointment as a dean/R/PVC/VC? To what extent have they been fulfilled?

11. Do you consider yourself as part of the leadership team in this institution?

12. Do you think current leadership of this institution favour promotion of women concerns?

13. How, in your view, can the number of women in leadership positions in the universities/this university be increased?

14. How do think we can encourage more women to participate in management/leadership?

15. What do you think you colleagues think about you? (Female /male)

16. What do you think about leadership in general in this University? Do you think if there are more women in leadership positions the way things are done would change?

17.   How would you feel like having a female boss?