Lucy Pius Kyauke

Gender Inclusion and Leadership Positions in Higher Learning Institutions in Tanzania

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NTNU
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

Lucy Pius Kyauke

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Norwegian University of Science and Technology
Faculty of Humanities
Department of Interdisciplinary Studies of Culture

NTNU
Norwegian University of
Science and Technology

ABSTRACT

Recent attention to gender inclusion in leadership positions in higher learning institutions calls for broader and heterogeneous perspectives that include the full spectrum of gender balance in terms of numbers, quality, equity and equality. This expanded perspective recognises that gender systems are complex and that academic institutions comprise individuals of differing ethnicities, perspectives, expertise, ideologies, cultural backgrounds and socio-demographic characteristics. Each has a unique part and role to play in creating better understanding in order to find solutions appropriate for equal access and opportunities. Indeed, women's underrepresentation in top leadership positions in higher learning institutions is a worldwide problem. The magnitude of the problem stands to a large extent in Africa and is noted to be alarming in Tanzania.

My study has explored spaces of socio-cultural constructs and the gendered dynamics of power experienced (through practices) in higher learning institutions in Tanzania and how the practices could be negotiated for strategies of gender inclusion within leadership positions. The main objective is to provide perspectives that can contribute to the understanding of the socio-cultural skills, abilities and ways of acting thought appropriate for women's inclusion into leadership positions, as part of gender inclusion strategies to professionals in higher learning institutions in Tanzania. The central analyses have specifically focused on: 1) exploring the shared meaning of socio-cultural practices and opinion embedded within academia based on their socio-demographic categories, 2) evaluating the efficacy of existing regulations and policies that govern the procedure of appointing leaders in higher learning institutions, and 3) unfolding local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant to strategizing gender inclusion at the leadership level of Tanzanian higher learning institutions.

This study is organised and conducted under the principles and ethics within the interdisciplinary field of gender studies. Therefore, it comprises a wide range of different philosophies, concepts and techniques that potentially produce knowledge on gender and gender inclusion context across several disciplinary boundaries. The study is related to three philosophical predispositions: naturalism, realism and feminism. It is moreover guided by three theoretical approaches: the Intersectionality Approach, Actor-network Theory and Organisational Theory. The methodology of the study is based on a qualitative approach. The data was collected through interviews, focus group discussion and observation. The data analysis is based on Dey's approach (1993) and supported by the NVivo software program. Contextual as well as content analysis techniques are used to analyse the transcribed interviews with key-interviewees, primary interviewees as well as government officials and other gender stakeholders.

Results in analysis 1 revealed the following: The problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in Tanzanian higher learning institutions appear to be multifaceted and indeed interpreted differently between men-academics and women-academics, between junior academic staff aged below 49 years and senior academic staff aged 50 years and over, between those who are married and those who are not married or divorced, and between those in the sciences (including engineering) and in social sciences. A peculiar finding in the gender category was about the influence of religion and the likelihood of women academics to avoid leadership roles in higher learning institutions. Results in analysis 2 revealed the following: The Gender Policies (i.e., WGDP of 2000, NSGD of 2003 and the University of Dar es Salaam Gender Policy of 2006) are not intensive and extensive enough to address all major issues of the current paradoxes of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions in higher learning institutions; the gender policies do not contain spaces of leadership constructs; there is no policy-article that specifically addresses leadership aspects, nor is there any gender agenda or women's agenda in leadership in any policy article; moreover, spaces of culture and gender constructs are not addressed in the gender policy. Finally, results in analysis 3 revealed the following: To establish practical gender inclusion strategies in higher learning institutions, seven measures are recommended to focus on, namely policy, women's inclusion, unfolding blind spots within socio-cultural values, recognition of spaces of socio-demographic attributes, performing action research, networking and focusing on merits by gender needs.

The overall conclusion is that strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in Tanzania's higher learning institutions involves a complex process. To identify its wide scope of mechanisms, it requires an approach that uses both 1) an abstraction — understanding a diverging socio-demographic composition of individuals and dealing with what is shared amongst individuals about their subjective reality in perceiving, and their wish about, practical gender inclusion strategies; and, 2) contextualisation of the interconnected-evidences — paying attention to how socio-cultural and meritocratic systems deeply intertwine and influence women's experiences and opportunities in academia. Women's access to leadership positions in higher learning institutions in Tanzania has been hindered to a great extent by the attributes of hidden socio-cultural values (gender division of labour and patriarchy) and to a lesser extent by meritocratic values.

Acknowledgements

Dedication

To my dad and mom, I could not have done this without your faith, support, and constant encouragement, you raise me up so I can stand on mountains… you raise me up to more than I can be.

To my lovely family, my husband Dr. Deus Damian Komba, my son Sweetbert and my daughters Lynn-Vanessa and Liv-Theresa your constant love, support and encouragement made this possible.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

- ANT   Actor-Network Theory
- BPA   Beijing Platform for Action
- CEDAW   The Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination Against Women
- CODESRIA   Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa
- COSTECH   Tanzania Commission of Science and Technology
- CPA   Certified Public Accountant
- EAC   East African Community
- EACGP   East African Community Gender Policy
- EOTF   Equal Opportunity for all Trust Fund
- FAWETA   The Federation of Association of Women Entrepreneurs
- FEMACT   Feminist Activism Coalition
- GDI   Gender Development Index
- GII   Gender Inequality Index
- GSNI   Gender Social Norms Index
- HDI   Human Development Index
- HESLB   Higher Education Students' Loans Board
- HLIs   Higher Learning Institutions
- ILO   International Labour Organization
- LHRC   Legal and Human Rights Centre
- MGDs   Millennium Development Goals
- MoCDGC   Ministry of Gender Community Development Gender and Children
- MoHCDGEC   Ministry of Health Community Development Gender Elderly and Children
- NORAD   Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation
- NGOs   Non-Governmental Organizations
- NPA   National Plan of Action
- NSGD   National Strategy for Gender Development
- NTNU   Norwegian University of Science and Technology
- Nvivo   Qualitative Data Analysis Software
- OECD   Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
- OUT   Open University of Tanzania
- SADC   Southern African Development Community
- SUA   Sokoine University of Agriculture
- TAMWA   Tanzania Media Women's Association
- TAWLA   Tanzania Women Lawyers Association
- TAWLAE   Tanzania Association of Women Leaders in Agriculture and Environment
- TCU   Tanzania Commission for Universities
- TGNP   Tanzania Gender Networking Programme

- THCU   Tanzania Higher Learning Institution Trade Union
- UDASA   University of Dar es Salaam Academic Staff Assembly
- UDOM   University of Dodoma
- UDSM   University of Dar es Salaam
- UEA   University of East Africa
- UN   United Nations
- UNDP   United Nations Development Programme
- UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
- UNICEF   United Nations Children's Fund
- URBS   University Research Bureau of Standards
- URT   United Republic of Tanzania
- UWT   Umoja wa wanawake Tanzania (Tanzania Women's Association)
- VAWC   Violence Against Women and Children
- VC   Vice-Chancellor
- WAT   Women's Advancement Trust
- WEI   Women's Empowerment Index
- WGDP   Women and Gender Development Policy
- WID   Women in Development
- WLAC   Women's Legal Aid Centre

Chapter One

Introduction aims and background of the problem

1.1   Introduction

This dissertation explores spaces of socio-cultural constructs and the gendered dynamics of power experienced (through practices) in higher learning institutions in Tanzania, and how the practices may be negotiated to strategize gender inclusion within leadership positions. The main objective is to provide perspectives that can contribute to the understanding of the socio-cultural skills, abilities and ways of acting thought appropriate for women's inclusion into leadership positions, as part of gender inclusion strategies for professionals in higher learning institutions in Tanzania.

Recent attention to gender inclusion studies in academia calls for broader and more heterogeneous perspectives (Gansmo et al., 2003; Eddy et al., 2017) that include the full spectrum of gender balance in terms of numbers (Lagesen, 2007), quality (Acker, 2006), equity (UN Women Report, 2017) and equality (Eddy et al., 2017; Lewis et al., 2017; UN Women Report, 2017, 2018). This expanded perspective recognises that gender systems are complex (Bolsø et al., 2018) and that academic institutions comprise individuals of different ethnicities, perspectives, expertise, ideologies, cultural backgrounds and socio-demographic characteristics (Kearney & Lincoln, 2016; Shah, 2019). Each has a unique role to play in creating a better understanding in order to find solutions appropriate for equal access and opportunities (Eddy et al., 2017). By using an inclusion perspective, innovative approaches address the current demand to significantly contribute to relevant strategies that can change traditional structures that support and reinforce gender stereotypes and the gendered power dynamics in the working environment (UN Women Report, 2017, 2018; Bolsø et al., 2018) and in higher learning institutions (Peus et al., 2015; Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016).

In Higher Learning Institutions (HLIs), gender is a key constitutive component of specialisation and power relations that make up the terrain within which ways of organising are forged and constructed (Shah, 2019). These situated constructs limit many women's careers while they simultaneously encounter subordinate gender roles (Morley, 2011; Sang, 2018; Tamale, 2020). These limits are evident in enrolment, recruitment and promotion practices (van de Brink et al., 2010) and in the overall persistent lack of women in senior positions and leadership

positions within higher learning institutions (Marchant & Wallece, 2013; Nielsen, 2014; Morley, 2014; Sang, 2018; Shah, 2019).

As a corollary of the above problems, the magnitude of academic debates addressing the persistent problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs reveals a considerable extent of the problem worldwide (Dunn et al., 2014; Dominici et al., 2009; Odhiambo, 2011; Sandberg & Scovell, 2013; ILO, 2016; UN Women report, 2017, 2018; Sang, 2018), to a large extent in Africa (CODESRIA, 2014; ILO, 2016; Adamma, 2017; Moodly & Tony, 2017; Nyoni et al., 2017; UN Women Report, 2017, 2018). The situation is noted to be alarming in Tanzania (LHRC, 2016; TGNP, 2017; TCU Report, 2017).

Concerns are linked to the heterogeneity of women's experiences in academia and multi-factor parameters embedded within 1) the organisational structures and practices of education which discriminate against women, 2) politics based on the formulation of impractical gender policies and weak enforcement mechanisms, 3) individualist or meritocratic systems that consider women's personality traits as the cause, as well as 4) cultural and social norms, which provide different socialisation patterns for women and men (Growe & Montgomery, 2000; Morley, 2014; Nielsen, 2015; Sang, 2018). These are situated constructs that provide major issues affecting women's progress into seniority and leadership positions within HLIs (Winchester & Browning, 2015; Sang, 2018).

In Africa, attributes of 1) gender politics, 2) socio-cultural practices and 3) meritocratic perspectives that focus on individual traits, characteristics, abilities and qualities exhibit an even wider gender gap in top leadership positions in HLIs (Mama, 2003; CODESRIA, 2014; UN Women Report, 2017). However, more research-based knowledge is needed to evaluate and critically analyse the factors (culture, politics and meritocracy), and there needs to be an assessment of how such factors can be negotiated or conceptualised as a cohesive system to specifically suit gender inclusion strategies to facilitate women getting leadership positions in African HLIs (Mama, 2003; CODESRIA, 2014).

Thus, this study aims to explore spaces of socio-cultural constructs (situated contextual construction and interpretation of gender practices) and the gendered dynamics of power experienced in HLIs in Tanzania, and how the practices could be negotiated for strategizing gender inclusion with respect to leadership positions. A closer link to an interplay of meritocracy, culture and politics as a cohesive system is hypothesised to provide a wide space

for defining complex dimensions for understanding gender inclusion and leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. This will be explained in Chapters Two and Three.

1.2 Background of the problem

Worldwide overview

Women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs is historically a worldwide problem, and it has been perpetuated by powerful discourses of gender stereotyping (Dunn et al., 2014; Dominici et al., 2009; Odhiambo, 2011; Sandberg & Scovell, 2013; David, 2016; ILO, 2016). In 1998, UNESCO convened a World Conference to review gender goals set by the Beijing Conference of 1995. It was revealed that the major goal of encouraging women's move into top leadership positions in HLIs was not achieved worldwide. In September 2000, at the Millennium Assembly, more than 189 member-states adopted the Millennium Declaration and its set priorities, including precise and time-bound development goals. Eight goals were promoted for worldwide achievement by 2015. One of the indicators linked to these goals was to measure progress towards ensuring that more women become leaders in HLIs (UNESCO, 2017). Despite remarkable efforts taken by the international organisations, such as the Beijing Conference 1995, UNESCO Conference 1998, Millennium Assembly 2000 and the 2015 Sustainable Development Goals, HLIs remain gender-divided and offer fewer opportunities for women compared to men regarding advancing towards leadership (UNDP, 2017).

This situation has been documented by a number of researchers (e.g., Odhiambo, 2011; Fitzgerald, 2013; CODESRIA, 2014; Dunn et al., 2014; Rubini and Menegatti, 2014; Mohajeri et al., 2015; Nyoni et al., 2017). Several discourses have been associated as contributing factors: ethnic/culture, administrative, political, economic factors, meritocracy, patriarchy, policy, and personal as well as traditional methods used for gender equality campaigns (CODESRIA, 2014; Nkomo & Ngambi, 2014; Lituchy et al., 2015; ILO, 2016; UNESCO, 2017).

In Africa

Compared to the situation in Europe and other developed countries, the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions within African HLIs is enormous, and its persistence is deeply rooted in patriarchal ideologies (CODESRIA, 2014; ILO, 2016). A report from the International Labour Organisation (ILO; 2016) indicates that the men/women ratio of

academic staff who are in leadership positions widens significantly when the top management positions are statistically assessed in HLIs in Africa. Concerns are raised that the situation is caused by the culture, politics and organisational structures (Kele & Pietersen, 2015; Lituchy et al., 2015; ILO, 2016).

Odhiambo (2011) examined the challenges women face in accessing leadership positions in HLIs with specific reference to Kenya and other African countries. His study reveals that barriers related to culture and cultural expectations, the choice between or balance of work and family, and the stress that accompanies leadership positions contribute substantially to the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs. Similarly, Kele and Pietersen (2015) focus on women already occupying managerial positions in HLIs in Africa and describe that a critical barrier hindering women's advancement into leadership positions is rooted within the socio-cultural environment along with unstable and unimplemented gender policies.

Adamma (2017) finds that the percentages of women in the upper echelon of several institutions were very low and thus that the representation of women at the academic management position was poor. The study illuminates the effects of organisational characteristics, such as men-dominated networks, intimidation and harassment, as well as individual features (e.g., a lack of confidence). The study recommended, among other things, conducting more research in order to provide answers regarding the socio-cultural barriers that hinder women from being fully integrated (included) into leadership positions in HLIs. This emphasises the relevance of this dissertation.

In addition, Moodly and Tony (2017) made a survey in African countries in order to develop an overview of professional women accessing leadership in HLIs. The study reveals that the gendered nature of higher learning institutions in Africa emanates from the institutional culture and the perception of women's leadership as a culture of service and its negative impact on women and leadership. Moodly and Tony (2017) strongly argue for research focusing on the culture of gender inclusion in Africa to address and overcome the shortages of women accessing leadership positions in HLIs.

The situation in Tanzania

There is a large concern regarding the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions as well as the low number of women being recruited into academic positions in HLIs in Tanzania (TCU, 2018). According to TCU statistics, the current status of gender distribution

indicates a 1-to-2 women/men ratio of employed academic staff in HLIs in Tanzania, as women make up only 31 per cent of this workforce. A serious and particularly outspoken gender disparity can be detected at the top leadership and management position levels. Men academics constitute 92 per cent of all top leadership positions in HLIs, while women academics hold only 8 per cent (TCU, 2018; URT Ministry of the Civil Servant, 2018).

Concerns around the persistence of this problem of underrepresentation is related to multi-factor effects of a diverse set of gender-related exclusion processes existing in HLIs (TGNP, 2017). Mwita (2013) investigated the challenges facing public universities in Tanzania. The findings indicate low academic staff turnover among women. Socio-cultural practices are identified as among the major contributing factors. Kavenuke (2013) examined factors contributing to women academics drop-outs in the teaching profession at the University of Dar es Salaam. The findings indicate that family reasons such as maternity and marriage contribute strongly to the reduction among women academics.

Tanzania Gender Network Program (TGNP; 2017) identifies a lack of research-based solutions to the gender problems that contribute to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs. According to TGNP, there is little literature or gender-based research that has approached gender and leadership from an inclusion perspective. Hence, there is less attention to critical barriers that hinder women academics from accessing leadership positions within current organisational structures, policy, rules and appointment procedures (Shuyler & Vavrus, 2010; Bangi, 2014; TGNP, 2017).

1.3   Statement of the problem

Leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania can be characterised as having a low number of women in lower positions and either few or no women in higher positions (Bangi, 2014; TGNP, 2017; Technopolis, 2019). In the final report of the study, "Mapping of the higher education sector in selected partner countries", which was undertaken by the Technopolis group on behalf of the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Technopolis, 2019), Tanzania was one of twelve selected countries for comparative analysis of higher education. Gender distribution was one of the analysed indicators. In the discussion of "student enrolments and trends in the numbers of staff in HLIs", women are categorised among disadvantaged groups that have a low enrolment rate in HLIs in Tanzania and a group that faces more barriers in the process of developing an academic career. For those women who are enrolled in HLIs, with regard to further aspects of equity, the report acknowledges that women will continue to lag

behind recruitment as academic staff and posit a lower number in academic positions. Almost 75 per cent of the academic staff are men in HLIs in Tanzania (Technopolis, 2019).

The pattern and trends of academic staff in terms of qualifications that predict their leadership promotion and eligibility indicate a significantly skewed gender profile. There are fewer women than men at all levels of qualification ranks in HLIs (Technopolis, 2019). In public and private HLIs combined, there are 6 880 academic staff, of which 5 098 are men and 1 725 are women. When the academic staff are distributed by their ranks, statistics show the following distributions: 1) Tutorial assistants, 1 616 in total, 1 181 men and 436 women; 2) Assistant Lecturers, 2 757 in total, 1 957 men and 835 women; 3) Lecturers, 967 in total, 745 men and 224 women; 4) Senior Lecturers, 652 in total, 535 men and 117 women; 5) Associate Professors, 365 in total, 320 men and 45 women; and, 6) Full Professors, 278 in total, 250 men and 28 women (Technopolis based on data published by TCU 2015/2016). The low number of women in all academic qualification ranks is an obstacle to developing gender inclusion strategies to help women get leadership positions, especially due to the supply of qualified candidates. Qualification ranks is one of the parameters that determines the individual credibility (merit) for the appointment into leadership positions in HLIs (TCU, 2018).

Although the problem of women's underrepresentation in HLIs is partly explained by the low number of women in all academic qualification ranks (Technopolis, 2019), there is a need to look beyond numbers. This means there is a significant gap in knowledge (TGNP, 2017), and indeed, this problem stands to be a paradox and ambiguous in its context (Bangi, 2014; TGNP, 2017). Gender policy and gender harassment policies have been institutionally implemented to serve the specific needs of the respective institutions in Tanzania (i.e., the University of Dar es Salaam), and some institutions do not yet have such policy in place (i.e., the University of Dodoma). However, in both the institutional context in which gender policies are applied and the context of those without, the fostering of patriarchal structures continues, and the control of power, decision-making positions and top leadership positions remain directly or indirectly in the hands of men.

Several studies have related the underlying spaces of men's dominance in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania to wide contextual and compositional conditions attributed by traditional beliefs and cultural attitudes regarding the role and status of women in society. The few studies that have investigated the extent of the problems argue that the spaces of relevant socio-cultural constructs need to be negotiated to be able to strategize gender inclusion in leadership positions

in HLIs. This stands to be a barrier and a significant gap of knowledge in actualizing the gender inclusion policies and regulations in HLIs.

1.4   Objective of the study

The main objective of the study is to provide insights that can contribute to the understanding of the socio-cultural skills, abilities and ways of acting thought appropriate for women's inclusion in leadership positions, thereby contributing to gender inclusion strategies for professionals in HLIs in Tanzania. The motivation for this study is not solely to address existing problems of gender inequality, but rather to explore gender strategic solutions that can build a supportive culture of women's inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. The expected outcome of this research will hopefully find application not only in Tanzanian context, but also in other countries with similar contexts where women are inadequately represented in leadership positions.

1.5   Specific objectives of the study

The study is specifically framed in order to:

- Find out how socio-demographic characteristics composing members of the academic staff (i.e., men vs women academics, junior academic staff vs senior academic staff, those who are married vs those not married and individuals affiliated in science including engineering vs those in social sciences) influence their variation in perceiving the problem of women's underrepresentation in Tanzania.
- Analyse and evaluate the efficacy of gender policy in higher learning institutions and its overall context in strategizing women's inclusion into leadership positions by drawing upon experiences and perspectives explored from academic staff in HLIs in Tanzania.
- Unfold local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant for strategizing gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

1.6   Research questions

To achieve the specific objectives of this study, the following research questions will be addressed:

- Does the Tanzanian culture have a significant influence on gendered dynamics of power? Are women excluded from taking leadership in the academic institutions

based on their cultural inclinations or assigned roles? If so, to what extent may spaces of socio-cultural constructs and strata of socio-demographic characteristics be identified and negotiated to strategize gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs?

- Do politics play a vital role in determining principles, resources and ways of how universities deal with gender issues? How does the political sphere account for the paradox of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania? What might best influence a political agenda to initiate alternative action plans and terms of reference suitable for gender inclusion in academia?

- Do spaces of socio-cultural environment produce gendered organisational procedures, practices, structure, and hierarchy in academia? If so, how differently do embedded local specificities produce knowledge that best fit gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania?

1.7 Significance of the study

The analysis of 'how socio-demographic characteristics composing members of academic staff influence their variation in perceiving the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions' is intended to explore the shared meaning of socio-cultural practices and opinion embedded within the academic community and create practical solutions that best fit both men and women, individuals from the different professions, individuals from different age groups and individuals from marital status in accessing equal chances and opportunities in leadership positions. On the other hand, the analysis shall explore testimonies and narratives from both men and women about their experiences and what actions can best resolve the paradoxes of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs.

This analysis is assumed to be important due to the diverging socio-demographic composition of individuals in public institutions. A challenge faced by much gender research is to find out what is shared amongst individuals about how they perceive their subjective reality, so as to draw some conclusions relevant for suggesting appropriate gender inclusion strategies. This involves identifying strategies that can accommodate the diverging interests of individuals as well as the attitudinal and behavioural dimensions that could be targeted for intervention. Such a challenge seems particularly important in the context of HLIs in Tanzania, where imposed gender policies have not significantly reduced the problem of gender inequalities.

The analysis and evaluation of the efficacy of the gender policies in HLIs is meant to help propose an alternative reform strategy for addressing the existing terms of reference in appointment procedures of leadership positions and to suggest practical means that best suit gender inclusion actions that cater to gender equity and equality. The significance of this analysis stems from the observation that gender inclusion is socially produced and that this production needs to be managed within a policy framework that should be adhered to as terms of reference in hiring and promoting people within academia.

The analysis of "unfolding local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant to strategizing gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs" is intended to explore realities of the construction of gender in the local context. This is hypothesised to reflect a prolonged hidden gap of knowledge between existing gender problems in the Tanzanian context and research done in more theoretically mature efforts to explore such issues. Leveraging gender inclusion strategies from a local perspective is assumed to be an essential step in addressing the existing problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. And, indeed, this is essential because explicit gender inclusion strategies entail the specificities of local knowledge.

Generally, this study is meant to facilitate the creation of a gender inclusion culture in the appointment and promotion procedures of leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. Also, this study will provide a baseline reference for gender inclusion efforts in other public institutions, the efforts of government, policymakers and recruitment agencies when filling top management positions in HLIs. Importantly, the data obtained in this study can also be used as baseline data in future related research.

1.8 Reflection of gender issues and higher learning institutions in Tanzania: Additional information about the context of the study

History of higher education in Tanzania

Since her independence 1961, Tanzania has established about 50 HLIs to date (TCU, 2018). The first HLI was established in 1961 and named Dar Es Salaam University College, a constituent (university) college of the University of London. As an affiliate college, Dar Es Salaam University College had one faculty, namely the Faculty of Law, and received only 13 students, of which all were men (Mkude et al., 2003; Morley & Lugg, 2009; Morley et al., 2009). In 1963, Tanzania and two other Eastern Africa countries, Kenya and Uganda, signed a contract establishing a harmonised higher education institution named University of East

Africa (UEA) under an affiliation with the University of London, the University of Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania, the Makerere University in Uganda, and the University of Nairobi in Kenya (Morley & Lugg, 2009; Morley et al., 2009; TCU, 2018).

In 1970, UEA collapsed, and the three countries decided to nationalise and run each university in their own country (Ishengoma, 2008). From 1970 to 2003, Tanzania opened four more public universities, namely Sokoine University of Agriculture (SUA), Mzumbe University, the Open University of Tanzania (OUT) and State University of Zanzibar. The establishment of private universities began in 1995 when the liberalisation of education received concern (Ishengoma, 2008; Morley et al., 2009; Morley & Lugg, 2009; TCU, 2018).

Of Tanzania's 50 universities, the number of public institutions is 18, while there are 32 private institutions (TCU, 2018). The rapid increase in the last two decades compelled the government in July of 2005 to establish a higher institution body that controls and manages all the universities, called the Tanzania Commission of Universities (TCU). TCU envisions an accessible, equitable and harmonised education system, particularly at the tertiary education level (Ishengoma, 2008; Morley et al., 2009; Morley & Lugg, 2009). The main role of TCU is to "recognize, approve, register and accredit Universities operating in Tanzania, both local or foreign University programs being offered by registered higher education institutions" (URT, 2018). As a regulatory, advisory and supportive institution, TCU builds a centralised system for the application process that screens the eligibility of applicants seeking to join HLIs (TCU, 2018). In this manner, the university receives students already approved by TCU. Universities do not have the mandate to receive and process the applications; all applications have to go through the commission (TCU, 2018). In other words, as the newly established government's body, TCU regulates the student intake of all HLIs in Tanzania. Before this establishment, students applied directly to the universities where they wished to be enrolled (Morley et, al., 2009; TCU, 2018). Thus, only a limited number of students with the best quality are accepted by the universities. The entrance criteria are based on individual merits; gender equity, gender equality or gender priority are not considered amongst the criteria for selection (TGNP, 2018). This is where gender difference in terms of numbers begins in HLIs (ibid.).

Along with TCU, the Tanzanian government established the Higher Education Students' Loans Board (HESLB) in July of 2005 to assist students' financial needs (Morley & Lugg, 2009; Morley et al., 2009). The objective of HESLB is to offer loans to students enrolled at universities and registered by TCU. HESLB is also responsible for collecting due loans from

the previous beneficiaries (HESLB, 2018). The students receive loans on a fortnight and/or monthly basis with an amount based on the academic specialisation needs of the student; the loan covers accommodation, stationery, meals and special departmental needs. Although the purpose for HESLB is to help vulnerable and disadvantaged groups acquire a university education, in this context gender disparity is not a concern. HESLB has not paid attention to circumstances such as those faced by women students who cannot afford the university application fee or encounter social disparity due to early marriage. HESLB focuses on students filtered by TCU, which is also gender blinded in its operation (TGNP, 2018).

The existence of HESLB widens opportunities for many students to enrol in university education (HESLB, 2018; URT, 2018). On one hand, HESLB provides opportunities for the underprivileged individuals to enrol in an institution of higher education, and it provides equal opportunities for both men and women to receive a loan (URT, 2018). On the other hand, however, many issues pose challenges, including a lack of gender inclusion policies regarding the selection procedure used by TCU to provide women students' access into science and engineering fields where women are few. Therefore, while the loan board system is meant to financially assist students in pursuing higher education, it does not conceptualise and categorise women as the most disadvantaged group in need of support (TGNP, 2018). Given how Tanzania is evaluated internationally in terms of gender indices, this is worrisome.

1.9   How Tanzania is evaluated internationally in terms of gender indices

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP; 2019) issues the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Indexes (IHDI), which includes the Gender Development Index (GDI), the Gender Inequality Index (GII), Women Empowerment Index (WEI) and the Gender Social Norms Index (GSNI). These are among the indices used to report a wide range of respected international data from providers in their specialised fields governed by United Nation organisations (UNDP, 2019). The indices are used to define and position countries by a standard index (ILO, 2019). By using these indices, Tanzania is analysed specifically against the backdrop of wide international perspectives/standards, which can inform how gender is approached in a local context. In the following, I will review how Tanzania is assessed through these indexes.

Position of Tanzania based on the Gender Inequality Index (GII) of 2019

The Gender Inequality Index (GII) (UNDP, 2019; ILO, 2019; UNESCO, 2019; UNICEF, 2019; World Bank, 2019) reflects gender-based disadvantage in a respective country by reflecting the

loss in potential human development due to inequality between women's and men's achievements. The dimensions range from 0, where women and men fare equally, to 1, where one gender fares as poorly as possible in all measured dimensions. The assumptions underlying this index is that it informs the magnitude of gender inequality in a country, and it shows the likelihood of underlying measures or how seriously a country acts to combat the problem of gender inequality in various sectors. This includes leadership in academic institutions.

In this Index, Tanzania scores an index value 0.044 and is ranked 130 out of 162 countries worldwide. The GII sheds new light on the position of women in 162 countries, yielding insights in gender gaps in major areas of human development. The component indicators highlight areas in need of critical policy intervention and it stimulates proactive thinking and public policy to overcome the systematic disadvantages of women.

Position of Tanzania based on Gender Development Index (GDI) of 2019

The Gender Development Index (GDI) (UNDP, 2019; ILO; 2019; UNESCO; 2019; UNICEF, 2019; World Bank. 2019) measures gender gaps in human development achievements by accounting for disparities between women and men in three basic dimensions of human development: health, knowledge (education) and living standards. The GDI is calculated separately for women and men using the same methodology as in the Human Development Index (HDI). The GDI in 2019 was calculated for 166 countries. Countries are grouped into five groups based on the absolute deviation from gender parity in HDI values. This means that the grouping takes into equal consideration gender gaps favouring men as well as those favouring women. The GDI shows how much women are lagging behind their male counterparts, and how much women need to catch up within each dimension of human development. It is useful for understanding the real gender gap in human development achievements and is informative to design policy tools to close the gap.

The GDI groups are based on the absolute deviation of GDI from gender parity. Countries with an absolute deviation from gender parity of 2.5 per cent or less are considered countries with high equality in HDI achievements between women and men and therefore are classified as group 1. Meanwhile, group 2 has medium-high equality with an absolute deviation of 2.5–5 per cent; group 3 has medium equality with a 5–7.5 per cent deviation; group 4 has medium-low equality with a 7.5–10 per cent deviation; and group 5 has low equality with over 10 per cent deviation. Based on the Gender Development Index (GDI), Tanzania scores 0.936. This

places it in group 3, which categorises countries that have medium equality in HDI achievement between women and men.

Position of Tanzania based on Women's Empowerment Index (WEI) of 2019

The Women's Empowerment Index (WEI) (UNDP, 2019; ILO, 2019; UNESCO, 2019; UNICEF, 2019; World Bank, 2019) contains 13 women-specific empowerment indicators that allow empowerment to be compared across three dimensions: reproductive health and family planning, violence against girls and women, and socio-economic empowerment. The four indicators on reproductive health and family planning are coverage of at least one antenatal care visit, the proportion of births attended by skilled health personnel, contraceptive prevalence (any method) and unmet needs for family planning. The four indicators on violence against girls and women are women married by age 18, the prevalence of genital mutilation/cutting among girls and women, violence against women ever experienced from an intimate partner, and violence against women ever experienced from a non-intimate partner. The five indicators on socio-economic empowerment are women's share of graduates in science, technology, engineering and mathematics at the tertiary level; share of graduates from science, technology, engineering and mathematics at the tertiary level who are women; women's share of employment in senior and middle management; women with an account at the financial institution or with a mobile money-service provider; and mandatory paid maternity leave.

Most countries have at least one indicator in each category, which implies that women's empowerment is unequal across indicators and countries. In this context, Tanzania was measured using an indicator of "senior share of employment in top leadership positions". The index is measured by percentage, and Tanzania scored 17.3 per cent. This means that in Tanzania women who occupy top leadership positions constitute only 17.3 per cent.

Position of Tanzania based on the Gender Social Norms Index (GSNI) of 2019

The Gender Social Norms Index (GSNI) (ILO, 2019; UNDP, 2019; UNESCO; 2019; World Bank, 2019) measures how socio-cultural beliefs obstruct gender equality in areas like politics, work and education. This index is qualitative and categorises countries based on their economic and geographical location. Tanzania is in a group with other countries located in South of Sahara.

The analysis reveals that despite tremendous efforts towards closing the inequality gap between men and women, close to 90 per cent of men and women display some sort of bias against women. In this analysis, socio-cultural values internalised and practised by individuals are sighted among major factors contributing to invisible barriers women face in achieving equality in different sectors, including leadership positions.

According to the GSNI (2019) index, about 80 per cent of men and women in Tanzania feel that men make better political leaders and fit better into other leadership positions, and over 70 per cent feel that men make better business executives and that men have greater rights to a job when jobs are scarce. 40 per cent think it is justified for a man to beat his wife. Women living in countries located in the south of Sahara experience strong socio-cultural barriers hindering their progression into leadership positions as well as other decision-making positions (Seth, 2009; OECD, 2018; Barro & Lee, 2018; Alkire & Jahan, 2018; UNDP, 2019; ILO, 2019; UNESCO, 2019; UNICEF, 2019; World Bank, 2019). What does the Tanzanian government do to remedy the challenges identified through these indices?

1.10 Government initiatives towards gender issues in Tanzania

The Tanzanian government recognises that realising gender equality is an important step towards attaining good governance, peace and justice, sustainable socio-economic development as well other public development initiatives (URT, 2018). The Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania of 1977 guarantees equality between men and women by supporting their full participation in social, economic and political life. Cognisant of this commitment, the government established the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children as national gender machinery in 1990. This, among other things, facilitated the formulation of the Women and Gender Development Policy (WGDP; 2000) and its National Strategy for Gender Development (2003), aimed to ensure that gender perspectives are mainstreamed into all national plans, policies, strategies, programs and budgets (URT, 2018). According to WGDP (2000), gender mainstreaming refers to the process of ensuring that women and men have equitable access to, and are able to benefit from, society's resources and opportunities in economic activities, leadership positions (politics) and decision-making at all levels through national legislation, policies or programmes/strategies.

As such, Tanzania has mainstreamed gender into several national development frameworks and ratified international as well as regional gender instruments. These frameworks include the National Development Vision 2025 and the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of

Poverty (NSGRP II; URT, 2018). Tanzania is also party to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948), the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW; 1979), the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), the SADC Gender Declaration (1997), the Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa (2003), the SADC Protocol on Gender and Development of 2008, and the Millennium Development Goals (ibid). In the following, I will comment briefly on the content of some of these plans.

The National Plan of Action to end Violence against Women and Children in Tanzania (NPA-VAWC)

In 2016, the Government of Tanzania under the Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MoHCDGEC) introduced a national plan of action to end violence against women and children (NPA-VAWC 2017/18 - 2021/22) as part of an integrated agenda for investing in the protection and empowerment of women and children. Before the development of this national plan, Tanzania had eight different plans of action to address various aspects of preventing violence against women, violence against children and gender-based violence — each with their unique coordination structures, activities, monitoring and evaluation structures, and communication strategies. The current plan is a continuation of the previous eight action plans and is expected to end in 2022 (URT, 2019).

The vision of NPA-VAWC is that "Tanzanian Women and Children live free from violence and enjoy their rights in safe communities". Its mission is to "Prevent and respond to all forms of violence against women and children through comprehensive multi-sectoral collaboration at all levels". The goal is to "Eliminate violence against women and children in Tanzania and improve their welfare" (URT, 2016).

In this Action Plan the government has set eight key NPA-VAWC Strategies to be achieved: (i) To strengthen households by empowering men, women, girls and boys in the pursuit of socio-economic opportunities; (ii) To implement norms and values that empower women and support non-violent, respectful, positive, nurturing and gender-equitable relationships; (iii) To create and sustain safe and accessible spaces for women and children throughout our communities; (iv) To promote positive parent-child relationships and reduce violent parenting practices; (v) To create a Tanzanian society that understands and embraces the changes in laws that are proposed and implemented, which protect against and respond to violence; (vi) To develop a comprehensive and integrated protection system delivering coordinated, quality and timely support to women and children affected by violence; (vii) To develop a comprehensive

and integrated protection system delivering coordinated, quality and timely support to girls and boys affected by violence; (viii) To create a national comprehensive integrated, effective and efficient coordination mechanism, and to inform decision-making on VAWC prevention and response intervention (URT, 2016).

Central to the national plan's prevention of and response to violence against women and girls are eliminating gender-based discrimination, changing socio-cultural norms that tolerate violence and lead to unequal gender relations, and the empowerment of women and girls. Prevention of, and response to, other forms of violence must also address unequal gender roles and socio-cultural constructions of masculinity as a determinant of violence, such as the ideals of manhood that emphasise dominance and aggression. It is also important to address multiple forms of discrimination that contribute to increased vulnerability to violence based on class, age, disability, gender identity and other factors (URT, 2016).

However, the implementation of this national plan faces many challenges. TGNP (2019) identifies five issues in this regard. First, the NPA-VAWC does not represent a strategic shift in thinking about how Tanzania will address gender inclusion measures. Instead of focusing on violence, which in modern times seems to be an outdated approach, gender inclusion strategies require building systems that both prevent violence against women and children in all its forms and respond to the needs of building a culture that eliminates the exclusion of women in various sectors, including access to leadership positions. Second, the NPA-VAWC is too general and has set too short a time plan; moreover, it is not a law or a regulation, so it is not implemented in institutions where organisational procedures are explained through reference to by-laws, policy or regulations, such as higher learning institutions. Third, the NPA-VAWC is more focused on basic gender needs rather than strategic needs, making it impractical for strategizing long term measures. Fourth, gender issues are placed together in one ministry with health, community development, elderly and children. In this political location, health issues are more dominant, and gender becomes hidden and silent. In short, these five challenges make clear that gender in Tanzania is not a political agenda.

Tanzania complied with "East African Community Gender Policy 2018 (EACGP 2018)"

The promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women is central to the mandate of the East African Community [EAC] and intrinsic to its development approach. This includes advocating for women's and girls' equal rights, combatting discriminatory practices and challenging the roles and stereotypes that affect inequalities and exclusion.

The mandate of the EAC Gender Policy is derived from the strong commitment of the EAC as enshrined in Article 5(3e), 6(d), 121 and 122 of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. These articles provide the foundational framework for non-discrimination, principles of social justice, equal opportunities, gender equality, as well as recognition, promotion and protection of rights under the provisions of the African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

The policy has identified fourteen key priority action areas that, when addressed, will promote gender equality and equity within laws, policies, programmes and projects of the community. The actions address gender concerns in Governance and Participation, Education and Training, Health and HIV/AIDS, Gender-Based Violence, Environment and Climate Change, Energy, Agriculture, Food Security and Nutrition, Trade and Economic Empowerment, Security, Peace Building and Conflict Resolution, Mining and Extractive Industries, Access to Safe Water, Sanitation and Housing, as well as Migration. The policy advocates for the creation of a supportive socio-cultural, economic, and political environment that will empower women to be active partners in key decision-making processes in the development of the region.

The policy promotes the principles of non-discrimination, based on gender, race/origin, age, ethnicity, creed, political affiliation or social status including working to eliminate gender discrimination and violence. It calls for the elimination of stereotypes, prejudices and other negative ideologies against women.

The main vision of EACGP is "Women and men, boys and girls living a quality life in an inclusive community". Its mission is "To achieve Gender Equality and Equity through gender-responsive sustainable development". The goal is to achieve "An inclusive community which guarantees equal rights and opportunities for women and men, boys and girls" (EACGP, 2018).

One of the critiques of the EACGP is that it is not intensive enough to address gender issues of specific countries. Also, the EACGP is not integrated into national laws, and the member countries are not fully obligated to adhere to the policies. TGNP (2019) and LHRC (2019) they also challenged the new policy's implementation, noting that it needs further evaluation. According to TGNP, implementation of the policy will depend on the coordination among the various stakeholders. Currently, NGOs are not fully engaged in EACGP. The context of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs is not presented in EACGP as a pressing concern. Likewise, gender inclusion is presented without a clear definition.

1.11 Leadership in higher learning institutions

Leadership in academia refers both to administration and management, but also leadership that is acquired through the process of career progression in academia (Sathye, 2004). Leadership styles may not be the same across institutions, as it usually depends on who has the decision-making power, which in most cases depends on the structure of the institutions and the agreed action plans for the interest of the institution (Sathye, 2004; Almaki et al., 2016; van Dijke, 2020). HLIs are fundamental, serving as the epicentre for excellence, transformation and change (Tamale, 2020). The leadership positions in HLIs reflect the practices and orientation in administration, management and research. The leadership style, decision-making power and positions of power determine the transformational change. However, to qualify for leadership positions in HLIs requires academic credentials. It is evident that the process to acquire leadership positions in HLIs and other institutions in the society favours men more than women (Mama, 2003; White et al., 2011; Jansen, 2014; Moratti, 2020). Despite efforts to implement affirmative action policies in some African universities, Tanzania in particular, women still occupy few positions, and they tend to huddle in the lower academic ranks spaces (Mama, 2003; Mabokela & Mlambo, 2017; Tamale, 2020).

HLIs in Tanzania are established based on the legal status of such institutions and are all governed by the council members whose duties include but are not limited to determining the strategic direction of the specific institution (university), promoting means of generating income for the university and appointing professors (TCU, 2018). Each university council is responsible for the management and administration of the finances and properties of the university. The council also has general control over the affairs and public relations of the University including the use of the common seal of the university (ibid).

In general, HLIs are set to operate on good governance principles (URT, 2018). Hence, they are organised based on administrative (leadership) structures that define levels of decision-making for effective day-to-day operation in the sense of decentralisation of power (a division of labour) and based on academic specialisations (i.e., colleges, directorates, institutes, faculties, and departments) (TCU, 2018).

Apart from the council, the key leadership positions comprise the vice-chancellor, deputy vice-chancellors, and principals of colleges, directors of institutes, faculty deans and heads of departments. The vice-chancellor is the academic and administrative head and chief academic officer of the university, while the deputy vice-chancellor- administration (chief administrative

officer) is the chief operating officer responsible for the day-to-day running of the affairs of the university. The office of the vice-chancellor in most public and private universities in Tanzania comprises also the deputy vice-chancellors, who coordinate all the major activities (key functions) of the university (TCU, 2018). There are three major activities (key functions) of the HLIs: research, teaching and community service (consultation) (COSTECH, 2018; TCU, 2018; URT, 2018).

In reality, the key functions are performed in a manner in which leadership plays a significant role in not only influencing the operation of day-to-day activities (teaching), but also planning and managing strategic research projects and ensuring that the community engagement is well-conceived (TCU, 2018). According to TCU, in most cases academics consider leadership in administrative positions as an important stage to achieve, since taking up leadership positions is part of their career advancement, accompanied by various remunerative packages. This underlying thought is based on a common understanding that attaining a professorship is also being appointed to a leadership rank in the academic career.

To develop sustainable and impactful HLIs requires good strategic leadership that encourages professionalism and responsiveness to societal needs. Thus, gender inclusion in HLIs constitutes a necessary demand (TGNP, 2018; Technopolis, 2019). The representation, equity and equality of women in leadership positions are highlighted as integral to the attainment of good governance (Technopolis, 2019). In HLIs in Tanzania, unequal structures and gender discrimination practices continue to uphold skewed patterns of representation, especially in senior (professorship) and top leadership positions (TGNP, 2018). This is argued to be exacerbated by cultural norms and the persistent nature of gender inequalities within HLIs (Ishengoma, 2008; Morley et al., 2009; TGNP, 2018). While existing research has addressed the structural and cultural factors affecting women's inclusion into leadership positions, the subject of women and leadership in HLIs is still under-explored in Tanzania (TGNP, 2018). In addition, as Tamale (2020) points out, the gendered structure in the academia mirrors the situation in broader society. To study this structure will also illuminate more general features of Tanzanian society.

1.12 Patriarchy and spaces of women in Tanzania

In Tanzania, the roles of men and women are classified and defined based on the local cultural context (Kashonda, 2000; Ishengoma, 2008; Morley et al., 2009). Tanzanian society is largely patriarchal and, in many communities, women are under the control of men and often accorded

to a lower social status (TGNP, 2018). Gender roles are, therefore, perpetually stereotyped as being masculine and feminine, which affects the division of labour, career options and resources within the household and public in general (ILO, 2001). In the Tanzanian context, women are expected to occupy household (domestic) duties and informal economic activities, while men are more into professional, economic (formal employment) and leadership duties (TGNP, 2018).

Following the impact of the international and the country's efforts in addressing gender inequalities, more women in Tanzania are becoming involved in economic activities (formal employment), professional career building and higher education acquisition (URT, 2018). Despite the increase of women's employment in traditionally men-dominated sectors (i.e., academic sectors and leadership), the current expectations of their roles at the household level remain the same (TGNP, 2018). After work, women are expected to conduct all household activities as usual. Household work includes taking care of the children, the elderly and their husbands (ILO, 2001).

Domestic duties, along with family-related duties, are an integral part of women's lives in Tanzania, and they are rooted in patriarchal culture, laws, religion and social norms (TGNP, 2018). Culture plays an important role in structuring and defining gender role disparities in Tanzania. It entails a set of beliefs, value systems, attitudes and practices in which men hold primary power and dominate in roles of leadership from family level to public levels, spaces of political power, moral authority, social privilege and control of the property (Ishengoma, 2008). Tanzania is classified as patrilineal, meaning that leadership roles, property ownership and titles are inherited by men's lineage (Morley et al., 2009). My study explores how this general situation of women is articulated in concerns about gender equality in HLIs.

1.13 Structure of the dissertation

This thesis consists of eight chapters. *Chapter One* (this chapter) contains the introduction and background of the study, structure of the thesis, objectives of the study and research questions, significance of the study, reflection of gender issues and higher education in Tanzania, how Tanzania is evaluated internationally in terms of gender indexes, and the reflection of government strategies in approaching gender issues in Tanzania.

Chapter Two presents how gender inclusion into leadership positions is approached and conceptualised in relevant previous research. It discusses the underlying philosophical methodologies (naturalism, realism and feminism) and how these influence the design of the

study. Moreover, the chapter considers how such fundamental philosophical methodologies in an interdisciplinary perspective necessitate the justification of knowledge (theories chosen to guide the study) and its embedded procedure (employed research methods). Finally, it looks at the relevance of the chosen philosophical assumptions in studying gender inclusion in leadership positions in the academic profession as well as in a non-Western context.

Chapter Three presents the parameters (taxonomy) used to operationalise the three chosen theories (Intersectionality Approach, Actor-Network Theory and Organisation Theory) to best-fit gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs. It also examines the application of the three theories to the study of gender inclusion and leadership positions in HLIs.

Chapter Four presents the methods and techniques used to accomplish the study. It specifically discusses how the primary and secondary data were collected, the tools used and the means of analysing data.

Chapter Five presents the subjective thought patterns of the academic staff based on their socio-demographic characteristics explored when interviewees were asked to evaluate the context of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs.

Chapter Six presents the analysis (evaluation) of gender policies and its overall context in strategizing women's inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs.

Chapter Seven presents the analysis of local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant for strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

Finally, *Chapter Eight* presents a summary of the study, recommendations, and the overall conclusion of the study.

Chapter Two

How gender inclusion is approached in this study: Context, positioning and underlying philosophical reflections

2.1 Introduction

My study, "Gender inclusion and leadership positions in higher learning institutions in Tanzania", is organised and conducted under the principles and ethics within the PhD programme in Interdisciplinary Studies of Culture, situated in the Faculty of Humanities and focused on the interdisciplinary field of gender studies. In any discipline or field, there will always be several underlying philosophical principles which often involve the nature of social knowledge and the locus of human control in action (Hess, 1997; Okasha, 2002; Sismondo, 2004; Flowerdew & Martin, 2005; Potter, 2006). In parallel, contemporary interdisciplinary gender studies comprises, develops and integrates a wide range of different philosophies, concepts and techniques that complement one another while generating relevant scientific procedures (Fuller, 1993). Therefore, addressing philosophical assumptions relevant to an empirical study of gender inclusion in an interdisciplinary perspective is way to reflect about theoretical and methodological choices (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Waller, 2005; Huutoniemi et al., 2009).

2.2 Underlying philosophical assumptions of this study

My study draws from three philosophical predispositions: naturalism, realism and feminism. These are among major philosophical predispositions that potentially can create knowledge and bridge the gap by conceptualising gender inclusion across different disciplinary boundaries (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997; Chafetz, 2006). From an interdisciplinary perspective, these philosophical assumptions (naturalism, realism and feminism) may be seen to provide an epistemological basis but also introduce reflections on the interdisciplinarity of my study, regarding both facts and ideological views (Klein, 1990; Augsburg, 2006). Thus, they should be helpful to consider the integration of knowledge from various disciplines in order to understand the complex problems in a society, which cannot be adequately addressed in the milieu of one single discipline. On the other hand, the predispositions qualify as ideology when they serve as a forum or an intellectual space for the renegotiation of disciplinary boundaries (Klein, 1990; Fuller, 1993; Hess, 1997; Augsburg, 2006; Jackobs & Frickel, 2009). This is considered a fundamental epistemological function and forms a backbone of interdisciplinary

research (Fuller, 1993; Augsburg, 2006; Frodeman & Mitcham, 2007). Without claiming any precedence over other approaches, interdisciplinary gender studies is a field that has emerged in the cross-section of social sciences and the humanities. Arguably, it shares many of the philosophical predispositions of the social sciences and even natural science (Ausburg, 2006; Jackobs & Frickel, 2009).

As a point of departure for the further deliberations in this chapter, I have tried in Table 2.1. to briefly summarise the underlying philosophical methodologies, theoretical approaches and the principles underlying the methods selected for this study. In a condensed manner, the table provides an outline of the underlying assumptions and way of thinking that underlie my study and invites reflection regarding how one may ensure the validity and reliability of the qualitative data that I have collected and used. In this way, I want to invite reflections regarding trustworthiness of my research, its credibility (in preference to internal validity), transferability (as opposed to external validity/generalisability), dependability (in opposition to reliability) and confirmability over objectivity (Kitchin & Tate, 2013).

The overall context of the design of my study as outlined by Table 2.1 suggests how the study is operationalised and conceptualised as 1) interdisciplinary (originating from a range of philosophies, concepts and methods across disciplines); 2) a philosophic assemblage (conceptualised as a combination of naturalist, feminist and realist assumptions); 3) a methodology (approached qualitatively through experiences articulated through interviews, observations of geographical spaces of culture, and other information about the underlying mechanisms of structures and social relations); 4) a theoretical perspective (defined by factors that are interconnected, linked and work as a system); 5) a method (explored in form of the following: a) a triangulation of qualitative methods, b) a triangulation of interviewees, c) a triangulation of ideas, information, stories, and experiences, as well as d) the evaluation of cultural practices); and, 6) a local context (non-Western perspective). The theoretical perspectives mentioned in Table 2.1 are further developed and explained in Chapter Three, while the method is further outlined and discussed in Chapter Four.

Table 2.1: Brief overview of underlying philosophical assumptions of the study

	Philosophy	Description	Methodologies	Scientific approach		Application
1	Naturalism (Empiricism)	By carefully and objectively collecting data about social phenomena, we can develop conclusions to predict and explain human behaviour in terms of possible cause and effect (Kitchin & Tate, 2013).	**Qualitative approach** Presentation of experience-based information from interviews, exploring individual biographies. Participant observation to acquire familiarity with the life experiences of the interviewees.	**To help ensure the validity and reliability of the qualitative data** By maintaining the quality of research design and process that enhance data collection, this establishes the trustworthiness of the research: credibility (in preference to internal validity); transferability (in preference to external validity/generalisability); dependability (in preference to reliability); and confirmability (in preference to objectivity) (Harding, 1989).		**Method assemblage approach** Based on John Law's (2004) definition of method assemblage as a combination of reality detector and reality amplifier, I have adopted the concepts of "naturalism, realism and feminism" as reality detectors in my present study. I have also integrated "a geographical scale and the concept of space and place in my methods" as an agent of reality amplifier. Although John Law (2004) did not use the same kinds of underlying philosophical methodologies to define methods, I have placed philosophical methodologies before methods in my study because epistemological predispositions and philosophical methodology are important for scientific inquiry. For my study, method assemblage is reflected in the forms of a) a triangulation of qualitative methods, b) a triangulation of interviewees, c) a triangulation of ideas, information, stories and experiences, as well as d) an evaluation of cultural practices and documents
2	Feminism	A careful focus on how people make meaning in relation to the interaction between their experiences and their ideas (Lincoln & Guba, 2013).	**Qualitative approach** Evaluate geographical spaces of culturally related perceptions, attitudes, norms, values, practices and beliefs that can produce gendered behaviour among people.	**Intersectionality approach** The Intersectionality approach is adjusted to inquire into potentially important factors contributing to gender in/exclusion and how such factors may be interconnected, linked and work as a system in which such factors (academic meritocracy and socio-cultural factors that affect gender) cannot be examined separately from one another when it comes to suggesting appropriate gender inclusion strategies for leadership promotions HLIs.	**Organisation Theory** Organisation Theory is used to provide a base of knowledge in understanding which cultural expectations about gender roles affect the university organisation. Organising procedures may produce gender inequality. This helps answer the question of how may gender become an integral part of organisational practices? Organisation Theory may be used to ask about cultural beliefs about gender and leadership and how universities as organisations may maintain institutional governance, such as the appointment of senior leaders, academic promotions and their embedded gender neutrality as well as meritocratic principles. In addition, how may politics play a role in making gender policies and gender regulations?	
3	Realism	An investigation of the underlying mechanisms and structures of social relations, and identifying the building blocks of reality (Kitchin & Tate, 2013).	**Qualitative approach** Evaluating scale and spaces of gender inequality or boundaries in a place. Interpretation of experienced facts from the interviews, individual biographies, evaluation of "policy and documents" and focused group discussion.	**Actor-Network Theory** Actor-Network Theory is adapted to be relevant for understanding how the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs is constituted, and to what extent refined tools (academic meritocracy and socio-cultural factors) can explain what other domains of the gender socio-cultural parameters/factors could not account for. Actor-Network Theory is adopted to offer a diverse and critical discourse on the status quo, notably the recognition of gendered dominance in social arrangements /assemblages and the translations involved in change from such forms of domination.		

In this table, philosophy takes precedence since it may shape the methodology and the theoretical analysis of methods (Hess, 1997; Okasha, 2002). Although research methods are briefly outlined within the content of methodology, research methods and research methodology are not synonyms in this context, as they are disparate and different in meaning (Flick, 2000). Methodology (qualitative approach) relates to the "ways of doing" or the

principles and practices which I use to acquire knowledge (Hess, 1997; Kitchin & Tate, 2013). On the other hand, the outlined research methods (interviews, observation and focus group discussion) refer to an underlying procedure (Hess, 1997) or a systematic way of accomplishing data collection (Moran, 2000). The methodology of this study is based on a qualitative approach wherein data collection methods involve interviews, focus groups and observation. This qualitative approach and the outlined methods are considered significant in this study since both feminism and realism recommend the usage of exploratory methods (i.e., interviews and focus groups) in any research that seeks to investigate the underlying mechanisms and structures of social relations as well as how people draw meaning from the interactions between their experiences and their ideas (Butler, 1988; Potter, 2006; Sprague, 2018).

Inspired by the underlying philosophical methodology of the study, I have chosen three theoretical approaches underscored by interdisciplinary perspectives in order to guide the design of the study and the interpretation of the study's findings (cf. Table 2.1). They are (1) the Intersectionality approach, (2) Actor-Network Theory, and (3) Organisation Theory. By extending the concepts/principles of these three theories to suit a gender inclusion study, the study's interdisciplinary pursuit draws its strength from these theories in building spaces of a wide range of information deepened by ideas and concepts across relevant disciplinary boundaries. Furthermore, the three theories provide a wide space for defining complex dimensions of gender across disciplinary boundaries. Thus, making connections between different concepts is essential in an interdisciplinary study (Augsburg, 2006; Jackobs & Frickel, 2009; Lykke, 2006; Choo & Ferree, 2010), such as mine. Against this background, the analysis and interpretation of the findings in my study are designed to apply both contextual and content analysis techniques (Mikell, 1997; Oyewumi, 2005) for analysing the transcribed interviews and document analysis.

Naturalism as a philosophical methodological inspiration in this study

In doing social science research, one of the fundamental choices that any social scientist must make is grounded in the philosophical positions of naturalism or anti-naturalism (Fuller, 1993; Hess, 1997; Okasha, 2002). Naturalism involves claims that research in the social sciences is essentially the same as that in the natural sciences, while anti-naturalism says the opposite (Hess, 1997). Researching gender inclusion (in an interdisciplinary perspective) in social science is in principle approached in the same manner as in natural science, and the epistemological approach (methodology) is essentially the same as that used in natural science

(Keller, 1985, 1995; Steven, 2005; Sørensen et al., 2011). Moreover, Kitchin & Tate (2013) describe the naturalistic study as one with clear objectives and a strong and comprehensive theoretical basis, which guides the design of the studies and the interpretation of the research findings. As in all studies, the quality of the research design and the process that enhance data collection is crucial for ensuring the validity and reliability of the qualitative data (Kitchin & Tate, 2013).

Consequently, the methodology of my study is based on a qualitative approach where individual interviews, focus group interviews and observation are used to explore shared meanings of gender-related socio-cultural practices and opinions embedded within the academic society in Tanzania. This approach may result in practical solutions that fit both men and women in accessing equal opportunities for leadership positions. Furthermore, respondents' life experiences and familiarity (ontological naturalism) focusing on what exists and what does not exist (Hess, 1997) are introduced during this research. Hence, participant observation, familiarity with the subject matter and life experiences of the interviewees were important sources of information during data collection.

According to Hess (1997), science emphasises the importance of observational evidence as the basis of scientific knowledge. When a scientist claims to know something, such a claim must be justified or proved in terms of observation, experiment and the collection of data. Although naturalism can take several different forms, they all give epistemological primacy to evidence from experience (Hess, 1997).

Feminism as a philosophical methodology in this study

In this study, the application of feminism as a philosophy and a consistent methodological principle is aimed to be empirically adequate, naturalist and with an epistemological preference to provide evidence from experience. Feminism is a range of social movements, political movements and ideologies that share a common goal: to define, establish and achieve economic, personal, political and social equality among different genders (Lazar, 2005; Potter, 2006). The common application of feminism is directed at attaining equal opportunities for women, compared with men, in terms of educational, professional, leadership, promotions, career development, politics, economy, entitlements and other opportunities (Lazar, 2005). Feminism, in general, represents the intersection of two enquiries: 1) into important domains of human life such as the moral, political, social, epistemological and religious domains, and 2) into the causes of and solutions to the systemic subordination of women to men (Potter,

2006). In most cases, the application of the two inquiries is highly intertwined, as they both describe the ideas of gender equality and incorporate all aspects of research practice and theoretical perspective behind the methods.

Feminism as a philosophy has never been static, having continuously undergone criticism and change as feminists seek the best ways to understand the relationship between humans and the world and to promote the production of knowledge about the world (Lazar, 2005; Potter, 2006). Feminist philosophers have engaged in lively debates over which feminist philosophies of science are least problematic — meaning, those that best facilitate approaches to the analysis of social causes of women's subordination, marginalisation, underrepresentation, exclusions and the putative natural inferiority of women as the sciences have understood them. This is in addition to understanding issues concerning social values and the agents of scientific knowledge.

Feminist methodology has been developed in response to concerns by feminist scholars about the limits of traditional methods to capture the experiences of women and others who have been marginalised in academic research (MacKinnon, 1983; Butler, 1988; Lykke, 2003; Acker, 2006). As a result, feminist methodology benefits from a wide range of methods, approaches, and research strategies (Salem, 2018). Beginning in the early 1970s, feminist scholars critiqued positivist scientific methods that reduced life experiences to a series of disconnected variables that did not do justice to the complexities of social life (Haraway, 2004). Feminists were also among the first scholars to highlight the marginalisation of women of colour in academic research and to offer research strategies that would counter this problem within the academic profession (Collins, 1990, 1998). Moreover, feminist scholars have stressed the importance of intersectional analysis, an approach that highlights the intersection of race, class, gender and sexuality in examining women's lives (Crenshaw, 1991, 2011). Over the years, feminist methodology has developed a very broad vision of research practices that can be used to study different topics related to gender, to analyse the lives of all people (transgressing the gender binary) and to explore both local and transnational or global processes (Salem, 2018).

What makes my study feminist?

There is no universal definition of what is or is not feminism (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2011). According to Ramazanoglu and Holland (2011), the application of feminism in research is the giving of insights into gendered social existence that would otherwise not be seen. The application of feminism as a philosophy and as a consistent methodological principle is aimed

to provide a base of knowledge. Here, credence is eventually given to the needs experienced by women in academia, which often remain invisible or neglected by the system. In addition, it should be empirically adequate, naturalist and with an epistemological aim to provide evidence from experience. Hemmings (2012) also emphasises the importance of considering subjectivity when considering the production of feminist knowledge.

A research project can be thought of as feminist if it is framed by feminist theory and aim to produce knowledge that will be useful for effective transformations of gendered injustices, subordination or exclusion (Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2011; Hemmings, 2012). As with the broader concept of feminism, there are no common definition criteria for what may be seen as feminist research methodologies (Harding, 1989), but what makes research feminist may be assessed by a list of common characteristics derived from core values of feminism (Waller, 2005). According to Waller, included among the important characteristics of feminist research methodology are the following: attention to the marginalised people in a social context, explicit consideration of the ethics of relationships among all the people who interact within a research project, a rejection of strict objectivity as a feasible goal, attention to individuals' experiences, consideration that life histories and stories are not only valuable but also crucial for understanding social interaction, and an explicit orientation towards the need for change of social institutions, looking at structures and cultures.

The characteristics of feminist research outlined by Waller (2005) are reflected in my specific research objectives and research questions. With regard to objectives, the study is specifically framed to explore shared meanings of gender-related socio-cultural practices and opinions embedded within academic society. The study seeks to do the following: provide a knowledge base from which practical solutions may be developed in order to fit both men and women in accessing equal opportunities to acquire leadership positions; evaluate the efficacy of existing regulations and policies that govern the procedure of appointing leaders in HLIs and propose alternative reforms suitable for gender inclusion in holistic parameters of gender quality instead of quantity; and, present biographic testimonies and narratives from both men and women about their experiences and what can best resolve the paradoxes of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs.

Kim England (1994) emphasises that validity and reliability of qualitative data in the fieldwork are important in making reflexivity when conducting feminist research. According to England, this will contribute significantly to the critique of subjectivity dominating over objectivity in

doing feminist research. The focus of the study is to maintain the quality of the research design and process that enhance data collection. The process was purposely maintained to establish the trustworthiness of the research: credibility (with preference to internal validity); transferability (with preference to external validity/generalisability); dependability (with preference to reliability); and confirmability (with preference to strong objectivity) (Harding, 1989).

Application of feminism from a local perspective

Questions about epistemology emerge especially when appealing to people's experiences in a particular place as a unique ontological category. Feminism is more reflective if methodologies are framed to study a specific society rather than making it universal (England, 1994; Ramazanoglu & Holland, 2002; Waller, 2005). Similarly, Sørensen et al. (2019) recommend in their study, "Gender Balance in Academia", that there is an impetus to create local knowledge about gender balance dynamics to motivate concrete action and develop appropriate gender inclusion strategies. Leveraging feminism in a local perspective is an important focus in my study.

Gender problems in Africa entail specificities, and although they may have the same underlying knowledges as Western perspectives, some realities within the African context make gender experiences distinct (see the works of Mama, 2003; Oyewumi, 2005; Kiamba, 2008; Chanana, 2011; Odhiambo, 2011; Atanga, 2013; Lumby & Azaola, 2014; Chauraya, 2014). Hence, there is an existing, hidden gap of knowledge regarding how to theorise gender problems in the African context and the appropriateness of Western approaches (Atanga et al., 2012). Most of the current gender approaches in Western countries focus more on neoliberal culture and post feminism (Scharff, 2011). According to Scharff, these approaches recognise the existence of gender inequality but focus is given to individual women's "empowerment" and "choice". In such a context, cultural structures are considered having less significant effect as a constraint to women's career development as well as in acquiring leadership positions. Similarly, the study, "The Performativity of Choice: Postfeminist Perspectives on Work-Life Balance" by Sørensen (2017), strongly emphasises individual choice in representing a particular neoliberal culture in which such choice indicates to substitute feminism. Sørensen (2017) illustrates the performative function of choice through a quotation from an interview with a recruitment consultant, where it was noted, "It is not that men still create barriers to women becoming top executives; it is that women themselves are opting out because they feel it is too difficult to

combine managerial positions with their private situations". In this context, gender hierarchy is assumed irrelevant. This context is somehow contrary to African context. In Africa, cultural norms influence the value of gender role practices more strongly than what follows from traditional Western methodological approaches (Mama, 2003; Chauraya, 2014). Thus, I see the need to create local, Tanzanian knowledge about gender balance dynamics to motivate a concrete action and develop appropriate gender inclusion strategies (cf. Sørensen et al., 2019). Indeed, conceptualisation of gender cannot be taken at face value if we do not make sense of African culture as a context and a force in the shaping and doing of gender (Oyewumi, 2005; Lumby & Azaola, 2014).

To overcome such a methodological challenge, the application of geographical concepts of qualitative scale, space and place in understanding local gender constructs is important. Cutter (1993) defined a geographic scale as an important tool for understanding the magnitude and background of social problems, including their distribution, impacts and possible reduction level. A geographic scale in a gender inclusion study prioritises the embedded cultural knowledge of a place and individual grid-group affiliations as well as spaces of an individual's cultural background. Similarly, Agnew and Smith (2002) interpreted the concept of space as the result of emphasising politics over place. These authors consider politics as the social organisation of a place in terms of resource allocation, policy-making and the formation of rules, regulations and cultural practices. Thus, the concept of space in this study embraces political instruments such as rules, governance, regulations, laws, policies, power, social values and practices as important tools for building gender inclusion strategies in a certain place.

In addition, Casey (1997) referred to the concept of place over space as emphasising the experiences of human subjects in a place. Casey's philosophy reflects the value of human practice in a place. In this study, the concept of place suggests exploring individual experiences and cultural backgrounds to create meaning that is relevant for change in Tanzanian society. This concept implies that the cultural backgrounds of people plays an important role in the understanding of gender role disparities in a society. Culture, defined as a set of beliefs, symbols, value systems, attitudes and practices prevailing in society, may be the best predictor of gender inclusion-exclusion strategies.

Feminism and intersectionality

In my study, the application of the concept of intersectionality draws from the work of Choo and Ferree (2010). They distinguish three styles on how to apply intersectionality as a

theoretical and methodological approach to gender in-/exclusion in a defined social setting. These are group-, process- and system-centred. A group-centred approach offers methods that lend a voice to the particularity of the perspectives and needs of a vulnerable group, which often remain invisible in the process. A process-centred approach offers parameters for developing a model of factors that are mutually co-constructing. In a systemic approach, the methods give intersectional transformation of factors in which no process is given hierarchical primacy in an institution. Based on the objectives of my study, I chose to pursue the system-centred approach in order to analyse and provide an understanding of intersectional aspects. In doing so, I address the questions of, to what extent are intersectional aspects pertinent? And what are these aspects?

Thus, my study specifically focuses on a systemic-centred approach, an innovative analysis of a feminist view of intersectionality between gender and other socio-cultural categories. This requires a novel model to illuminate factors limiting women's progress in academia, which may be an insightful framework for addressing the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. However, a major critique of the systemic approach is that intersectionality does not capture and explain adequately the interdependence and relationality of factors in a model (Barad, 2003). To avoid this limitation, a systemic intra-action method is integrated into the intersectionality approach to describe the dimension of factors and how such factors integrate as a system. Lykke (2003) and Barad (2003) further distinguish between "inter-action" and "intra-action" dimensions. According to Barad (2003), inter-action is something that goes on between bounded entities, whereas intra-action refers to an interplay between non-bounded phenomena that interpenetrate and mutually transform each other while interplaying. Against this background, I consider intra-action to be an adequate complement to define a systemic model for understanding the intersectionality of major factors appropriate for gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania (cf. Chapter Three).

To understand how intra-action is applied in a systemic model, it is important to understand what a system means. To describe a system is to list the factors in the order of their importance (Midgley, 2003). This banal definition underlines that important factors should be identified by facts and their significance to the system. A system is indeed always a model, an abstraction conceived by the analyst (ibid). Furthermore, Midgley (2003) defines the system as an organised collection of important factors by facts as independent sub-systems that are highly integrated to accomplish an overall goal. In general, the use of the systemic intra-action method

is to explore whether there are remarkable factors constituting leadership in HLIs. If there are any, then it also is used to determine to what extent and how are these factors are linked with the gender composition and the contextual environment (cf. Chapter Three).

Realism as a philosophical approach in this study

Realism in this study is a supporting methodology that explicitly responds to a major critique that claims that intersectionality does not capture the interdependence and relationality of factors in feminism (Potter, 2006). Realism is a philosophical approach that uses abstraction to identify the necessary causal powers and the conditionality of structures that are realised under specific contingent conditions (Hess, 1997). As such, it seeks to recover the connections between different dimensional domains to identify the relations between structures, mechanisms and events (Sayer, 1992; Hess, 1997). In my study, the main objective is to understand the links between the mechanisms of socio-cultural skills, abilities and ways of acting thought appropriate for women's inclusion in leadership positions. In this regard, the necessary causal powers rely on what exists relative to the main factors within three specific objectives to be achieved.

The first objective is linked with a culture factor. Culture has been identified as a major constraint to women's inclusion in most HLIs (Odhiambo, 2011; Kele & Pietersen, 2015; Adamma, 2017). The research questions designed to guide this objective are, How are spaces of culture manifested in leadership positions in academia? Are women in academia excluded from taking leadership positions based on cultural inclinations or effects? If so, to what extent can culture be negotiated among various actors to rectify the unbalanced proportion of men and women into leadership positions? The second objective is linked to politics. Politics is considered a second barrier to women's appointments in leadership positions in academia (Moodly & Tony, 2017). The relevant question here is, how does the political sphere account for the paradoxes of gender equality and leadership positions in academia? By examining the existing recruitment policies, how does the political agenda influence alternative action plans and terms of reference suitable for gender inclusion in academia? The third and last objective is related to individual experiences within a defined social setting. I ask, Do the geographical spaces of cultural constructs produce behaviour in a place or behaviour of people? If so, how do victims of gender inequality within HLIs perceive and interpret their representation to the administrative positions?

Realism and Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

To counteract the potential weaknesses of realism in gender inclusion research, it is important to distinguish between factors that do and do not directly facilitate gender inclusion. Causation helps in understanding observable and non-observable related factors. Causation, according to realists, is based on scientific explanations that refer to essence, entities and mechanisms that are unobservable now but could become observable at a later point (Hess, 1997; Steven, 2005). One of the assumptions of realism is that we have structures in the real world that are found in the form of experiences and conceptions in people's minds, which cannot be observed or measured directly but are bases for actions, thus shaping events in society. A realistic approach in the study of gender inclusion proves useful in that it allows the formulation of scientific models to be used as a framework for understanding the multiple causes of and barriers against gender inequality (Potter, 2006). Also, it recognises the mechanism of other factors associated with gender relations in the real domain (Sprague, 2018).

Another criticism against realism is its lack of regularity about causation (Collier, 1994). I have chosen to adopt Actor-Network Theory (ANT) in my study due to its focus on establishing connections. ANT is rooted in science and technology studies and was developed in the 1980s by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law. ANT can be applied in multiple modes of scholarly enquiry. Although ANT carries 'theory' in its name, it is mostly used as a research approach with a focus on the connections between both human and non-human entities (Sismondo, 2004). ANT describes how these connections lead to the creation of new entities or assemblages that do not necessarily reflect the sum of the characteristics of the constituent entities.

In line with the realist view on causation, ANT accepts that there can be causation without regularity, meaning that what causes an event has nothing to do with the number of times it has been observed but the assembling of entities involved (Sismondo, 2004). In this way, we may say that unique events are caused no less than repeated ones, although ANT is careful in making claims about causations. Hence, it is not sufficient to understand and describe gender relations and their ingredients by using constant conjunctures (Potter, 2006). Gender inequality as malfunctions in the social relation system reflects a wide range of events and elements (Butler, 1988; Sprague, 2018). According to Butler (1988), some connecting actors may not appear to be directly related to the causation factors of the event, and some causation factors appear to be immediate, but they may be underpinned by medium-term and long-term structural causes.

Causation, according to realist thinking, not only considers how A follows B but also what other mechanisms necessitate the link between A and B or something about the nature or essence of A and B, which constitute the causal relations between them (Holt-Jensen, 2001). ANT offers a theoretical account of these mechanisms, emphasising how they are made rather than explaining them (Sismondo, 2004). Consequently, I employ ANT to highlight the fundamental challenge in reassembling strategies that support gender inclusion in the academic community and make HLIs establish, organise and/or integrate relevant gender policies and gender regulations suitable for guiding gender-inclusion practices with respect to leadership promotions.

ANT is further applied as a framework for understanding and describing specific social phenomena by using refined tools that show what another domain of the 'social' could not account for. To offer a diverse and critical discourse on the status quo, Actor-Network Theory is modified, notably to suit the recognition of gendered dominance in social arrangements and the desire to undo such forms of domination. ANT, when applied to the study of social relations, is empirically naturalist (Sismondo, 2004), meaning that its application in social science is similar to the natural sciences.

2.3 Application of Organisation Theory to supplement the Intersectionality Approach and ANT

Organization Theory is applied in this study to supplement both the Intersectionality approach and ANT (cf. Table 2.1). The Intersectionality approach is employed as a framework for understanding the multiple factors that are important for integration into the cause of strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs, beyond the usual interactions of gender, class and ethnicity. In this version of intersectionality, socio-cultural factors, meritocracy, leadership, academic staff and gender are studied as independent but interfering factors that form an integrated whole and work as a system. ANT describes the mechanisms linking the factors, their assembling process and the formation of new factors that do not necessarily comply with the sum of characteristics of the constituent system and questions the extent to which they can or cannot account for gender in/exclusion in leadership positions in HLIs (more about this in Chapter Three).

Organisation Theory is used to complement the two approaches by providing a deep understanding of the dimensions and reasons for persistent inequality between men and women in the workplace and regarding access to leadership positions. It is meant to provide knowledge

about organisational procedures that produce gender inequality (Chafetz, 2006) and to define how gender inequality becomes an integral part of organisational practices (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Also, Organisation Theory should help provide a platform for understanding how universities as organisations maintain institutional governance practices such as the gendered appointment of senior leaders, academic promotions, and their embedded belief in gender neutrality as well as meritocratic principles (Pinheiro et al., 2015). Organisation Theory provides a theoretical account of all these aspects, which are not sufficiently covered by the intersectionality approach and ANT alone.

Organisation Theory is the study of organisational design, social relationships of the employees, power relations and defined administrative structures (such as bureaucracy, policy, and regulations) that control decision-making and the overall operation of the entity (Alvesson & Billing, 2009; Crozier 2010). Organisation Theory focuses on such dimensions as the level of organisational formalisation, specialisation, standardisation, the hierarchy of authority, complexity, size, goals and strategy (Daft & Armstrong, 2009; Castilla & Benard, 2010). In my study, universities are the targeted kind of organisations. Castilla & Benard (2010) define the university as an institution of higher education and research that awards academic degrees in various academic disciplines and specialisations. They see the university as an entity with the following properties: 1) Administrative structure with hierarchical ranks, e.g., Chancellor, Vice-chancellor, Deans, Principals, Directors, Heads of Department, lecturers and students; 2) employees of different status, personality, ranks, gender, specialisations, perceptions and cultural background; 3) different specialisations, e.g., science, social science, engineering, or business; 4) different departments based on specialisations; 5) a goal to achieve; typically to provide undergraduate education, postgraduate education, research and consultation; and, 6) terms of reference (e.g., constitution, policies and regulations) as guidance for its operation. Thus, understanding the mechanisms of all these constituents, Organisation Theory provides detailed knowledge, through a theoretical account, in each aspect that is not well presented by the Intersectionality approach and ANT.

Thus, the application of Organisation Theory in this context is intended to provide detailed knowledge about the organisation that explains the behaviour of individuals or groups or subgroups within the academic staff, namely their promotion procedures, recruitment procedures, social relations, as well as their perceptions and commonalities based on socio-demographic compositions. The main hypothesis underlying the choice of this approach is that the concept of meritocracy is a distributive mechanism, resting on a belief in equal opportunity

and the decisive role of merit. It has a broad cultural appeal regarding gender issues and may hinder gender inclusion (Castilla & Benard, 2010). Advocates of meritocracy stress that in truly meritocratic institutions (which universities are supposed to be), everybody has an equal chance to advance and to obtain promotion, leadership positions or rewards based on their efforts, regardless of their gender, class or other non-merit factors. Recent empirical studies reveal that gender inequality in academic leadership positions persists in many places (Odhiambo, 2011; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012; Winchester & Browning, 2015; Shah, 2019). These findings demonstrate that there may be unrecognised or taken for granted issues behind organisational efforts, procedures, practices or conditions under which one gender is affected. This has to be investigated in the Tanzanian context.

Organisation Theory provides insights into the reasons why emphasising meritocracy in HLIs may have a paradoxical gender effect if local culture is not linked to and considered in the organisational system (Daft & Armstrong, 2009; Castilla & Benard, 2010). According to Castilla & Benard (2010), these are complex aspects that require a research method that can extensively assemble data from various sources along with different techniques. In this case, the method assemblage approach proposed by John Law (2004) seems well suited.

2.4   The Method Assemblage Approach

The Method Assemblage approach complements my study's interdisciplinary pursuit, which draws its strength in employing a wide range of methods and findings that are explored through ideas and concepts compiled across disciplinary boundaries. The three theories that guide this study provide a wide space for defining complex dimensions of gender and demand employing a research method that is extensive, broad and flexible. In such a context, the use of Method Assemblage by John Law (2004) is quite helpful.

Method Assemblage, according to Law (2004), is a combination of reality detector and reality amplifier. The underlying assumption is that it is important to obtain the best and most technically robust possible account of realities, which are a given set of discoverable entities and processes (Law, 2004). Law argues that research methods are not a more or less successful set of procedures for reporting a given reality but rather are performative techniques for producing realities.

Law's approach of Method Assemblage differs from traditional research approaches, and his argument on the 'state of methods' counters those of traditional methodology. Thus, it is pertinent to reconsider the benefits of his way of thinking and provide an alternative method

that covers other traditional scientific approaches in social science. Such a challenge is peculiar to my present research work in which I want to partly couple his idea on Method Assemblage with a geographical approach to facilitate a broader, looser and more generous research method. Importantly, I disagree with his account of the state of method that ignores the importance of using philosophical methodologies to define methods.

Despite these weaknesses, I have applied Law's approach but with a wider strategy for producing knowledge also from other theoretical and methodological considerations. To underpin this strategy, I have reviewed some research that describes the importance of using the underlying philosophical methodology in choosing research methods. Kristensen and Ravn (2015) argue that relative to the effect of informant recruitment on knowledge production in qualitative interview studies, theoretical and methodological considerations and the practical aspects related to recruitment are important and thus need not to be under-communicated. According to Kristensen and Ravn, methodological descriptions of methods are of crucial importance for knowledge production in research. In a similar vein, Bogner et al. (2009) recommend that expert interview practices, without theoretical considerations, do not always produce concrete and reliable knowledge in social science.

Interviews without reflections regarding philosophical methodology can easily overlook the contextual nature of the research study (Bogner et al., 2009). Lagesen (2010) concludes that the performance of transcultural interviews, and perhaps qualitative interviews more generally, may be improved by integrating insights from the field of science studies and the study of actual research practices. She cites the concept of boundary object as an example and insists that there is more to learn from the kind of empirical studies that emphasize the highly contingent and pragmatic character of scientific investigations and the use of locally available resources to produce knowledge.

Johnny Saldaña (2021) writes that when analysing qualitative information, coding is an interplay between ideas explored and the theory that govern the themes. We cannot avoid theoretical interpretations or concepts in developing codes that shape the process of inquiry in research. Also, Rapley (2004) explains that when defining in-depth interviews, two realities are underlined: first, interview-data-as-resource, which reflects the realities of interviewees outside the interview; and, second, interview-data-as-topic, which reflects reality as jointly constructed knowledge of interviewer and interviewee. According to Seal (2004, 2017), behind constructed knowledge lies an interplay between theoretical perspectives and the objectives of

the interviews that shape new knowledge. Moreover, the context and composition of scientific approach, be it methods or data itself, unfolds reflecting the rules of logic and is concerned with facts (Seal, 2004, 2017). When writing a social science monograph, being concerned with the underlying philosophical methodology improves the legitimacy of the effort.

To summarise, the arguments emphasise that philosophical reflections cannot be avoided or dismissed when planning or doing research. Doing research is to provide answers to questions (Kristensen & Ravn, 2015). In so doing, the researcher claims adequate knowledge about a particular situation or phenomenon, or even the world in general. All such claims raise ideological, epistemological, ontological and methodological questions about why the study is conducted, and whether such claims are warranted (Kitchin & Tate, 2013; Kristensen & Ravn, 2015). Also, relying on philosophical methodology is important as it helps us to understand what other researchers have done and the rationale behind it. It also helps us to find a research approach and provides a theoretical context in which research findings can be justified or explained.

The application of Method Assemblage approach in my present study

Based on John Law's approach and definition of Method Assemblage as a combination of "reality detector and reality amplifier" (2004), I have adopted the concepts of "naturalism, realism and feminism" as reality detectors in my present study (cf. Table 2.1). I have also integrated "a geographical scale and the concept of space and place in my methods" as an agent of reality amplifier (cf. Table 2.1). Although John Law did not use underlying philosophical methodologies to define methods, I chose to discuss philosophical methodologies before I account for the methods used in my study since epistemological predispositions and philosophical methodology are important for scholarly enquiry. In this study, method assemblage is reflected in the form of a) triangulation of qualitative methods, b) triangulation of interviewees, c) triangulation of ideas, information, stories and experiences, as well as the d) evaluation of cultural practices and e) economic status of a place.

The data collection approach (cf. Chapter Four) integrates ideas from Gubrium and Holstein (1995, 1997, 2011) with those of Law (2004) in describing a wide parameter for exploring qualitative data. Triangulation of qualitative methods and techniques for data collection relates to the "method assemblage" approach by Law (2004) and Gubrium & Holstein (1997). Gubrium and Holstein (1997) indicate that the method is more than a collection of techniques

and guidelines, as it connotes a way of knowing. Importantly, they give insight about developing methods, which are more neutral though governed by theoretical prejudice.

Gubrium and Holstein's ideas (1997) are related to Law's ideas about method assemblage (2004) in their analytical choices of methods. Their objectives are to get "researchers to critically examine their methodological assumptions and choices to expand their own epistemological and empirical horizons" (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997). Both Gubrium and Holstein (1997) and Law (2004) make similar arguments. They both asserted that it is best not to run away from the traditional approaches, but rather extend our methods to accommodate new and unknown elements of reality. Based on their argument, reality doesn't have a single 'idiom' in which it prefers to be described as much as it offers choices among idioms for rendering its description. There is a substantial challenge for qualitative inquiry on how to deal with the myriad options that researchers confront as they define their projects and select their methods. In my methods, I have chosen interviews, focus group discussion and observation to be virtually tools for exploring reality. In Chapter Four, I describe how I conducted the collection of data.

The choices virtually guide how reality will speak to its "observers" (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, p. 97).

> Postmodernism, especially, points out how deeply research strategies are implicated in the production of findings, leaving significant epistemological questions to emerge in the process: What, if anything, is left for qualitative inquiry? How can qualitative method respond to the crisis of representation? And if it survives the myriad challenges, how might it deal with the postmodern condition? Analytical choices and methodological solutions issue from the range of possible answers to each question. (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997, p. 98)

Law (2004) offers possible solutions to these challenges. Instead of insisting upon idiomatic purity, Gubrium and Holstein suggest, "We might reinvigorate qualitative inquiry by taking notice and making use of the sources of analytical tension among the idioms, and between the idioms and the empirical world" (1997, p. 100). This sentiment seems to fit nicely with Law's encouragement to create method assemblages.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has described how naturalism, realism and feminism are used as the underlying fundamental philosophical methodologies in an interdisciplinary perspective in studying "Gender Inclusion and Leadership Positions in HLIs".

An Intersectionality approach (based on a keen analysis of feminists' perception of intersectionality between gender and other socio-cultural categories) has been adjusted from the original approach to be applied to analyse important factors besides gender that may contribute to gender inclusion. It is expected to illuminate how such factors are interconnected, linked and working as a system in which such factors (academic meritocracy and socio-cultural factors that interfere with gender) cannot be examined separately from one another when it comes to suggesting appropriate gender inclusion strategies into leadership promotions in HLIs.

Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is adjusted for use as a theory and research method with a focus on the connections between human and non-human entities (i.e., university, academic staff, meritocracy and leadership positions). Also, it is used to describe how these connections lead to the assemblage of new entities that do not necessarily reflect the sum of characteristics of constituent entities. Moreover, it describes the assembling mechanisms of the entities (factors).

Organisation Theory is introduced to complement the two other approaches by providing a deep understanding the dimensions of and reasons for continuing inequality between men and women in the workplace and leadership positions. Also, it is used to provide knowledge about organisational procedures that produce gender inequality and define how gender inequality becomes an integral part of organisational practices. It gives a platform of understanding how universities as organisations perform institutional governance such as the appointment of senior leaders, academic promotions and their embedded gender neutrality as well as meritocratic principles.

The interdisciplinary aim of this study is to make use of a wide range of methods and findings informed by ideas and concepts across different boundaries. Furthermore, the three applied theories provide a wide space for defining complex dimensions of gender and other socio-cultural and political factors across disciplines. For this reason, I have chosen to employ the method assemblage approach as my research method.

Method assemblage as describe by John Law (2004) provides a sustainable argument for a method that is broader, and more flexible from a certain perspective, different from many conventional approaches. Method assemblage is reflected in the following forms: a) triangulation of qualitative methods, b) triangulation of interviewees, c) triangulation of ideas, information, stories and experiences, as well as the d) evaluation of cultural practices a place.

In this chapter, conceptualising gender inclusion processes through a geographical perspective (the concept of space and place) has been considered relevant and a fundamental unit of analysis for gender inclusion strategies in a local context (African perspective). Gender problems in Africa entail specificities, although they may have the same underlying knowledge as Western perspectives. Some realities within the African context make gender experiences distinct. This will be explored in this thesis.

In the next chapter, I will expand on the three theoretical approaches that I employ in my study.

Chapter Three

Theoretical perspectives

3.1 Introduction

Women in many countries are victims of a diverse set of exclusion processes in the academic profession (van Anders, 2004; White et al., 2011; van den Brink & Benschop, 2012; Winchester & Browning, 2015), during enrolment (Nielsen, 2015), in leadership positions (Odhiambo, 2011; Shah, 2019), during promotions (van den Brink & Benschop, 2012; Morley, 2014; Nielsen, 2016), career development (Kearney & Lincoln, 2016; Dickson, 2018), in science and technology (Lagesen, 2007, 2008; Lagesen & Sørensen, 2009; Howe-Wash & Turnbull, 2016), and many other parameters within academia (De la Rey, 2005; Nielsen, 2014; Pinheiro et al., 2015; Dickson, 2018; Shah, 2019).

Research that focuses on conceptualisation of gender inclusion rather than exclusion processes show that knowing about gender exclusion mechanisms does not directly tell about inclusion mechanisms (Faulkner & Stewart, 2011). The concept of gender inclusion processes has been articulated as gender equity, gender balance, gender quality and gender equality concepts in contemporary times (Shore et al., 2011), However, only a few recent contributions have studied women's inclusion in order to help overcome or transgress exclusion processes in the academic profession and in similar institutional settings (e.g., Oyewumi, 2005; Shore et al., 2011; Sørensen et al., 2011; Chauraya, 2014; Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016).

Besides the increasing effort to conceptualise gender inclusion as efforts to bring women into science and technology (Lagesen, 2007; 2008 Lagesen & Sørensen, 2009; Howe-Wash & Turnbull, 2016), and its overall acceptance in gender studies (Chafetz, 2006; Shore et al., 2011; Bolsø et al., 2018), gender inclusion remains a new concept lacking in theoretical underpinnings (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016). This lack hampers the use of inclusion, both theoretically and practically (Shore et al., 2011; Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016).

To overcome such a methodological challenge, it is imperative to create new ways of approaching gender inclusion (Mama, 2003; Lumby & Azaola, 2014; Longman & De Graeve, 2014). The concept of gender inclusion has been demonstrated as a promising strategy for integrating women into sectors where they were previously absent, vulnerable, endangered or underrepresented (Shore et al., 2011; Sørensen et al., 2011; Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016; Kearney & Lincoln, 2016; Dickson, 2018).

A review of feminist theories (Acker, 2006; Chafetz, 2006; Alvesson & Billing, 2009), demonstrates the wide variety of approaches to understanding gender difference, inequality and exclusion. However, to obtain a full or partial explanation of the mechanisms by which systems of gender inclusion are produced, it is important to integrate relevant theories (Bolsø et al., 2018). Also, an effort to operationalise integrated theories to study gender inclusion with respect to leadership positions in academia will provide a way of producing a broad theoretical synthesis that highlight typical organisational practices (Mama, 2003; Unterhalter, 2006). According to Unterhalter (2006), a reflection on philosophical methodologies and identification of specific forms that operationalise the theories constitute a significant base of knowledge.

In the previous chapter, the underlying philosophical methodologies (naturalism, realism and feminism) were presented to define how a study of gender inclusion with respect to leadership positions in HLIs can be undertaken, considering the principles and ethics within the field of interdisciplinary studies of culture in the humanities and social sciences. Chapter Two thus presented an analysis of methodology that was based on an Intersectionality approach, Actor-Network Theory and Organisation Theory. This chapter aims to present the following: 1) the application of these three theories to the study of gender inclusion and leadership positions in HLIs, and 2) an effort to operationalise the theories to illuminate issues related to gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs.

3.2   The Intersectionality Approach applied in the study

The effects of gender on social relations may be intersected by other social factors, resulting in interference between the factors. The standard Intersectionality approach has developed within so-called Black feminism that has mainly studied intersections of race and gender, sometimes also including class and sexuality (Crenshaw, 1989; Collins, 1990). However, in the Tanzanian context, it seems more fruitful to focus on other forms of intersections encountered in the study of gender in HLIs. Thus, the Intersectionality approach applied in my study focus on the intersections of gender and three main social factors: meritocracy, culture and politics. They appear particularly appropriate to add into the analysis of the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

To adjust the theory developed within Black feminism, the systemic intra-acts method (Lykke, 2006) is used to conceptualise ways in which socio-cultural hierarchies (culture), rank power differentials (politics) and academic achievement process (meritocracy) as a system of factors

that are mutually being co-constructed with gender in the context of HLIs. My approach primarily adopts an emphasis of feminists' perceptions and principles of intersectionality between gender and other socio-cultural categories (see for example Choo & Ferree, 2010). The guiding principles on how these important factors have been drawn is presented. Importantly, a novel model is developed to advance the understanding of multiple factors delimiting women's progress in academia. Hence, it demonstrates that an intersectionality strategy can lead to the understanding of gender inclusion study in a different approach other than that presented in the dominant discourses.

My Intersectionality approach is explained based on the arguments and analysis of previous research (see for example Choo & Ferree, 2010; Longman & Graeve, 2014; Macias & Stephens, 2017). Importantly, focus is placed on the recognition of non-additive effects of multiple forms of women's exclusion that is experienced in social groups, institutions and locations (Lykke, 2006). The assumption is that women academics experience several forms of gender inequalities in their career development when it comes to acquiring leadership posts and promotions (van den Brink & Benschop, 2012; Winchester & Browning, 2015). The aspects of work-life balance and their assigned gender roles cannot be separated but rather have to be simultaneously linked (Ridgeway & Correll, 2004; Shields, 2008; Macias & Stephens, 2017; Dickson, 2018). Indeed, by using my version of an intersectional analysis, credence is given to the perspectives and needs experienced by women academics (as a vulnerable group) who often remain invisible within or neglected by the system (Jónasdóttir, 2011; van de Brink & Benschop, 2011; Bose, 2012).

Feminists' views on Intersectionality

Theoretically, the concept of Intersectionality emerged from a context of intersections between feminist theory, post-colonial theory and to a certain extent queer-feminist theory (Lykke, 2006). Black feminists in the US, who sought to highlight co-constructions of gender and race/ethnicity, first coined the concept. Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) coined the term intersectionality in her paper to explain the oppression of African-American women. She used the expression "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Anti-discrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics". Crenshaw further discussed Black feminism, arguing that the experience of being a black woman cannot be understood in independent terms of either being black or a woman. Rather, it must include

interactions between the two identities, which she reiterated should frequently reinforce one another.

Crenshaw (1989) identifies three aspects of intersectionality that affect the visibility of non-white women, namely structure, politics and representation. Structural intersectionality deals with how non-white women experience domestic violence and rape in a manner that is qualitatively different from that of white women. Political intersectionality examines how laws and policies intended to increase equality have paradoxically decreased the visibility of violence against non-white women while representational intersectionality delves into how pop culture's portrayals of non-white women can obscure their own authentic life experiences (Crenshaw, 1989).

Historically, Intersectionality gained prominence in the 1990s, particularly when a sociologist, Patricia Hill Collins, further developed Crenshaw's work on race and gender in the US context. Much like Crenshaw, Collins (1990) argues that cultural patterns of oppression are not only interrelated but are also bound together and influenced by the intersectional systems of society such as race, gender, class and ethnicity. Collins describes this as "interlocking social institutions that have relied on multiple forms of segregation to produce unjust results". Additionally, Collins (1998) created a framework to think about Intersectionality rather than expanding the theory itself. She identified three main branches of study within Intersectionality. The first branch deals with the background, ideas, issues, conflicts and debates within Intersectionality. A second branch applies intersectionality as an analytic strategy to various social institutions to examine how they might perpetuate social inequality. And, a final branch formulates Intersectionality as a critical praxis to determine how social justice initiatives can use Intersectionality to bring about social change.

In her follow-up article, "Black political economy", Collins (2000) uses a Marxist feminist approach and applied her intersectional principles to what she called the work-family nexus and black women's poverty in the US. She evaluated how the intersections of consumer racism, gender hierarchies and disadvantages in the labour market can be centred on black women's unique experiences. Conjuring this from a historical perspective and examining interracial marriage laws and property inheritance laws, Collins proposes a distinctive work-family nexus that in turn influences the overall patterns of black people's context of political economy. In parallel, Crenshaw (2001) in the distinction of studying the multiple "main effects" of inequalities, approaches intersections as locations like "street corners" where race and gender

meet and have reinforcing effects. Hence, any "street" (or, social process, such as sexism or racism) can be seen as "crossing" any other without being transformed.

Even though Intersectionality began with the exploration of the interaction between gender and race, over time other identities and oppressions were added to this theory (e.g., Choo & Ferree, 2010). Moraga and Anzaldúa (1981) also published the first edition of *This Bridge Called My Back*, an anthology that explores how classifications of sexual orientation and class also mix with those of race and gender to create even more distinct political categories.

Extending the concept of Intersectionality to study gender inclusion

When the wide scope of feminists' theories of intersectionality is to be underlined, it is also important to recognise that a range of other related concepts can be formulated (Lykke, 2006; Choo & Ferree, 2010). Theories of Intersectionality provide a wide space for defining complex dimensions and factors of gender inequalities that can be used to strategize gender inclusion in academia (Macias & Stephens, 2017). The concept of Intersectionality is used as a tool relevant for developing a model of multi-factors for gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs. In this context, gender inclusion is operationalised as a function of integrating culture, politics and meritocracy to define gender equity, equality and quality in the procedures of recruiting academic staff and promoting and appointing leaders in HLIs.

Leadership positions in HLIs constitute a series of criteria, procedures and requirements to be met by individuals (White et al., 2011). As such the underlying principles of Crenshaw's "multi-causal effect" approach is relevant for highlighting the paradoxes of women's underrepresentation in senior academic positions as well as into leadership positions. Crenshaw (2001), when differentiating between white and non-white experiences, explored two types of men's violence against women: domestic violence and rape. Through her analysis of these two forms of men's violence against women, she argued that the experiences of non-white women consist of a combination (or intersection) of both racism and sexism (Crenshaw, 2001). She further emphasised that discourses about non-white women have been designed to address either race or sex but not both. In a similar perspective, when approaching the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in academia, the metaphor/paradox of work-life balance experienced by women academics is not the same as men academics. Factors such as motherhood, domestic roles and child-rearing constitute women academics' life experiences, yet remains silent in meritocratic procedures (formal organisational procedures) of appointing leaders. Supposedly, meritocracy treats both men and women academics equally

regardless of their different life and career experiences. The embedded gender roles of men and women academics along with their career developments give rise to conflicting dimensions regarding women's subjectivity (Dickson, 2018).

Application of Intersectionality ideas to my gender inclusion study

As previously mentioned, Intersectionality approaches are widely used to describe how institutional issues or factors contributing to gender in/exclusion are interconnected and cannot be examined independently (Chanana, 2011; Chauraya, 2014). Gender inclusion is operationalised as a mechanism or a system that practices or provides for gender equity, equality and quality in its operation. Choo and Ferree (2010) distinguish three styles on how to apply Intersectionality as a theoretical and methodological approach to gender in/exclusion in a defined social setting: 1) group, 2) process and 3) system-centred. I discussed this in Chapter Two. Based on the objective of my study, system-centred approach was chosen to analyse and provide an understanding of Intersectional aspects of factors relevant to strategizing gender inclusion.

A major critique of the system-centred approach is that the notion of Intersectionality does not capture the interdependence and relationality of factors (Barad, 2003). To avoid this limitation, as noticed previously, I have integrated a system intra-action method into the applied intersectionality approach to describe the dimension of factors and how such factors integrate as a system. Lykke (2003) and Barad (2003) further distinguished between "inter-action" and "intra-action" dimensions. According to Barad (2003), inter-action is something that goes on between bounded entities, whereas intra-action refers to an interplay between non-bounded phenomena that interpenetrate and mutually transform each other. Therefore, based on this background, intra-action is chosen to be an adequate complement to define a system-centred model for understanding the Intersectionality of major factors appropriate for gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

Choice of factors

Choo and Ferree (2010), in their study "Critical analysis of gender ex/inclusion", identified politics and socio-cultural factors as important for building a gender inclusive culture. Sang (2018) also argued that meritocracy is a vital factor to analyse when studying academic promotions and that intersectionality of socio-cultural factors are important in understanding the heterogeneity of women's experience in academia. Longman and De Graeve (2014) in their paper, "Paradigm for gender and diversity research", pointed out that gender cannot be studied

in isolation from other forms of diversity. According to these authors, relevant political and social policies are particularly important when addressing gender issues among people of different cultural backgrounds. Geerts and van der Tuin (2013), in their study "From intersectionality to interference", emphasise politics as a key factor when gender is situated in frameworks of multiple oppressions. Erel et al. (2008) also posit that politics and socio-cultural factors contribute to pervasive forms of power, not only resulting in multiple forms of oppression but also in gender issues. Salem (2018) advanced conceptualising intersectionality as a travelling theory that allows space to accommodate multiple socio-cultural and political critiques to be contextualised and addressed in the study of gender issues. Similarly, Tao (2018) examined the intersectionality of gender and ethnicity effects in earnings and choice of career. The results indicate that socio-cultural factors along with political factors contribute substantially to gender differences in career choices and earnings. Men are more favourably affected than women.

The above-mentioned studies suggest that political and socio-cultural factors as well as meritocracy are very important factors linked to gender in/exclusion strategies in HLIs. This observation aligns with Nielsen (2015), who argues to formulate a model to present politics, socio-cultural settings and gender as closely intertwined and intersecting factors with significant effects. These forms of stratification need to be studied in interaction with each other, thereby conceptualising them as a matrix of factors relevant to women's professional success in academia.

Analytical model (heuristic from the chosen Intersectionality approach)

Figure 3.1 shows an analytical model for understanding the interplay of factors important for strategizing gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs. The model builds on three factors: a) meritocracy, b) culture and c) politics. It has path lines with arrowheads indicating the direction of their influence and the nature of the relationship among the factors.
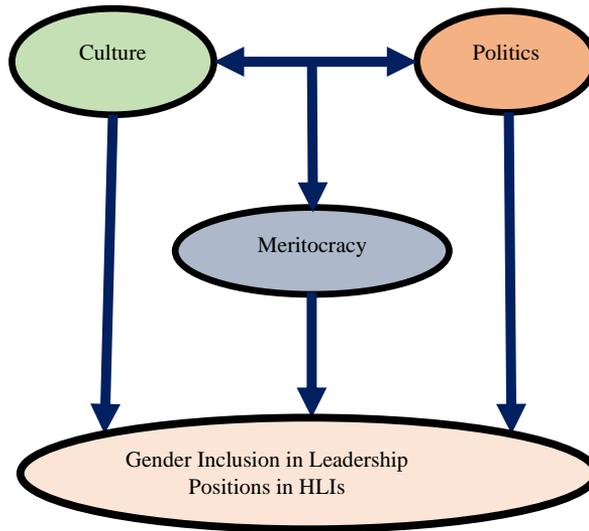
Figure 3.1. Analytical model of factors relevant to strategizing gender inclusion in leadership positions

The analytical model provides a framework for understanding the multiple factors important for strategizing gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. The factors form an integrated whole (group cohesion) and work as a system. In the following, I will discuss them in more detail.

The concept of meritocracy was first introduced by British sociologist Michael Young in 1958. It refers to a social system in which merit or talent stands as a base for sorting people into positions, promotions and the distribution of rewards (Scully, 1997; Nielsen, 2015). According to Nielsen (2015), such a system should provide everyone, regardless of gender, race or class, with equal opportunity to advance and obtain rewards, based on individual merits and efforts. Meritocracy constitutes a key principle in the structuring of universities' procedures from admission and evaluation of students to the employment and promotion of academic staff (Nielsen, 2015). It is supposed to dictate that all organisational actors should have the same opportunity to display their merits and advance within the system. In other words, employment positions and leadership positions are subject to academic merits and rank related promotions.

The concept of meritocracy highlights the ideas that should shape principles, procedures and ways of recruiting academic staff and how academic staff are promoted in leadership positions in HLIs. This concept is significantly important in this study when it comes to the

understanding of how merit based criteria can produce gendered organisational procedures, practices, structures and hierarchy in academia, but also how such criteria may be barrier to women inclusion. Meritocracy in general contextualises HLIs as institutions that have a conservative outlook with respect to individual merits. Thus, it provides indications why HLIs do not take into account other social parameters in the recognition of individual differences with respect to obtain merit, resulting in gender differences in assessing or rewarding promotions to the academic staff. Moreover, assessments of merits may be gender biased (Acker, 1990; Nielsen, 2015).

Despite strict formal adherence to meritocratic principles underlying career development in HLIs (Nielsen, 2015), the socio-cultural environment is considered a crucially contributing factor for attaining academic qualifications as well as for the process of achieving rank promotion in academia (van Anders, 2004; Chanana, 2011; Dickson, 2018). van Anders (2004) researched why women are underrepresented in the professoriate and leadership positions in Canadian universities. In her findings, systemic barriers associated with parenting (socio-cultural factor) were found to be significant in discouraging women from pursuing academic rank promotions. As a result, women self-selected away from leadership positions in response to perceived systemic barriers related to parenthood (socio-cultural factor).

In her recommendations, van Anders (2004) argues that to ensure gender balance in leadership positions in academia, universities should enact policies that address the realities of childbearing and childrearing women. Similarly, Chanana (2011) evaluated Indian higher education-gender policy about women ex/inclusion in leadership and in academic promotions. She recommended a restructuring of the gender policies in Indian higher education. According to her argument, there is a need for a shift from a traditional culture which is not women-friendly in academia to a corporate gender friendly culture, which is in sharp contrast to the traditional image of male dominance in academia and in leadership positions. Nielsen (2016), in his Denmark-based study entitled "Limits to meritocracy?", similarly investigated gender in academic recruitment and promotion processes. His findings revealed that women researchers are sometimes at a disadvantage in academic recruitment due to insufficient social network ties and subtle gender biases among evaluators. This conclusion was also supported by the work of Dickson (2018), who researched the challenges of academic motherhood in United Arab Emirates universities. This author discovered that time management is an important delimiting factor such that women with younger children tend to face the greatest pressure and constraints on their time. Those mothers who were able to undertake academic work as

well as leadership as their childcare engaged them more were willing to postpone academic related duties for some time.

In Africa, Odhiambo (2011) researched 'women and higher education leadership in Kenya' and argues that to facilitate a growth of women in leadership positions in HLIs in Kenya and Africa in general, women's social responsibilities such as family issues must be taken into account as a significant barrier when they compete with men. An article entitled 'Women leaders in South African higher education institutions' by Kele and Pietersen (2015) also reveals that despite the inclusion of policies that advocate and aim at elevating women to managerial positions, universities have not made tangible progress because the imposed inclusion strategies did not embrace barriers relating to women's life experiences. Critical barriers that hinder women from entering into leadership positions are rooted within the socio-cultural environment along with unstable and unimplemented policies that govern gender issues.

Furthermore, Adamma (2017) identified factors which account for the lower advancement of women in attaining academic high ranks as well as entering leadership positions in HLIs in Nigeria and other African countries. Barriers such as discrimination, family-life demands, prejudice and stereotyping result in fruitlessness in many cases. Adamma therefore recommended among other measures the need for more research on the socio-cultural setting to provide answers on how women can be fully integrated into leadership positions. Moodly and Toni (2017) made a survey in African countries in order to develop a framework to help professional women access leadership in HLIs. In their study, they revealed that the gendered nature of HLIs in Africa emanates from the institutional culture and the perception of leadership in women as a culture of service. This has negatively impacted women's access to leadership positions. Moodly and Tony (2017) strongly called for research focusing on how an understanding of social life can be incorporated into gender inclusion strategies, enabling women to access leadership positions in HLIs.

In Tanzania, family-life demands and affairs are reported as major constraints for many women working in HLIs (TGNP, 2017). Research done by the Legal and Human Rights Centre (LHRC; 2016) reveals that the percentage of women engaging in child/children care responsibilities is 80 per cent , compared to 20 per cent of men. According to LHRC, the cultural norms (including religious values) in Tanzania regard child care to be more a responsibility of women than of men. Men are rather expected to engage with the economic

support of the family. UNICEF's report (2017) about children and parental time also indicates that in Africa, children occupy more than 60 percent of their mothers' time per day and less than 10 per cent of their fathers' time.

Although politics is not a direct concern in academia (Brenneis et al., 2005), it plays a very vital role in determining how the government and the public view and utilize resources to facilitate gender balance and improve women's opportunities in academia (Lund, 2020), as well as the distribution and allocation of resources for women's agenda, budgeting for and creating women-focused sectors to facilitate their needs as well as enable women rights and protection (Mama, 2003; Tamale, 2020).

Nielsen (2014) studied the association of politics and gender equality in academia using Danish, Norwegian and Swedish universities as cases. His results show that each of these countries approaches issues of gender equality in academia differently and with different political slogans. Danish universities seemed to be reluctant to deal with gender equality because of rights-based assumptions, while Norwegians and Swedish universities juxtaposed political arguments of utility, innovation, justice and anti-discrimination. The lack of justice-oriented perspective in the Danish approaches was regarded as an illustrative example of how neoliberal governing ideas have inhibited Danish national gender politics.

Winchester and Browning (2015), in their study "Gender equality in academia", argue that political statements provide principles and strategies regarding how universities deal with gender issues. They saw changes to gender equality in academia in Australia as reflecting wider societal changes but also as directly affected by a range of factors including government legislation, regulatory frameworks, university strategies and committed individuals. According to Winchester and Browning, politics have a strong influence. In UNESCO's view, political instruments through legislations and tight laws can regulate domestic responsibilities in Africa, which force girls to drop out of school earlier than boys (UNESCO, 2019). According to UNESCO, traditionally in the African context, girls are expected to perform household activities and look after siblings' more than boys. This gendered division of labour affects the relative chance of girls and boys attending school as well as their performance at school (Mama, 2003). Less attendance of girls in primary and secondary schools has a direct correlation with the lower number of women in HLIs (Adamma, 2017). According to Adamma, the poor performance of girls in primary and secondary schools also reduces the number of women who qualify to join HLIs in Africa.

Summary: An interplay of the factors

The meritocracy factor constitutes a key principle that structures universities' procedures from admission and evaluation of students to the employment of academic staff and promotion of staff (Nielsen, 2015, 2016). However, the persistent lack of women in senior positions and leadership positions within HLIs is linked to socio-cultural factors (Marchant & Wallace, 2013; Morley, 2014; Sang, 2018). In addition, politics play an important role in determining how the government and the public view and utilize resources to facilitate gender balance and women's opportunities in academia — namely, by imposing proper gender policy, gender by-laws and enforcement mechanisms (Dickson, 2018; Lund, 2020; Tamale, 2020). Indeed, the constitution of gender laws and policy is a function of politics (Mama, 2003; Nielsen, 2014). The analytical model presented in Figure 3.1. summarises the assumption of the factors intersect.

3.3   Actor-Network Theory (ANT)

Actor-Network Theory (ANT) was introduced in Chapter Two, and it is a theoretical and methodological contribution to social theory where everything in the social and natural worlds exists in constantly shifting networks of relationships (Law & Hassard, 1999; Latour, 2005). It posits that nothing exists outside those relationships (Law & Hassard, 1999). As noted previously, ANT is rooted in science and technology studies and was developed in the 1980s by Bruno Latour, Michel Callon and John Law (Mol, 2002). Since its development, ANT has also come to be used more broadly in social science (Braga & Suarez, 2018). Although ANT carries 'theory' in its name, it also has substantive elements as a research method (Gabriel & Jacobs, 2008).

As outlined in Chapter Two, ANT has a strong focus on the connections between both human and non-human entities and how these connections are assembled (Latour, 2005). According to Latour, ANT describes how these connections and their assembling lead to the creation of new entities that may differ from the sum of characteristics of the constituent entities. A common example of such a fusion of entities into another entity was given by Latour (1999) in *Pandora's Hope* about a gunman. According to Latour, a man and a gun can form a new entity when they are connected in a third entity: the gunman. The explanation given to this phenomenon is that a man cannot shoot someone all by himself. However, it cannot be said that the gun is the cause of all problems either; they appear with the assemblage. This example also shows that ANT driven research can come up with an unexpected conclusion that war is caused neither by men nor guns. Rather, it is the connection between the two entities that we

should blame for all the cruel incidents that happen with it every day. Indeed, it could also mean that by breaking down the connections between men and guns, the existence of both men and guns will not be a problem anymore (Latour, 1999).

Theoretically, ANT focuses on how connections are established. Existence is first and the essence is second (Law & Hassard, 1999). ANT does not search for essences, but rather for the connecting and reconnecting of entities that shape and reshape the qualities of a certain entity (Latour, 1999). Take Latour's (1999) example of what assemblages that are needed to make a gun, such as bullets, metal and wood as well as the industries that produce bullets, wood and metals, shops that supply guns and bullets, national laws that allow individuals to own a gun and accept the use of guns, hunting activities in a place that create demand for guns, security-related use, and military games and war. According to Latour (1999), understanding what this means requires first understanding the way ANT understands the concept of truth.

Philosophically, ANT rejects both modernist and postmodernist thinking about truth (Mol, 2002). Modernist philosophers believe that truth is something that is out there, independent of humans. It just has to be discovered by a scientist (Brian, 2006; Macionis, 2012). On the other hand, postmodernist philosophers do not believe in the concept of truth at all, as they think that every individual can create his/her own truth (Macionis, 2012). For ANT, truth should be understood as an achievement cannot be denied in a practical sense. Truth does exist, but it can change over time. That is to say, qualities can always change if its connecting entities change or if the parts of the assemblage are shifted (Latour, 1999). Logically, ANT does not want to focus on truth as such but on the forces that shape and reshape the true qualities that the researcher faces when doing fieldwork (Mol, 2002).

The application of ANT

Law and Hassard (1999) outlined strategies on how ANT can be applied, emphasising several aspects to be considered: 1) recognition of group formation (existence), 2) underlying elements of actants with an agency (causation), 3) identification of networks (relations), 4) translation (making hypothesis), and 5) recognition of what will be a new entity (quality). These are described below.

1. Group formation: Research-based on ANT often starts with the recognition of groups of entities for analysis. According to ANT, these groups are to be deconstructed to see what is going on inside of them. Then it becomes clear that every single entity is, in fact, a group of other entities that can make a difference. Deconstructed groups include both human and non-

human entities such as involved people (could be deconstructed by gender, profession, age, hierarchy and many other sub-groups), and leadership hierarchies (i.e., administrative ranks, leadership positions or power relations). In most cases embedded groups are mostly taken for granted. For ANT, the point is that groups are not stable. They are, or at least can be, remade over and over again (Law & Hassard, 1999). ANT driven research wants to show the dynamics of the making and remaking of groups. Therefore, every time again we have to ask how groups have been formed by the actors involved.

In this study, "Gender inclusion and leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania", the set of embedded *groups* comprises the following: 1) employees (i.e., academic-staff vs non-academic staff, and women academics vs men academics; 2) students (i.e., undergraduate vs post-graduate, and women students vs men students); 3) the university (i.e., colleges, campus, departments, teaching facilities, buildings, university laws, university policies and curriculums); and 4) the administrative structure (i.e., leadership positions, power relations and professional ranks). These are both human and non-human groups, which can be further deconstructed. The use of groups according to ANT must be within the network (Law & Hassard, 1999). Network in this context refers to specific entities within a study design. In this study, two public universities and their colleges are used as case study institutions. The academic staff is the targeted population, and the leadership positions referred include a Vice-Chancellor, Depute Vice-Chancellors, Principals of Colleges, Directors of Institutes, Faculty Deans and Heads of Departments. Moreover, in the analysis, academic staff is further deconstructed based on their socio-demographic categories.

Modelling of factors is applied in this study as a technique of choosing the actants from where the research is focused. Although there is no specific guide for choosing actants (Czarniawska, 2004; Gabriel & Jacobs, 2008), for ANT there is no best or worst choice (Law & Hassard, 1999).

2. The underlying elements of actants with agency is another perspective of using ANT. ANT does not use the word actor in its regular meaning; in order to reflect properly what undergoes in an act, the word actant is more appropriate (Law & Hassard, 1999). According to Law and Hassard, an actant is that which accomplishes or undergoes an act. They differ from actors because an actant cannot only be a human, but also be something that accomplishes or undergoes an act. Using the word actant, human and non-human concepts are treated similarly in an analytical sense. ANT does not deny that there can be differences between actants. ANT

agrees with mainstream sociology when it states that actors have the power to change other actors. This power is called agency. When we act, we are always interacting with others. As John Law said, interaction is all that there is (Mol, 2002). During these interactions, we change other actants. At the same time, however, we are being changed by other actants. ANT points out that not only humans, but also non-human entities, are influencing us constantly. In a society, humans first make culture, taboos, laws, policies, regulations and hierarchy of decision-making for making proper operation or practice. Later, humans are shaped by the same thing they first made in their society. ANT recognises that such actants can make a difference if not taken into consideration.

In this study, the research questions provide ***the underlying elements of actants with the agency***. Thus, women's under-representation in leadership positions in HLIs is related to multi-factor effects of a diverse set of gender exclusion processes (events) existing in academia. Three major factors are chosen as a starting point for demonstrating a cohesive system in its operation: a) meritocracy, b) culture and c) politics. As previously noted, meritocracy designates a social system in which merit or talent stands as a base for sorting people into positions, promotions and distributing rewards (Scully, 1997; Nielsen, 2015, 2016). Socio-cultural factors are actants that limit many women's careers while simultaneously being linked to the assemblages we may see as subordinate gender roles (Morley, 2011; Sang, 2018). Politics are another set of actants, such as gender-related laws and policy instruments that affect gender balance initiatives and women's opportunities in academia (Winchester & Browning, 2015; Nielsen, 2014, 2016). Starting from a chosen actant, ANT then suggests to begin by exploring and unravelling the other human and non-human actants that relate or are related to it.

3. the identification of networks (relations) is another aspect*.* By using the word actant, the focus is towards the actions rather than the entity that is the source of action. The network focuses on the outcomes of the actions. When two or more actants are connected, they form an actant-network. For ANT a network is always an actant-network. In a sense, an actant-network is analytically similar to actant. If we zoom out until we cannot see the connections of an actant-network anymore, the actant-network will appear as one actant. The other way around: if we zoom in on any actant, we will be able to trace connections and thus see the actant-network. For example, if we want to assess leadership occupants by gender in an organisation, it may appear that one gender dominates. However, if we want to deconstruct such a gender difference and to promote better gender balance, only then we can see that it is also a chain (an actant-network) of the networks are involved such as procedures, rules, regulations, promotions

issues, merits issues, cultural issues, embedded politics and personalities. Actant-networks are thus constructed and reconstructed through interaction between actants. As long as the actants keep interacting, the actant-network will look stable from the outside. The connections between their constituting actants will hold a balance but not ignoring them. However, if the interaction ends, the actant-network will break down. For ANT, no network is stable without the ongoing interactions between actants.

Networks (relations) in this study is reflected in the specific objectives and methods used to explore data collected through my fieldwork. In my study, the specific objectives are as follows: a) to explore shared meaning of socio-cultural practices and opinion embedded within academia society; b) to evaluate the efficacy of existing by-laws and policies that govern the procedure of appointing leaders into higher learning institutions; and, c) to explore biographic testimonies and narratives from both men and women about their academic experiences and suggestions about initiatives (assemblages) that may help resolve the paradoxes of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs. To extend the network, during my fieldwork I used a semi-structured interview designed within a framework of specific objectives' themes and guiding questions that linked to specific objectives for exploring primary data from the interviewees. One of the advantages of using this method is that it gave the interviewees the freedom to express their views in their own terms, and it allowed clarification (extensive connection) of issues that needed explanations in between.

4. Translation (data analysis) is the next aspect. ANT insists that it is necessary to establish the interaction between actants and observe the connections between them. However, to establish connections, actants have to be displaced and transformed to make them fit into an actant-network. The effort that is necessary to displace and transform is called translation (here: data analysis). For ANT, translation is understood as all the negotiations, intrigues, calculations, statements, acts of persuasion and violence through which an actant is changed. When actants have not been engaged in translation efforts, they are not part of the actant-network group.

In this study, the data analysis/translation is based on Dey's approach (1993). The approach suggests three important stages: a) description (by presenting data in a form that easily can be interpreted); b) clarification (sorting and filtering data based on their relevance); and, c) translation (primarily by linking data and theoretical perspectives underlying the

interpretation). ANT suggests a series of procedures that have to be followed to determine which entities do and do not link with each other. Only linked entities become part of actant-network. In this study, the main network to be constructed is gender inclusion strategies.

*5. **The recognition of what will be a new entity*** is fifth aspect to consider when applying ANT. To provide information that indicates the connection of events and their qualities is one of the ANT indicators. Something flows from one actor-network to another. According to ANT, this refers to what will be an implication of the result (Law & Hassard, 1999). ANT driven research wants to track these flows. To let something flow from one actant-network to another, it has to be strategized in a form (terms of reference) that can be realised. An example of this can be a mission and vision of an organisation, organisational goals, organisational policy, organisational laws or any statement of intent (Law & Hassard, 1999). According to ANT, these would function as "immutable mobiles", mobile but stable entities, as they will be able to let the information flow from one actant-network to another.

In this study, the recognition of what will be a new entity is reflected in the findings of the study. The findings are intended to encourage the construction of a gender inclusion culture in an actant network in higher learning institutions and to facilitate inclusion strategies to expand the network, which will give precedence to a gender balanced representation in top management positions a re-assembled actant network.

3.4   Organisation Theory

Organisation Theory, as introduced in Chapter Two, is the study of organisational design, relationships and structures (Crozier, 2010). It focuses on such dimensions as the level of formalisation, specialisation, standardisation, the hierarchy of authority, complexity, size, goals and strategy of organisations (Shafritz & Ott, 2001; Daft & Armstrong, 2009; Dobbin, 2012). Unlike the Intersectionality and ANT approaches (which both describe a series of immediate and intermediate contributing factors and mechanisms when studying the operation of institutions), Organisation Theory provides set of interrelated concepts describing the factors and definitions that explain the behaviour of individuals, entities, groups or subgroups that interact with each other to perform the activities in order to accomplish a common goal (Akrani, 2011).

The relevance of Organisation Theory in studying gender inclusion issues related to leadership positions in HLIs is that gender and leadership in HLIs are conceptualised within a very narrow framework of policy and regulations (Acker, 1990, 1992). Therefore, gender concerns and

women's underrepresentation in leadership positions find little meaningful space in the institutional procedures (Acker, 1990, 1992; Chanana, 2011). By applying Organisation Theory, one may develop more extensive knowledge on how to incorporate a gender equality culture (gender equity, equality and quality) to guide enrolment, recruitment, promotion and appointment procedures, which are in contrast to the traditional meritocratic image of the university.

Organisation Theory scholars highlight how procedures and activities in an organisation can create gendered divisions while sustaining the organisation's existing processes (Acker, 2006). The activities done to make organisations operate include: hiring/recruitment, promotion, performance evaluation, allocation of work, salaries and wages, the actual work process, inventing and enforcing rules, breaks, workplace behaviour, designing and introducing new technology (Chafetz, 2006). As these mundane activities are carried out, they result in organisational gendered divisions, such as gendered hierarchies, gender segregation of jobs and positions, a gendered wage gap and practices that separate the workplace from the rest of life along gender lines (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). These activities involve routine decisions made by employees or leaders, who may be completely unaware that they are upholding gendered divisions (Acker, 2006; Chafetz, 2006).

Organisation Theory may be used to observe how organisations and institutions are subject to change when efforts are made to increase their efficiency (Bolsø et al., 2018). According to Bolsø et al. (2018), studying such changes should focus on the ways people organise activities and procedures as well as their struggles for power and control over bureaucratic tools. Also, the recognition of minority groups, vulnerable groups, special needs groups and their rights or creation of means to improve their integration and their performance is important (Acker, 1990; Tamale, 2020). Although this has been experienced as a difficult renegotiation process in modern institutions or organisations, an agency or trade unions may be formed and recognised in a formal process (Chafetz, 2006; Alvesson & Billing, 2009).

Ever since Organisation Theory was first developed at the beginning of the industrial revolution in the late 1800s and early 1900s by Max Weber (Chafetz, 2006), there have emerged many different kinds of Organisation Theories. Here, I will pursue the so-called contingency theory of organisations, which posits that an organisation is a system that changes in response to its environment, both internally and externally. There are several distinctive features of this approach: 1) it considers the organisation an open system, which means that an organisation

consistently interacts with its environment, to sustain and grow in its market. Moreover, elements such as input, transformation, process, output, feedback and environment are important for analysis (Chafetz, 2006; Alvesson & Billing, 2009). 2) It considers the organisation as a dynamic and probabilistic and not deterministic system (Daft & Armstrong, 2009). In a deterministic model, the outcomes are predetermined. In contrast, the probabilistic models present outcomes as uncertain and dependent on chance. Also, the theory encompasses the multilevel and multidimensional aspects of an organisation. This means it covers both the micro and macro environment of the organisation. The macro environment is externally related issues to the organisation such as socio-cultural issues embedded among employees, politics, as well as external affairs. The micro environment refers to internal issues in the organisation such as rules, regulations, procedures, employees, as well as the management and administrative structures (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Moreover, 3) contingency theory is multi-variable, which means it considers multiple variables simultaneously. This implies that organisational phenomena are complex. An event can be a result of several variables which could either be interrelated or interdependent. This suggests that the use of a model constituting major contributing factors is important to identify in any approach towards understanding complex issues in an organisation such as gender inclusion/exclusion.

The application of Organisation Theory in my study

Organisation Theory as outlined above can help identify the characteristics of HLIs as organisations. It is important to note that the Organisation Theory tends to be non-feminist (Acker, 1990, 1992). It has been criticised by feminists who argue that the organisational hierarchies and bureaucratic practices may be characterised as masculine, undemocratic and gender oppressive (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Even in in HLIs, forms of patriarchy exist (Mama, 2003; Tamale, 2020).

Organisation Theory provides insights into the dimensions of and reasons for persistent inequality between men and women in the workplace (i.e., HLIs) and in leadership positions (Alvesson & Billing, 2009: Evelyn & Bacchi, 2009). From this approach we see that HLIs are gendered and that managerial and administrative positions (especially those at the top level) are disproportionately filled by men (Acker, 2006; Tamale, 2020). Women are the vast majority of lower positions (de la Rey, 2005; Tamale, 2020). Men dominate engineering and skilled blue-collar occupations (Howe-Wash & Turnbull, 2016). To understand all these

(re)production of gender inequalities in HLIs, it is important to pay attention to the organisation's set-up as well as its internal and external processes (Alvesson & Billing, 2009).

When applying Organisation Theory, the recognition of social relations, individual interactions and group interaction is important (Acker, 1990, 2006). The interactions are taking place in everyday contexts within which people experience and create dominance and submission, construct alliances and exclusions (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). Such interactions can produce social groups of like-minded people, which likely to be gender separated (masculine control) (Acker, 2006). According to Acker, masculinity enters in various ways in the playing out of organisational practices related to identities, titles or specialisations.

Organisation Theory, as I have outlined it, provides clues that gendering processes and gendered structures can be changed with increasing demand by women for equity, equality and quality (Acker, 2006). However, women must be implicated in the economy and skills, and be part of a system that recognises their gendered responsibilities outside the workplace (Alvesson & Billing, 2009). In this context, the establishment of gender policies, gender rules/laws and gender regulations are important instruments to change organisation structures (Acker, 2006; Alvesson & Billing, 2009).

3.5 Synthesis and operationalisation

This chapter has presented and discussed the theories chosen to guide the study. A novel model has been developed to advance the understanding of multiple factors delimiting women's progress in academia. Based on a systemic intra-acts approach, it highlights socio-cultural factors, political factors and meritocracy as intersecting with gender in affecting the inclusion of women in leadership positions in HLIs. The approach here primarily draws on feminist theorising regarding intersectionality between gender and other socio-cultural categories. This is illustrated by figure 3.2, which is similar to Figure 3.1.
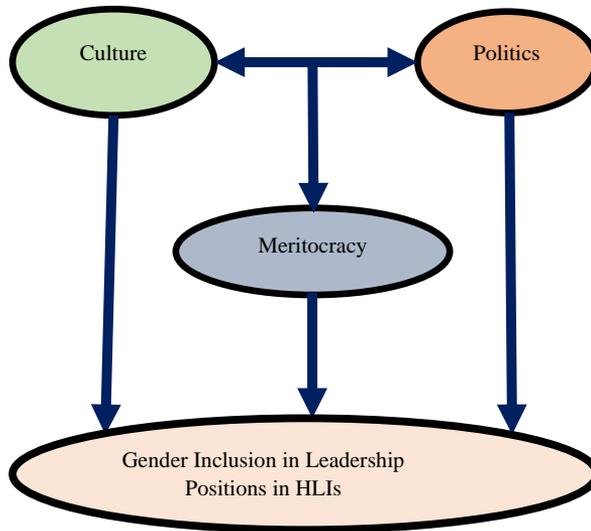
Figure 3.2 Analytical model of factors relevant to strategizing gender inclusion in leadership positions

To analyse the dynamics of the model, two additional theoretical approaches have been presented: Actor-Network Theory and Organisational Theory. By extending their concepts/ principles to suit the gender inclusion study, Actor-Network Theory (ANT) is used as to highlight how gender is assembled by analysing the connections between both human and non-human entities (i.e., the institution of a university, academic staff, meritocracy, socio-cultural environment and leadership positions). It supplements the intersection-based model in Figure 3.2 by helping to describe how these connections lead to the creation of new entities that need to be considered in the development of gender inclusion strategies. Moreover, it describes the making of the connections – the processes of assembling.

Approaches from Organisational Theory are introduced to further the understanding of organisational features that may reproduce but also remedy the inequalities between men and women in the university and in leadership positions. In particular, such approaches are applied to provide knowledge about organisational procedures that may produce gender inequality and highlight how gender inequality may become an integral part of organisational practices. They provide a platform to understand how universities as organisations maintain a gendered institutional governance with respect to the appointment of senior leaders and academic promotions.

Table 3.1 shows how I have tried to operationalise the model of Figure 3.2, and the theories I have outlined in this chapter (cf. Stamos, 2004; Hjørland, 2016, 2017). The table provides a framework and defines elements that will guide the application of the presented theories (Unterhalter, 2006). The strength of numbers-argument (Lagesen, 2007) confirms the importance of operationalising "access" to study gender inclusion with respect to leadership positions in HLIs. The gendered dynamics of power pointed out by Bolsø et al. (2018) reflects the importance of changing forms of gendered power relations that underpins women's marginalisation as a problem for effective implementation of gender inclusion strategies. Chafetz's *Sociology of Gender (2006),* Acker's (2006) *Class Questions Feminist Answers*, as well as Alvesson and Billing's (2009) *Understanding Gender and Organisations* provide the basis for operationalising socio-cultural constructs into gender inclusion. Latour's (2005) "Reassembling the social" provides appropriate methods on how to identify the interlinking of factors, their potentially transformative effects and practices regarding the association/assembling of relevant human and non-human factors.

Table 3.1 is based on the research objectives of the study (see Chapter One) and reflects the underlying philosophical methodology of the study (see Chapter Two). Together with Chapter Two, it provides the point of departure for the discussion of research design and research methods that follows in Chapter Four.

Table 3.1: Operationalisation of the theories to analyse gender inclusion

Issue	Inclusion focus	Approach	Output
1. "Access"	Focusing on increasing the numbers of women in all fields, sectors, departments, specialisations, ranks, positions and levels in which women are seen as a minority, are excluded or are discriminated against.	The approach connects with Organisation Theory.	This approach assumes that the end (increased access) is more important to go along with the means and numbers.
2. "Power relation"	Focusing on changing forms that make women vulnerable or minorities. Focusing on the unfolding of the unspoken forms of cultural capital that victimise women.	The approach connects with Organisation Theory and feminist theories.	Organisational structures, hierarchies and procedures that prioritise masculinity should be adjusted to accommodate feminine spaces.
3. "Socio-cultural construct"	Focusing on adjustments and mechanisms for discursive practices to avoid gendering of difference.	The approach connects with Organisation Theory and feminist theories.	Recognition and accommodation of assigned gender roles and gendered identities in organisational procedures.
4. "Connection"	Focusing on identifying and interlinking factors, networking of factors, deconstruction of groups for detailed analysis and recognition of direct and indirect factors as well as recognition of both human and non-human factors.	The approach connects with Actor-Network Theory and to some degree feminist theories of Intersectionality.	This approach assumes that if silent hindering factors of women unfolds and taken into account in organisational procedures, the essence of exclusions will change.

3.6 Summary

The composition of scientific approach to my present study (gender inclusion and leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania) has evolved from a wide range of different philosophies, concepts, and techniques that potentially produce knowledge on gender and gender inclusion contexts across several disciplinary boundaries. It builds upon three philosophical predispositions (naturalism, realism and feminism) and is operationalised within three

theoretical approaches (the Intersectionality approach, Actor-Network Theory and Organisational Theory). The concepts of these theories are extended potentially to provide transformative effects of what constitute the best strategic practices for creating spaces of women's inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs. The underlying mechanism of these theories to analyse gender inclusion assumes that in the end, 1) increased access/women's inclusion is more important to go along with the means and numbers, 2) Organisational structures, hierarchies and procedures that prioritise masculinity should be adjusted to accommodate feminine spaces, and 3) recognition and accommodation of assigned gender roles and gendered identities in organisational procedures. In addition, a novel model has been developed to advance the understanding of multiple factors highlighting socio-cultural factors, political factors and meritocracy as intersecting with gender in affecting the inclusion of women in leadership positions in HLIs.

Chapter Four

Research design and methods

4.1 Introduction

Epistemologies and methodology related to how gender inclusion is researched in interdisciplinary gender studies were presented in Chapter Two. Theories that guide the study were outlined in Chapter Three. This chapter presents research design and the methods used to accomplish the study, underpinned by the outlined epistemologies and theories. It is above all describing how the data were collected and analysed.

The study was designed to accomplish three objectives. First, it aimed to find out how socio-demographic characteristics of the academic staff (i.e., men vs women academics, junior vs senior academic staff, those who are married vs those not married, and individuals affiliated with science including engineering vs those in the social sciences) influence how staff perceive the problem of women's underrepresentation in academic leadership positions in Tanzania. The second was to analyse and evaluate the efficacy of gender policy in higher learning institutions and its overall context in strategizing women's inclusion into leadership positions by drawing upon experiences and perspectives of academic staff interviewees in HLIs in Tanzania. Finally, the third aim was to explore local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant for strategizing gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

4.2 Case study areas (sample location), background information and sampling

As mentioned before, the data collection was done in Tanzania, where two public universities and their constituency colleges — the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) and the University of Dodoma (UDOM) — were specifically chosen as case studies. The University of Dar es Salaam is the oldest public university in Tanzania, it stands as a role model to all other more recently established universities. Most academic staff in both private and public universities originate from the University of Dar es Salaam. In 2018, the Commission for Higher Learning Institutions nominated the University of Dar es Salaam as the best university in Tanzania. Among criteria used for nomination included how gender-related issues were organised and prioritised at the university as well as how it collaborated with other universities and their ways to maintain quality education. Based on this background, the University of Dar es Salaam was chosen as a case study area.

The other case chosen was the University of Dodoma, which is recently established and the largest in Tanzania. Its establishment and general national rules for recruitment of academic staff as well as those of students' enrolments are the same as what private universities require adherence to. According to Tanzania's Commission for HLIs (Annual report, 2018), gender sensitivity in both personnel recruitments and students' enrolment is vital in HLIs, and universities must therefore account for gender equality strategies initiated within their policies and their regulations governing their daily activities. Given this, the University of Dodoma has been chosen for its representation of both private and public universities recently established in Tanzania.

Within these two institutions, my focus is gender distribution into leadership positions. The leadership positions referred to here (Higher Learning Institutions) are management and administrative positions eligible for academic staff, which usually involve appointment procedures and have specific time tenure to lead. As described previously, the positions include the following: institution members of the governing board, a chancellor, a vice-chancellor, principals of institutes/college, and directors of institutes, faculty deans and heads of departments. Table 4.1 indicates leadership positions which are the key focus in this study and who qualifies for each in each case study area.

Table 4.1: University leadership positions and who qualifies

University leadership position		Who qualifies	
		University of Dar es Salaam	University of Dodoma
1	Chancellor	Political appointee	Political appointee
2	Chairman or secretary of the university council	Political appointee	Political appointee
3	Vice-Chancellor	An academic staff ranking Full Professor	An academic staff ranking Full Professor
4	Depute Vice-chancellors	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor or Associate Professor	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor or Associate Professor
5	Principals of colleges	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor, Associate Professor or Senior Lecturer	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor, Associate Professor or Senior Lecturer
6	Deans of schools	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer or Lecturer	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer or Lecturer
7	Institute Directors	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer or Lecturer	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer or Lecturer
8	Heads of departments	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer or Lecturer	An academic staff ranking either Full Professor, Associate Professor, Senior Lecturer or Lecturer

The chancellor of both universities is a political appointee. According to Prospectus of the University of Dar es Salaam (2018) and that of the University of Dodoma (2018), the President

of the United Republic of Tanzania is mandated by law to nominate the chancellor. This is a ceremonial position, and in most cases the trend reveals that retired politicians (for example former heads of state) are appointed to hold the position. Currently, the third president of Tanzania (retired) is the chancellor of the University of Dodoma and the fourth president of Tanzania (retired) is the chancellor of the University of Dar es Salaam. Academic staff are eligible for other positions ranking from the vice-chancelor to the heads of departments subject to their achieved academic ranks. The higher the achieved rank, the more opportunities to acquire top management or administrative positions (cf. Table 4.1).

Brief description of the University of Dar es Salaam

The University of Dar es Salaam is located in Dar es Salaam, the country's most commercial city. The University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM) started in 1961 as a College of the University of London. In 1963, it became a constituent college of the University of East Africa and was formally established in August 1970 as a National University (TCU, 2018).

The general academic structure of the University of Dar es Salaam consists of: 1) Constituent Colleges, 2) Campus Colleges, 3) Schools, 4) Institutes, and 5) Bureaux and Centres.

- Constituent Colleges include: 1) Dar es Salaam University College of Education (DUCE) and 2) Mkwawa University College of Education (MUCE).
- Campus Colleges consist of: 1) College of Engineering and Technology (CoET), 2) College of Natural and Applied Sciences (CoNAS), 3) College of Information and Communication Technologies (CoICT), 4) College of Social Sciences (CoSS), 5) College of Humanities (CoHU), and 6) College of Agricultural Sciences and Fisheries Technology (CoAF).
- Schools include: 1) University of Dar es Salaam Business School (UDBS), 2) School of Education (SoED), 3) University of Dar es Salaam School of Law (UDSoL), 4) School of Journalism and Mass Communication (SJMC), and 5) School of Health Sciences (SoHS).
- Institutes include: 1) Institute of Development Studies (IDS), 2) Institute of Kiswahili Studies (IKS), 3) Institute of Marine Science (IMS) located in Zanzibar, 4) Institute of Resource Assessment (IRA), and 5) Confucius Institute (CI).
- Centres include: 1) Centre for Continuing Education (CCE), 2) Centre for Environmental Studies (CES), 3) Centre for Study of Forced Migration (CSFM), 4) Centre for Virtual Learning (CVL), 5) Technology Development and Transfer Centre

(TDTC), 6) University of Dar es Salaam Gender Centre (recently transformed into Institute of Gender Studies), 7) University of Dar es Salaam Innovation and Entrepreneurship Centre (UDIEC), and 8) University of Dar es Salaam Computing Centre (UCC).

Place where the interview sample was selected during fieldwork at the University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM)

Within the academic structure of the University of Dar es Salaam, I have selected my sample from: College of Engineering and Technology (CoET), College of Natural and Applied Sciences (CoNAS), College of Social Sciences (CoSS), College of Humanities (CoHU) and College of Agricultural Sciences and Fisheries Technology (CoAF). More specifically, interviewees were from University of Dar es Salaam Business School (UDBS), School of Education (SoED), University of Dar es Salaam School of Law (UDSoL), Institute of Development Studies (IDS), University of Dar es Salaam Gender Centre (recently transformed into Institute for Gender Studies) and University Library.

Table 4.2: UDSM number of academic staff by rank and gender (2018)

Rank	Total	Men		Women	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
All academic staff	1538	1136	74%	402	26%
Full Professors	51	43	84%	8	16%
Associate Professors	92	81	88%	11	12%
Senior Lecturers	189	155	82%	34	18%
Lecturers	359	259	72%	100	28%
Assistant Lecturers	632	452	71%	180	29%
Tutorial Assistants	215	146	68%	69	32%

Source: UDSM facts and Statistics (2018).

According to the University report of 2018, the total number of academic staff is 1538, of which 1136 are men and 402 are women (cf. Table 4.2). The number of men is almost three times the number of women. If the academic staff are categorised by rank and gender, the university's 2018 report on academic staff indicates that by the year 2016/17, the total number of professors was 51, of which 43 were men and 8 were women. Only 16 per cent of professors were women. There were 92 Associate professors, 81 were men and 11 were women. Only 12 per cent of Associate professors were women. There were 189 senior lecturers, 155 were men and 34 were

women. 18 per cent of senior lectures were women. There were 359 lecturers, 259 were men and 100 were women. 28 per cent of lecturers were women. There were 632 assistant lecturers, 452 were men, and 180 were women. 29 per cent of assistant lecturers were women. There were 215 tutorial assistants, 146 were men and 69 were women, 32 per cent of tutorial assistants were women.

According to the university's report for 2018, the current top leadership at the University of Dar es Salaam, including the university chancellor, the vice-chancellor, three deputy vice-chancellors and secretary of the council, were all men. The percentage of women in administrative positions, such as principals, directors, deans, and head of departments, accounted for less than 10 per cent. Women were more visible in the positions of heads of departments. Statistics about students' enrolment at the University of Dar es Salaam also indicate that fewer women were enrolled in the university than men. The report notes that the total number of bachelor's degree students at the University of Dar es Salaam by the year 2016/17 was 24 313, of which 16 066 were men and 8 241 were women. Hence, the number of men students at the bachelor's degree level was two times the number of women students.

Brief description of the University of Dodoma (UDOM)

The University of Dodoma (UDOM) is located at the country's capital city in Chimwaga area, about eight kilometres east of Dodoma's town centre. The site has a very prominent presence from the town's perspective, as it is situated on a hill. The University of Dodoma was formally established in March 2007 following the signing of the Charter by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania. The first academic programmes commenced in September 2007 (TCU, 2018).

The academic structure of the University of Dodoma constitutes seven campuses with colleges, each of the campuses being semi-autonomous. The seven colleges are College of Education, College of Humanities and Social Sciences, College of Informatics and Virtual Education, College of Natural and Mathematical Sciences, College of Health Sciences, College of Earth Sciences, and College of Business Studies and Law (UDOM, 2018).

Places where the sample was selected during fieldwork

Within the academic structure of the University of Dodoma, the sample of interviewees were selected from the College of Education, the College of Humanities and Social Sciences, the College of Natural and Mathematical Sciences, and College of Earth Sciences. More specific,

interviewees were selected from the Departments of Sociology, Languages and Literature, Marine Sciences, Conservation Biology, Psychology, Natural Resource Management and Conservation, Arts and Media Studies, Curriculum Development, and Development Studies. These departments were chosen purposively to obtain perspectives of academic staff from different fields/disciplines at the University.

Facts and statistics about Gender at the University of Dodoma

According to the University of Dodoma Prospectus 2017/18, the top five senior officers are the university chancellor, the chairperson of the university council, the vice-chancellor and two deputy vice-chancellors. In the list, there is only one woman who is the chairperson of the council, and she is not the member of the academic staff but a political figure. Additionally, there are no women serving as college principals at any of the university's seven colleges. Of the fifteen schools within the academic structure of the University of Dodoma, all the deans of schools were men. Seven of the nine directors in the University were men while two were women. One of these two women directors is a non-academic member of staff, holding the position of head of Human Resource and Administration.

Table 4.3: UDOM number of academic staff by rank and gender (2018)

Rank	Total	Men		Women	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
All academic staff	721	545	76%	176	24%
Full Professors	6	6	100%	0	0%
Associate Professors	23	22	96%	1	4%
Lecturers	147	117	80%	30	20%
Assistant Lecturers	492	361	73%	131	27%
Tutorial Assistant	61	40	66%	21	34%

Source: Facts and Statistics (2018).

Furthermore, of the 1443 employees, 721 were academic staff and 722 were non-academic staff. The distribution of gender within the 721 academic staff, 545 were men and 176 were women (cf. Table 4.3). The University of Dodoma had a total of 6 full Professors, all 6 are men. There were 23 Associate Professors, 22 men and only 1 woman. There were 147 lectures, 117 men and 30 women. There were 492 assistant lecturers, 361 men and 131 women. There were 61 tutorial assistants within the academic staff, 40 men and 21 women. There appear to be more than almost three times as many men as women (UDOM, 2018).

4.3 Data collection

The strategy of inquiry employs a triangulation of qualitative methods in order to extensively cover information across traditional disciplinary parameters. The rationale for this triangulation approach was developed from the philosophy of feminism and realism to guide this study (cf. Chapters Two and Three). It also applies the ideas presented by Hostein and Gubrium (1995), Gubrium and Holstein (1997, 2011) and Law (2004) in order to describe a broad exploration of qualitative data. To be specific, the triangulation of qualitative methods for data collection in this study relates to "method assemblage" approach by Law (2004), as well as the approach, "choices and possible pathways in the new language of qualitative inquiry", by Gubrium and Holstein (1997). Gubrium and Holstein indicate that method is more than a collection of techniques and guidelines, as it also connotes a way of knowing. Importantly, the book gives more insight about developing methods, which are more neutral and interdisciplinary though governed by theoretical prejudice. This approach is in line with the philosophical predispositions guiding this study (cf. Chapter Two).

The application of Gubrium and Holstein's ideas (1997) and "method assemblage" in my data collection is reflected in the analytical choices of methods. The objective of applying such an analytical choice of method is to keep an eye on expanding parameters of exploring qualitative data. As previously stated in chapter three referring to Gubrium and Holstein (1997) and Law (2004). They both assert that it is best not to run away from a traditional approach, but rather extend methods in a broader sense to accommodate new and unknown elements of reality. Reality does not have a single idiom in which it prefers to be described as much as it offers choices among idioms for rendering its description (Law, 2004). Expanding parameters of exploring data is an important technique to overcome a substantial challenge for qualitative inquiry in dealing with the myriad options that researchers confront as they define their projects and select their methods.

During fieldwork, I have used a triangulation of qualitative methods (interviews, focus group discussion and observation) and case study areas as a technique to expand data collection parameters. The triangulation of qualitative methods provides an opportunity to apply a checks and balances of the explored information at the same time as it strengthens the validity of the research (Kitchin & Tate, 2013; Creswell, 2012).

Interviews

During my fieldwork, I used semi-structured interviews designed within a framework of themes and guiding questions to explore qualitative information from the interviewees. The semi-structured interview is the most common strategy of enquiry and is a commonly used method for collecting data in qualitative research (Rapley, in Seale, 2004; Bogner et al., 2009; Hay, 2010). Walter (2005) refers to semi-structured interviews as pursuing a guide that consists of several key questions that help to define the areas to be explored. Also, it allows the interviewer or interviewee to diverge and entice a response in more detail.

The important aspect of the semi-structured interview is the process of meaning-making through open-ended questions (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). According to Holstein and Gubrium, when interviewees are given fixed alternatives from which to choose (close-ended), it is difficult for them to give more information outside what is predicted or linked. The more standardised the interview, the less visible are such meaning-making linkages. To allow meaning-making by creating an open-ended and structured format produces good data. Tim Rapley's "Interviews" in Seal (2004) offers a good explanation of an effective explorative interview. According to Rapley, such interviewing encourages the interviewees through questions and other verbal and non-verbal methods to produce elaborated and detailed answers. The interview is often seen in various forms of news media interviews, talk shows and documentaries, alongside research interviews. It pervades and produces our contemporary cultural experiences and knowledge of our authentic personal and private selves. In addition, the face-to-face interview is presented as enabling a special insight into subjectivity, voice and lived experiences.

Another advantage of using the semi-structured interview method is that it allows the interviewees to elaborate on important pieces of information (Hay, 2010). This has importantly provided the chance to explore information that I did not consider before the fieldwork started. Also, the semi-structured interview format gave the interviewees the freedom to express their views on their own terms. The interviews were conducted simultaneously in English and Swahili. According to Walter (2005), language background is the key factor that helps the interviewees to be confident and feel free to air their views. Both English and Swahili are official languages in Tanzania. All interviews were conducted face-to-face in oral conversation.

Selection of interviewees

Bogner et al. (2009) consider interviewees as an important package for exploring reliable qualitative data. According to Bogner et al., the underlying reliability of the data construction is based on the interview participants (both the interviewer and interviewee) being treated as interpretively passive. They are not taken to be meaning constructors. If, however, we imagine more active subjects, we take into account their competence not only as interviewers and as respondents of experience but also as organisers of the meaning they convey (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995). Kristensen and Ravn (2015) suggest that as an active part of the research process, identification and recruitment of interviewees is an important component of a successful interview. According to Kristensen and Ravn, recruitment of interviewees influences the research results in unforeseen manners. Their argument suggests prior recruitment of interviewees and clear identification of interviewees in relation to objectives of the study or related methods (Kristensen & Ravn, 2015).

Consequently, interviewees in this study are grouped into three categories, which include key-interviewees, primary interviewees and discussants. Key-interviewees were the responsible officers at the organisation, i.e., the administration office at the university, who had first-hand knowledge/information and was engaged or could make decisions in appointing or recruiting the managerial and administrative positions. The purpose of targeting key-interviewees is to collect information from responsible people considered important in gender policy issues.

The primary interviewees were women and men who were working at the university as academic staff. They were not asked to represent the organisation, but rather to represent a larger group of professional women and men in higher learning institutions in Tanzania. The focus of targeting such primary interviewees was to explore their experiences and a wide array of viewpoints and their perspectives. Focus group discussants was a third group of interviewees that was used to check and balance some gaps of information from the individual interviews. I consider primary interviewees, key-interviewees and discussants as important experts for providing information.

Bogner et al. (2009) describe who counts as an expert based on method-oriented formulations. Three definitions are given: 1) The voluntarist approach, which recognises that every human being has particular information, capacities and so on that would equip them to deal with their own everyday life. This in principle recognises that everyone is an expert of their own life experiences. 2) The constructivist approach reflects mechanisms involved in the ascription of the role of the experts by method relational and social representational approach. The first

approach reflects the fact that every expert is to some degrees the construct of the researcher's interest in conducting an investigation. In this approach, leading figures in the organisation are considered experts. The second method states that everyone who is made into an expert by the societal process is an expert in social reality. Both approaches refer to leaders of an organisation or society as experts. 3) Expert in terms of the sociology of knowledge, here experts are conceptualised in terms of a specific structure of knowledge. In this approach, scholars are defined as experts.

The recruitment of all three types of my interviewees involved contacting them to inform them about the objectives of the study and anonymity of the information, as well as arranging a convenient time and place for the interviews to inform them about the research well in advance and creating a relationship with the interviewer to allow their participation without doubts or concerns. This process is in line with the suggestion of Kristensen and Ravn (2015), which states that in addition to the researcher's ways of recruiting the interviewees, it is key to identify potential interviewees, approach them, motivate them to actively participate in the interview and focus on the themes of the study.

The conduct of the interviews

One research assistant was employed to assist in planning and taking notes while conducting interviews. She was aged 32 years and a secondary school teacher. She was by then a university student pursuing a master's degree in education at the University of Dar es Salaam. She had good research experience and was knowledgeable with good writing skills.

The list of questions used to interview interviewees was structured based on themes derived from specific objectives of the study and theoretical perspectives of the study. Themes, according to Kristensen and Ravn (2015), refer to the purpose of the interview. Interviews vary in several important ways. Holstein and Gubrium (1995) distinguish them along a functional continuum ranging from 1) interviews with an interrogative purpose, such as those which are conducted with decided practical goals in mind, to 2) interviews with more abstract or academic goals, conducted with targeted themes.

In this study, themes that underlie the interview's guiding questions constitute spaces of politics, culture and meritocracy. The interview guide questions (cf. Appendix 1) were structured to reflect or explore information that can capture the theme content. The interview

guide questions are considered an important instrument used to facilitate a framework for the performance of the interviews.

There were four sets of interview guides (cf. Appendix 1), including interview guide questions for the primary interviewees, the key-interviewees, biography exploration and the focus group discussion. The guiding questions in some circumstances were improvised during the interviews. In line with the semi-structured approach, adjusting the questions to the interview as it unfolded was one of the techniques used to capture more information.

It was considered important during fieldwork that each interview had to follow systematic stages to ensure each interview was given equal weight. Table 4.4 describes important stages used as a guideline to perform interviews with interviewees.

Table 4.4: Stages and their specific guidelines used to perform interviews with interviewees

Stages	Guideline
Before the interview	- Important information about the interviewees was collected. - The interviewees were contacted and informed about the research. I requested the interviewees to propose a convenient time and place for the interview. Prior consent to be interviewed, to record the interview and to take pictures was requested. - Preparations for the interview sessions was done together with the research assistant, who helped with keeping time, following the interview guiding questions, and making ready all necessary equipment to document and record the interviews.
During the interview	- Interviews were set to last between 30 and 45 minutes for primary interviewees and 60 to 90 minutes for the key interviewees. However, despite the time limit set, interviewees who had much more interest with the research topic and who felt they could extend the discussion with us during the interviews were given due respect to continue the discussion. - The introduction was done to get to know each other; also, the main objectives of the research were introduced along with ethical issues. - Semi-structured interviews based on conversation style (open-ended questions) were used to explore information offered by the interviewees. - At the end of each interview, a winding-up of what we had discussed and gained from the interviewees was done. The interviewees were given a chance to comment and give recommendations based on the topic and the discussion and sometimes to give additional information/input if possible or needed.
After the interview	I had a winding-up discussion session with the research assistant to assess how the interview sessions were completed for a day. It was time to reflect on the setbacks reviewing notes and listening to the tape recorder which helped to note the most outspoken issues during the interviews.

Preparation before the interview was considered a vital factor of a successful interview (Bechhofer & Paterson, 2000). During the interview, the exchange of information was processed based on terms of reference such as time frame, objectives of my study and mutual conversation. The process after the interview was to ensure that important aspects that emerged from the interview were incorporated.

The importance of the interviewer's organisation in conducting interviews is also considered as a technique for facilitating and achieving the objectives of the research. Bogner et al. (2009) show the importance of arranging a systematic way of conducting an interview. Even though Bogner et al. (2009) do not explain how and no detailed focus has been provided, in my study (cf. Table 4.4), the systematic arrangement is mapped based on activities important for the data collection process. I have divided the activities into three stages: 1) pre-interview, involving all preparation activities; 2) during-interview, involving the performance of interviews; and, 3) post-interview, involving winding up the performed interview. Table 4.1 above provides an outline of the stages and their specific activities.

Focus Group Discussion

One focus group discussion was conducted at the University of Dodoma. The aim of organising a focus group discussion was to check, balance, and confirm explored issues raised by the interviewees and gain more information from the stakeholders as a group. Focus group discussions share many common features with semi-structured interviews, but there is more in a group discussion than merely collecting similar data from many participants at once (Walter, 2005). One of the advantages of focus group discussions compared to other methods is that it explores information on collective views, opinions and attitudes, and the meanings underlying them. They are also useful in generating a broad understanding of interviewees' experiences and beliefs (Kvale, 1996; Creswell, 2008).

Table 4.5: A guide structure used to conduct a Focus Group Discussion

Before the session	• The rehearsal was done based on the ground rules of conducting focus group discussion, such as aiming at equal participation, respect for one another, polite languages. • Appropriate sitting arrangements were organised.
Introduction and establishing agenda	• I made a welcome speech with appreciation noted for the participants' attendance. • I introduced myself and the research assistant, the research topic and the main research objective to the group. • The main purpose of the focus group discussion was presented. • In addition, there was an introduction with background information of the participants.
Main session	• Questions from the interview guide were posed one by one for the discussion. • Moderation on differences in the discussion was controlled by promoting even participation.
Closing the session	• Winding up the discussion by summarising what was discussed in the meeting. • All participants were acknowledged for their time and valuable expertise, followed by closing the meeting.
After the session	• Additional notes and observations that came as a surprise to the discussion were documented.

I understand that women's inclusion strategies into leadership positions are based on several layers of arguments where people have conflicting beliefs. To manage previously unexplored data in other methods or to some extent verify different framings of hidden beliefs, the use of focus group discussion is a way of recovering what is unknown and can be explored by using hints when people disagree in a meeting or when people raising new topics in a meeting (Macnaghten & Myer, 2004; Macnaghten, 2017). In line with Law (2004), this relates to method assemblage to bring forward hidden or unknown matters beyond expectations.

Observation

During my fieldwork, I took time to observe and familiarise myself with several important gender aspects and procedures applied at the two universities and how they operate in Tanzania. I have had informal discussions with the academic staff. I paid a courtesy call to meetings in several departments, faculties, colleges and schools with the purpose of observing gendered

divisions in their daily operation. I have been also observing where women are more engaged in leadership structures at the universities. I have spent two months in the areas to explore data.

The ways of participating and observing can vary widely from setting to setting (Hay, 2000). Participant observation is a strategy of reflexive learning, not a single method of observing (Limb & Dawyer, 2001). In participant observation, researchers typically become members of a culture, group or setting and adopt roles to conform to that setting (Hay, 2000). In so doing, the researcher aims to gain a closer insight into the culture's practices (daily practice), motivations and emotions. According to Hay, researchers' ability to understand the experiences of the culture may be inhibited if they observe without participating. By participating, rich information and awareness about a phenomenon can be obtained through direct personal observation (Walter, 2005).

4.4   Acquired sample size from interviews'

In total, I conducted forty-two interviews: twenty-eight interviews at the University of Dar es Salaam with primary interviewees and one with a key interviewee). Also, fourteen interviews at the University of Dodoma (13 with primary interviewees and one with a key interviewee). Also, one focus group discussion was done at the University of Dodoma. This is described in Table 4.6.

Generally, I consider my achieved sample size after fieldwork to be sufficient due to data saturation and representation of chosen interviewees. It is common to experience this even in a small sample of qualitative studies. Hay (2010) identifies two indicators of adequate participants/interviewees. First is the extent to which the participants represent the range of potential participants in the setting. The second indicator is the redundancy of information, otherwise called the saturation point, which is when a researcher begins to hear the same thoughts, perspectives and responses from participants/interviewees, and there seems little left to be learnt.

Table 4.6: Summary of the planned sample size before and actual sample size achieved

Institution	Source	Target	Planned sample before fieldwork	Achieved sample after fieldwork
University of Dar es Salaam	Primary interviewees	To explore their opinions, experiences and thoughts about best gender inclusion strategies for employment in leadership positions in academia.	18 interviews	26 interviews conducted at the University of Dar es Salaam
	Key interviewees	To explore gender policies, gender strategies, gender by-laws (regulations), and how are they implemented	1 interview	1 interview with Director at the office of Vice-chancellor, who is also a secretary of recruitment council at the university.
	Focus group discussion	To carry out checks and balances in order to confirm explored issues raised from interviewees and gain more information from stake holders.	1 interview with approximately 6 to 7 participants	Not conducted, as I had sufficient sample and almost all planned discussants were reached as primary interviews.
University of Dodoma	Primary interviewees	To explore their opinions, experiences and thoughts about best gender inclusion strategy for employment in leadership positions in academia.	12 interviews	13 interviews conducted at the University of Dodoma
	Key interviewees	To explore gender policies, gender strategies, gender by-laws and how are they implemented.	1 interview	1 interview with the Director of Human resource and Recruitment at the University.
	Focus group discussion	To carry out checks and balances in order to confirm explored issues raised from interviewees and gain more information from stake holders.	1 interview with approximately 6 to 7 participants	1 focus group discussion with 8 discussants
University of Dar es Salaam	Primary interviewees	Autobiographic narration.	1 interview with an experienced woman professor	1 in-depth interview with an experienced woman professor
Government Office	Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children	National gender policies, rules, regulations and strategies.	All national related gender policies, rules, regulations and strategies	7 government documents that include various national gender policies and gender development strategies

4.5   Validity and reliability of data

The validity and reliability of qualitative data always relate to the quality of the research design and the conduct of the research that enhances data collection (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Generally, the trustworthiness of qualitative research is often questioned if an important basis for its validity and reliability cannot be addressed (Yin, 1994). Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose four constructs that can inform trustworthiness in qualitative research projects: credibility (in preference to internal validity); transferability (in preference to external validity/generalisability); dependability (in preference to reliability); and confirmability (in preference to objectivity).

In this study, the use of key interviewees is one of the means to collect reliable data. In particular, key interviewees represent their organisations. Since they speak on behalf of the organisation, the collected information will not be based on their individual opinion or views. Hay (2010) argues that unlike quantitative researchers, who apply statistical methods for establishing validity and reliability of research findings, qualitative researchers aim to design and incorporate methodological strategies to ensure the 'trustworthiness' of the findings. Such

strategies include qualified informants or getting information from responsible authorities in a group or organisation.

Interviewee consent to participate in this research is also considered one of the important elements that will provide the credibility of qualitative data. Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue that getting informant consent ensures that the data collection sessions involve only those who are genuinely willing to take part and are prepared to offer data freely. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), willingness is an important indicator of trustworthiness.

4.6   Fieldwork experience

My fieldwork experience in Tanzania highlights the process of acquiring research permits in Tanzania and its embedded bureaucracy, the circumstance that influenced the use of mixed languages (Swahili and English) during interviews, response rate that contextualised the process of obtaining interviewees and their willingness to participate in the research, emerged gender issues which are considered silent and unspoken, as well as unexpected events that happened during the fieldwork period.

Research permits

My fieldwork was conducted in Tanzania from June 2018 to March 2019. Upon arrival in Tanzania, I had to apply for a research permit from the Commission for Science and Technology (COSTECH), a parastatal organisation affiliated with the government of Tanzania for co-ordinating and promoting research and technology development in the country. COSTECH works with different cooperation and institutions, including universities in Tanzania. Among the core activities of COSTECH is to process, approve and make provisions for research permits for all research planned in Tanzania.

For my application to be processed I had to present an introduction letter from my host institution of NTNU, my CV and the research proposal, as well as pay a processing fee. The research permit applications are evaluated every three months by the COSTECH committee. It was then unfortunate that I arrived in Tanzania in July, as the COSTECH committee members had just had a meeting at the end of June. This meant that I had to wait for the next evaluation meeting at the end of September before I could get permission to conduct the fieldwork. Due to that circumstance, I had to postpone it to December 2018. However, despite such a delay, I managed to establish informal contact with the important contact persons at the case study universities (i.e., the director of gender studies at the University of Dar es Salaam, and the

faculty dean, Faculty of Humanities at the University of Dodoma). We exchanged views and ideas and my intention to conduct a research at the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Dodoma. I received a positive response and both assisted me in establishing a link with individuals who could be willing to participate in the study as interviewees. I spent my time preparing for the fieldwork in December. In addition, that particular time helped me organise my fieldwork, to familiarise the environment, and make prior contacts to important gender stakeholders at the universities also helped me to obtain important documents such as gender policy documents. The documents were important in shaping my thinking and the type of questions I should ask (ask interviewees to evaluate the policy). It is from the interviewees perspectives that led to the analysis on the efficacy of gender policy in HLIs. In September 2018, COSTECH issued an approval of my study that constituted a one-year research permit (from the 25th of September 2018 to 24th of September 2019). That meant I had the possibility to revisit the field multiple times if I needed to.

When I started my data collection in December 2018, I had to undergo further approval for research. Both universities require that researchers get a research clearance permit from them after receiving permit approval from COSTECH. Along with the permit approval, I had to present an application to conduct research to both directors of research at the University of Dar es Salaam and at the University of Dodoma. The application to each university was approved in December and January respectively.

Language

In considering that language background of the interviewees is an important factor to consider for effective interviews, during the interviews, I largely used a mix of both English and Swahili. Although this may sound strange, it was useful for me in obtaining detailed data from interviewees. Most interviewees preferred to use Swahili blended with English. This is a common way of communicating in Tanzania, as both English and Swahili are official languages in Tanzania. Therefore, it makes it easier for someone to express her/himself using the language he/she is conversant with. The advantage was that I as a researcher speak both languages and the use of both languages helped to achieve the best and active participation from the interviews.

The only difficulties of using both languages were experienced during data transcription and analysis. While in most cases the interviewees responded in both English and Swahili, data

transcription and analysis were conducted in English. Translating and compiling the data in English consumed a lot of time.

Response rate

The response rate was good and positive. A huge number of academic staff were willing to participate, but I chose to cut it off when the sample was deemed sufficient (saturation point). Both men and women were positive and provided detailed interview conversation. Most interviewees wanted to continue with the conversation after the allotted time had run out, as they felt they needed more time to express their views, but I chose to uphold the time limit when I felt that I had received sufficient information. The interviewees all expressed concerns about gender practices in HLIs, saying that there needed to be a practical solution. This made it clear that gender issues was very interesting and important for both men and women.

Emerged issues

It is well worth discussing what I call the emerged issues, which were issues consistently mentioned during interviews despite not being part of the study's planned focus. Among the issues raised were sexism and sexual harassment, which were noted as an ongoing silent problem at different levels within HLIs. According to the interviewees, these issues remain a complex and ambiguous problem to deal with due to its nature and the cultural values, which contextualise the phenomenon as embarrassment to both individuals and institutional reputation. Sexism and sexual harassment emerged as unspoken factors hindering women to aspire for leadership positions. This phenomenon is not discussed in the thesis' findings, as it requires more research on its own. In relation to this issue, the University of Dar es Salaam has a sexual harassment policy (Anti-Sexual Harassment Policy of 2018). According to the document, the policy was established following sexual harassment incidences at the university (UDSM, 2018).

Another issue that emerged was about the concept of gender inclusion itself, which was somehow new to many of my interviewees. I had to elaborate a bit more about the concept and what I was intending to achieve. Many considered the approach unique, but at the same time appropriate and relevant in addressing the problem of women's underrepresentation in the academia and in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. Different angles were suggested to be researched as part of gender inclusion approach, not only on leadership positions. This suggests theorising gender inclusion within gender mainstreaming approaches in academia.

Unexpected event

During my data collection, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dodoma died. This tragic and sudden event made a significant impact on the fieldwork schedule, including a delay in or cancellation of many arranged appointments with interviewees. To cope with the situation, we set new appointments after the funeral. In addition, over a short period of time we experienced a significant change in administrative staff, which involved the transfer of the highest ranked administrative staff, including the director of Human Resources, who was the key interviewee at the University of Dodoma. I successfully managed to interview her before she left office. It was fortunate that she had the time to meet, and I was pleased that she was interested in participating in my study. It was also fortunate to interview her specifically, as she had previously served in a similar position at the University of Dar es Salaam.

4.7 Ethical Formalities

The research ethic formalities were addressed before data collection. As described above, this involved getting an introduction letter from the University (NTNU), a permission letter from the Commission of Science and Technology (COSTECH) in Tanzania as well as research clearance permits at the Universities of Dar es Salaam and of Dodoma.

Informed consent

As noted above, the interviewees were informed before the research interview that participation was entirely voluntary. All interviewees were given adequate information about the aims of the study.

Beneficence

During the interviews, efforts were made to show respect and consideration to the interviewees. Most notably, this meant demonstrating compassion when personal experiences of victimisation were shared.

Respect for anonymity and confidentiality

All interviewees were thoroughly informed in advance about how their identities would be protected and were provided assurances concerning security measures for the storage of any information collected in the course of the research. Confidentiality in this context was concerned with who has the right to access the information provided by the interviewees. The interviewees were assured that information would be used for academic purposes only; a research publication that will not indicate or disclose their identities.

4.8   Data analysis

My data analysis approach is based on Dey (1993). It suggests three important stages: 1) description, by making data in a form that can easily be interpreted; 2) clarification, sorting and filtering data based on their relevance; and 3) connection between data and theoretical perspectives for the interpretation.

NVivo (Bazeley, 2007; Bazeley & Jackson, 2013), a software programme designed for qualitative research, was used for organising all data and classifying, sorting and arranging the data based on planned themes. Moreover, the software (NVivo 12) was used to examine, identify and categorise interviewees by their socio-demographic characteristics and their correlated subjective judgements within planned themes. One of the advantages experienced when using this software is that it has managed to control a large amount of text-based material to deep stratification levels of analysis (Bazeley & Jackson, 2013; Flick, 2018).

All interview data have been entered into an NVivo file. The advantage of using this programme is that it systematically simplifies analysis, and it yields qualitative data into a more professional presentation of results and conclusions. The software indeed reduces many manual tasks whenever needed to recall a finding. Data entered in the NVivo program included the following:

- The bio-data for the interviewees, which included their affiliated institution, profession, leadership status, marital status, parental status, age group category, leadership experiences, gender, current rank in academic and affiliated religion. Based on the specific objective of this chapter, only five socio-demographic categories are used: 1) gender difference (men vs. women), 2) age group difference (junior academic staff aged 49 years and below vs. senior academic staff aged 50 years and above), 3) marital status (those who are married vs. those not married), 4) parental status (individuals with children vs. without children), and 5) professional career status (individuals in science including engineering vs. those in social science).
- The key themes entered into the NVivo program include: 1) interviewee's assessment about the gender distribution of the administrative and management positions at the university; 2) identified factors leading to women's underrepresentation in managerial and administrative positions at the university; 3) identified efforts, strategies and the implementations of the university to sensitise gender issues in various sectors, including leadership positions; and 4) interviewees' opinions about what could be the

best approach/strategic measures for the inclusion of women into leadership positions at the university.

4.9 Details about the methods used in each of the empirical chapters

Methods for Chapter Five

In this analysis, socio-demographic characteristics of members of academic staff are hypothesised to influence the variations in perceiving the problem of gender imbalance in leadership positions. The aim is to reveal a tangible difference in subjective judgement when they are asked to evaluate the context of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions and hence trace their thought patterns as a base of understanding their commonality (e.g., shared meaning, interest or interpretations).

This analysis is assumed to be significantly important for aiding the planning of gender inclusion strategies that can accommodate the diverging interests of individuals as well as their attitudinal and behavioural dimensions that could be targeted for intervention.

Hence, the analysis has specifically done the following: 1) categorised members of academic staff based on parameters of their socio-demographic characteristics, and 2) compared their subjective thought patterns in response to being asked to evaluate and interpret the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs.

A stratification method is applied to uncover the interplay between aspects of the interviewees' socio-demographic characteristics and their subjective judgement when they were asked 1) to evaluate the problem of gender imbalance at the administrative positions (cf. Appendix 1, interview guide question one), and 2) their opinion about factors contributing to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions (cf. Appendix 1, interview guide question two).

To uncover the pattern, four stratification analyses are conducted:

- The first analysis examines whether the gender difference (men academics vs women academics categorisation) can make a difference in interpreting the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.
- The second analysis examines whether the age-group difference between members of academic staff (junior academic staff aged 49 years and below vs senior academic staff aged 50 years and above) can make a difference in understanding the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

- The third analysis examines whether the marital status of individual members of academic staff (those who are married vs those not married) can make a difference in understanding the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

- The fourth analysis examines whether the professional career categorisation of individuals (those in science including engineering vs those in social science) can make a difference in understanding the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

Dividing interviewees based on their gender (men vs women) is clearly relevant for gender inclusion strategies. This division provides a chance to understand how different potential victims of gender inequality (women themselves) within HLIs perceive and interpret their underrepresentation in the administrative positions, compared to how men perceive and interpret this. On the other hand, many gender studies investigations have ignored men's perspectives and have focused singularly on women as a vulnerable group. Thus, also exploring men's perspectives will contribute to a better basis for strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions.

Dividing interviewees based on their marital status is also considered important (those who are married vs those who are not married). In HLIs in Tanzania, though lacking formal precedent, marital status stands as a standard value among ethical predictors of respect and trust when members of academic staff engage in gender sensitisation. Unmarried women activists are less respected and trusted in society than married ones. Based on this phenomenon, perhaps, there could be a tangibly different experience that can reveal their variation in interpretation of the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions.

Also, the division based on age group difference (junior academic staff aged 49 years and below vs senior academic staff aged 50 years and above) is considered relevant. Senior and high-ranking academic staff are viewed as role models, causing them to be met with great respect and seen as more knowledgeable and experienced than junior academic staff. This could also mean that their opinion weighted differently. The assumption is that junior academic staff represent the young generation with modern perspectives that appreciate gender balance, while senior academic staff may express more traditional views (Mose, 2019).

The division based on parental status (individuals with children vs without children) is expected to be important (Lumby & Azaola, 2014; Dickson, 2018). Many studies of gender in academia reveal that the more a woman academic is engaged with family or parental care, the less she progresses in her career development (Kiamba, 2008; Odhiambo, 2011; Tarimo & Swai, 2020). Likewise, other studies also confirm that parenting-related engagement also has a significant effect on men's career development (Kiamba, 2008; Odhiambo, 2011; Steel, 2019).

Another important category assumed relevant was based on interviewees' professional career status (individuals in science including engineering vs those in social science). Indeed, in Tanzania, the gender stereotypes regarding engineering and leadership related occupations means that these areas are perceived to be better suited for men than for women. In some cases, strong and successful women leaders in academia or engineering are even perceived as having masculine traits. Likewise, the number of women academics in the engineering profession is smaller than in other fields. Therefore, analysing interviewees with different professional experiences might be helpful when strategizing relevant gender interventions into professions with fewer women (Howe-Walsh & Turnbull, 2016).

The stratification method by using the NVivo software program was applied to uncover an interplay between aspects of interviewees' socio-demographic characteristics and their subjective judgement when they were asked 1) to evaluate the problem of gender imbalance in the administrative positions, and 2) their opinion about factors contributing to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions. More specifically, the Cluster Analysis Technique was used to uncover the subset contents that differentiate the groups in each socio-demographic category. To identify what was said in each group, a Query Search was used to outline the list of answers (what is exactly uniting the group or what is in common within a group?).

To uncover the similarity, the NVivo file was split based on each planned analysis independently (refer to designed analysis and justification). This is due to the nature of sample size experienced in qualitative data. The qualitative data emerge from a relatively small sample; hence, it dictates a focus on each analysis independently for a better and deeper understanding of the pattern. In each analysis, thoughts clustered as a pattern are presented and interpreted within a specific socio-demographic category. Also, NVivo's cluster analysis technique is used to uncover the subset contents that differentiate the two groups in each socio-demographic category. To summarise what has been specifically said in each group, a query search is used

to outline the list of answers aimed for understanding what is exactly uniting the group or what is in common within a group.

Methods for Chapter Six

Chapter Six analyses and evaluates the efficacy of the gender policy in higher learning institutions and its overall context in strategizing inclusion of women into leadership positions by drawing upon experiences and perspectives explored from the interviews with academic staff.

The hypothesis underlying this analysis is the assumption that "Gender inclusion strategies into leadership positions (in HLIs)" cannot be effective if spaces of inclusion of women are not integrated into gender policies. The inclusion of women conceptually refers to embedded strategies or actions to contribute to including women within a group or structure where they were not present or were insufficiently represented, while gender inclusion is operationalised as a comprehensive mechanism of integrating men and women along with their embedded gender roles in a sector, structure, or activities to create a culture of gender equality/balance.

The significance of this analysis is based on the argument that gender inclusion efforts are socially produced and require management within a policy framework that should be applied as terms of reference. A policy document refers to a set of principles/regulations or protocols that guide decisions or practices for achieving the intended goal or outcome. These are statements of intent and are implemented as a procedure. Much gender research has indicated a significant relationship between insufficient spaces for women in the organisation (set of principles/regulations, procedures or protocols that guide decisions or practices) and the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs (Mama, 2003; Odhiambo, 2011; Tamale, 2020).

To achieve the objective, the analysis uses an indigenous model (an emic approach or the perspectives of insiders) to evaluate the practicability of gender policy in HLIs (Young, 2005; Darling, 2016; Beals et al., 2019). An indigenous model suggests the significance of insiders' perspectives in understanding the practical relevance of the policy based on their experience. In this analysis, opinions and perspectives are explored from academic staff (both men and women in academia) when they are asked to evaluate the effectiveness of specific Gender Policy Articles and its relevance to women's inclusion and gender inclusion strategies into leadership positions in HLIs.

Carol Bacchi's (2009) 'What's the problem is represented to be' (WPR) approach has been applied. It lists five important steps for policy analysis: 1) to introduce the policy, 2) to identify how the key themes that constitute a policy are selected for the analysis, 3) to introduce what are used as value criteria to unfold relevant themes for analysis, 4) to make a discussion about what is perceived as a problem in the policy (using information gathered from the interviews), and 5) to make a recommendation and conclusion.

NVivo software program (NVivo 12) was applied to uncover the links between identified key themes from the policy document and explored opinions from the interviewees. More specifically, Cluster Analysis Technique and Query search method were used to pattern each policy theme for the analysis and the explored information from academic staff when they are asked to evaluate how a specific theme (article) in the gender policy is understood, experienced and practised in higher learning institutions.

Methods for Chapter Seven

Chapter Seven has unfolded local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant to strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. In this analysis, realities of gender construction within the local context are hypothesised to reflect a prolonged hidden gap of knowledge between existing gender problems in the Tanzanian context and Western research.

Hence, leveraging gender inclusion strategies from a local perspective is assumed to be an essential step in addressing the existing problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions. And indeed, it is important because explicit gender inclusion strategies should entail the specificities of local knowledge in a place. Moreover, the cultural diversity of gender constructions across the globe shows that the recognition of local spaces of gender in a specific geographic place/location is one of the most important prerequisites for understanding different needs of different societies before setting the universal strategies of gender (Mama 2003; CODESRIA, 2014).

To achieve the specific objective of this chapter (exploring local specificities that form a relevant set of important themes/factors for strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania), the following steps were taken. First, a "Create Theme Nodes by Auto Coding" method (within the NVivo software program) was applied to generate the key themes (base factors). Themes were constituted based on interviewees' opinions about what could be the best approach/strategic measures to focus on for supporting inclusion of

women into leadership positions at the university. In this analysis, the gathered information was sampled as a "Text search" (answer sheet constituting primary data from interview). By creating nodes from the "Text search", a key list of themes (factors) was outlined. In this analysis, themes/factors stand as important causal power relevant to focus on, given the aim of women's inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs.

Second, the generated key themes/factors were used as headings for running a Text Search Query. The purpose of running a Query Search is to cluster the interviewees' opinions around what would be the best local strategies for gender inclusion based on identified key themes. Local gender inclusion strategies were explored when the interviewees were asked, "Other than identified efforts, strategies and the implementations taken by the university to sensitise gender issues in various sectors including leadership positions, in your opinion which strategy if added can portray the local values relevant for gender inclusion into leadership positions at the university?" In this analysis, a wide range of local gender inclusion strategies has been clustered and compared in each related key theme.

The underlying objective of qualitatively correlating the themes and the local gender inclusion strategies is to examine the degree to which an identified theme can be addressed based on criteria outside gender superficial approaches, but not limited to, as well as to identify the hidden attributes of socio-cultural factors that constitute daily gender-related practices in HLIs in Tanzania. The focus was to select among different local options for addressing the most important gender needs that are not highlighted in the gender sensitisation strategies at the university.

Moreover, in order to mediate the underlying connection between themes and strategies intensively, the explored results from Chapters Five and Six along with secondary data are also presented along with the results to provide a background problem (identified gap) that connect explored local knowledge relevant for gender inclusion strategies.

Chapter Five

Spaces of gendered dynamics of power and the underlying patterns of social structures in academia

5.1 Introduction

The specific objectives of this chapter are to 1) categorise members of academic staff based on the parameters of their socio-demographic characteristics, and 2) compare the subjective thought patterns that arise when they are asked to evaluate and interpret the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in higher learning institutions (HLIs). A careful focus is placed on how academic staff provide meaning and interpretation of spaces of culturally related perceptions, attitudes, norms, values, practices and beliefs that can produce gender inequality or boundaries in HLIs.

Analysing subjective thought patterns of interviewees based on their socio-demographic categories is interesting for two major reasons. First, the findings of this study are aimed to provide input relevant for gender inclusion strategies (cf. Chapter Seven). Gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs is a complex process. To identify its wide scope of mechanisms, it needs an approach that uses abstraction, which is the quality of dealing with ideas rather than events only. Second, gender inclusion covers a wide range of social relationship parameters; therefore, recognising and understanding the individuals' thought patterns based on their socio-demographic characteristics is relevant for contributing to well-intended gender inclusion policies (cf. Chapter Six).

In this analysis, Actor Network Theory, the selected Intersectionality Approach and Organisation Theory are applied as a framework for understanding mechanisms and structures of social relations and identifying the building blocks of reality and how people make meaning in relation to the interaction between their experiences and their ideas. The intersectionality approach is adjusted to inquire into potentially important factors contributing to gender in/exclusion and how such factors may be interconnected, linked and work as a system in which such factors (academic meritocracy, politics and socio-cultural factors that affect gender) cannot be examined separately from one another when it comes to suggesting appropriate strategies for addressing the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership promotions and positions in HLIs.

Actor-Network Theory is adapted to be relevant for understanding how the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs is constituted, and to what extent refined tools (academic meritocracy, politics and socio-cultural factors) can explain what other features of social relations could not account for gender differences based on building blocks of social realities in HLIs. Moreover, Organisation Theory is used to provide a base of knowledge in understanding 1) which cultural expectations about gender roles affect the university organisation, 2) how organising procedures may produce gender inequality, 3) how gender may become an integral part of organisational practices, 4) how cultural beliefs about gender and leadership and how universities as organisations may maintain institutional governance such as the appointment of senior leaders, academic promotions and the spaces gender neutrality in meritocratic principles, and 5) how politics may play a role in making gender policies and gender regulations.

Underlying background of socio-demographic strata in HLIs

Academic staff in HLIs in Tanzania are often described using their title relative to their socio-demographic characteristics (such as Mr, Mrs, Ms, Dr, Professor, Engineer, Architect, or CPA) and their surname when they are in a more formal situation (Tanzania Commission for Universities [TCU], 2018; TGNP, 2018). This is one way of recognising their seniority (i.e., professor, etc.), their acquired qualifications (i.e., doctor, etc.), their specialised career (i.e., engineer, architect, or CPA) and even their marital status (i.e., Mr, Mrs, Ms) (TCU, 2018). This description is also reflected in their behavioural patterns, their grid-group affiliation and how society overlaps in stereotyping such titles relative to gender roles and values (TGNP, 2018). According to TGNP, the cultural norms regarding science, engineering and leadership careers have been perceived as more masculine than feminine. This perception, to a large extent, has contributed to the low number of women engaging in such fields (URT, 2016; UDSM, 2018). Furthermore, the recognition of formal social groups (such as professors' association, women academics, science wing, social science wing, engineering wing, etc.) provides social structures of like-minded people within HLIs (TCU, 2018).

Thus, in this analysis, socio-demographic characteristics of academic staff are hypothesised to influence their differences in perceiving the problem of gender imbalance at the leadership level. The aim is to reveal a tangible diversity in subjective judgements when they are asked to evaluate the context of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions and hence identify

patterns of their thoughts as a base of understanding their commonality (shared meaning, interest or interpretations).

This analysis is assumed to be very important because studies from gender psychology indicate that differences in the composition of socio-demographic characteristics of individuals in a community may contribute to differences in perceptions and attitudes while addressing the problem of gender inequalities (Fischer, 2000; Crawford & Gentry, 2012; Siann, 2013). According to these authors, due to the diverging socio-demographic composition of individuals in public institutions, the challenge faced by gender research is to find out what is shared among individuals about their subjective perception of reality and draw some conclusions relevant to suggesting appropriate gender inclusion strategies. This refers to strategies that can accommodate the diverging interests of individuals as well as their attitudinal and behavioural dimensions that could be targeted for intervention. Such a challenge is found to be particularly pertinent in the context of HLIs in Tanzania where imposed gender policies have not significantly reduced the problem of gender inequalities (TGNP, 2018).

In the analysis, I have applied the NVivo programme's stratification method (cf. Chapter Four) to uncover interplay between aspects of interviewees' socio-demographic characteristics and their subjective judgement explored when they were asked 1) to evaluate the problem of gender imbalance in administrative positions (cf. Appendix 1, interview guide question number one), and 2) their opinion about factors contributing to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions (cf. Appendix 1, interview guide question number two).

More specifically, NVivo's cluster analysis technique (cf. Chapter Four) was used to uncover the subset contents that differentiate the groups in each socio-demographic category. To identify what has been specifically said in each group, a query search was used to identify the list of answers (what is exactly uniting the group, or what is shared within a group).

5.2 Socio-demographic issues and thought patterns

Four groups emerged significantly through the analysis; the first group was formed when academic staff were stratified by gender (men academics vs women academics), the second group was formed when the academic staff were stratified by their age group difference (junior academic staff aged 49 and below vs junior academic staff aged 50 and above), the third group was formed when academic staff were stratified by their marital status (those who are married vs those not married) and the fourth group was formed when the academic staff were stratified by their professional career (individuals affiliated with science and engineering vs those in

social science). However, when academic staff were stratified by their parental status (those with children vs those without children), no common pattern of thought was identified; therefore, this group did not require further analysis.

Identified thought patterns by gender

Table 5-1: Revealed thought patterns when academic staff were split by gender

Group	Socio-demographic category	Interviewees	Revealed thought pattern
Primary interviewees split by gender	Men academics	Formed a pattern group of 18 interviewees	• Not about the patriarchal hierarchy; rather, personal centred factors relating to women's personality traits contribute as a barrier.
	Women academics	Formed a pattern group of 20 interviewees.	• We are few and not underrepresented. • Not about our personality; rather we face unique organisational and social challenges in the academic process, when it comes to attaining promotion and leadership positions.

Results (cf. Table 5.1) indicate that the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs is multifaceted and indeed interpreted differently between men and women academics. Men academics positioned the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions as not due to a patriarchal hierarchy but rather due to women's personality traits. On the other hand, women academics attributed the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions to the low number of women on the academic career ladder as well as to the organisational and social challenges they face in the academic process when it comes to attaining promotion and leadership positions compared to men.

Theoretically, this finding can also suggest that men academics positioned the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions as more of a meritocratic effect than a socio-cultural construction. Person-centred factors relate to social systems embedded in academic institutions in which merit or talent stands as the basis of sorting academic staff with respect to positions, promotions and the distribution of rewards. On the other hand, women academics positioned the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions as more of socio-cultural construction. The low number of women on the academic career ladder as well as the organisational and social challenges women face in the academic process were

seen to reflect the socio-cultural environment (i.e., patriarchy, family demands, subordinate gender roles, ineffective gender policies). This contributed to systemic barriers for women's promotions and advancement up the academic ranks when compared to men academics.

It is not about the patriarchal hierarchy, it's all about women themselves.

Men academics explicitly denied patriarchal hierarchy as a barrier to women's underrepresentation. A patriarchal hierarchy describes a general structure in which men have power over women (Green, 2010). Feminists refer to patriarchy as a social system in which men hold primary power and predominate in roles of leadership, authority, social privilege and control of property (Meagher, 2011; Hennessy, 2012; Pateman, 2016; Tong & Fernandes, 2017). The concept of patriarchy was central to many interviewees' stories, especially women academics. When they were attempting to explain the stratification of power ranks at the university, they referred to patriarchal relations at the university as a situation where men hold higher ranks than women and that men dominated the decision mechanisms and enjoy the privileges of being in power. According to the women academics, patriarchy stands as a hidden agenda and the concurrent leadership reflects the reality.

> Our administration at the university is a men's club and they know how to maintain their club. If you make a simple observation of our current leaders, men are more visible than women. From the top five management team, no woman there. The trend continues to the lower positions, there are also very few women appearing in low administrative positions (woman professor, social science)

Gender was described by women academics as a fundamental organising principle, reflecting patriarchal relations in HLIs in Tanzania. They argued that gender differences create a strong social relation that is structured by hierarchical difference experienced in the leadership positions. The perspective proceeds from an assumption of that there were only men in top leadership positions, and that women appeared as a minority in lower leadership positions. This form of power relation to some extent implies the existence of gender inequality practices within organisational structures, hierarchies and procedures that prioritise masculine rather than feminine qualities.

Despite having gender policies aiming to ensure gender balance in HLIs, its slow implementation process and the reality reflected in low number of women in power provides a clear image of gender inequality. Section 9 of the University of Dar es Salaam's 2005 Gender Policy ("accountability and role modelling") states a commitment to having its institutional governance move towards the ratio of 50/50 between women and men in all governance

positions. The university policy has not indicated any temporal target by which to accomplish the 50/50 goal. Information from the University of Dar es Salaam's "facts and figures 2018" was reviewed to uncover how the 50/50 goal is implemented (from its establishment in 2005 to 2018). Gender distribution in the contemporary leadership positions at the University of Dar es Salaam by gender (women vs men) can be summarised as follows: the University has one vice-chancellor (man), three deputy vice- chancellors (all men), five college principals (1 woman, 4 men), seven directors of administrative directorates (1 woman, 6 men), sixteen directors of central offices (3 women, 13 men), eighty-four heads of department (17 women, 67 men). One hundred and ten university senators (14 women, 96 men), university council (appointed/permanent members 4 women, 25 men; invited 8 women, 34 men). The likelihood that the university is a gendered organisation was revealed by the statistics. The statistics stressed the need for a much deeper exploration of women's situation and experiences, and an investigation into why organisational structures (decision-making bodies) are dominated by men?

The question of how leaders are developed and appointed in HLIs in Tanzania was first placed as a fundamental enquiry to the key interviewees. The aim was to explore organisational procedures in order to find out whether they might be one of the determining factors contributing to the existing patriarchal hierarchy and prolonging it, or "the men's club" as it was referred to by women academics.

In both case study universities, the key interviewees presented a document called "University Charter" comprising university regulations and operational procedures. At the University of Dar es Salaam, the university charter of 2007, Part VI about miscellaneous provisions, no-29 reads, "men and women shall be equally eligible for the holding of any office in the university". Similarly, at the University of Dodoma, the university charter of 2012, Item six, Section 3 about principles and values underlying staff development and procedures for appointing leaders, no-3 reads, "there shall be no gender discrimination in the procedures of appointing the university leaders". In general, there were no gender-related biases in the university charters. This in principle should guarantee gender equality and gender balance at all levels of leadership positions. However, those formal regulations (the charters), which should underpin hiring practices, do not stipulate any temporal perspective on gender ratio. The effects are evident for women academics with regard to their career advancement. Top management teams (decision-makers and high prestigious positions) are occupied by men academics while women

academics are at lower levels with more inward-looking roles such as teaching and student support (i.e., heads of departments or deans of students).

The paradox of patriarchy reflected on by women academics during the interviews reflects the fact that women as a minority group do not have full recognition of their personality and their embedded work-life balance. Moreover, even gender terms of reference stipulated by the policy are neglected. Their reference is based on the policy statement, section 2.5.2 of UDSM gender policy 2006 (page 10) that UDSM shall institute gender-responsive structures and processes by putting in place mechanisms to increase women's participation (at least 30 per cent as per institutional policy) in governance and management processes but with a long-term goal of attaining the 50/50 per cent for both women and men (staff and students). The interviewed women academics challenge its implementation, saying that leadership persists as an important location of men's dominance.

On the other hand, men academics criticised the generalisation of men's dominance as the standing barrier that explains the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions. Explanations given by men academics rely on the neutrality of the recruitment and promotion procedures at the university as terms of reference. According to one of the men academics, "it is not correct to interpret and judge gender distribution by only counting the numbers between men and women" (man academic, science), meaning that the university leadership positions reflect qualifications behind the numbers. Similar explanations were given during an interview with the key interviewee at the University of Dar es Salaam.

> There are two sides reflecting gender distribution at the university administration. One is a physical assessment in terms of just counting numbers (statistics). Based on that, gender distribution looks skewed, with more men than women. Two is about the composition assessment in terms of merits and who deserve the positions, the latter is the reality of what is underlying the existence of those men in power. (man academic, key interviewee, University of Dar es Salaam)

The meritocratic argument was used by the key interviewee to justify why men more often occupy top leadership positions than women, similar to the previous argument given by men academics about equal opportunity criteria. A silent feature of the patriarchal structure reflects what the interviewed women academics called a parable. According to them, the use of meritocratic related criteria in the recruitment process and in the appointment of leaders has much in common with the equal opportunity principle. Both perspectives do not recognise gender difference and its effects on their career development: "The essence of ignoring gender

instructions in a formal statement (regulation) or along with merit criteria could explain how these procedures are formed under patriarchal conditions" (woman professor, social science).

The primary interviewee referred to the gender-blindness of the university regulations that govern the appointment and promotion procedures. The institutional documents, both at the University of Dar es Salaam (the university charter of 2007) and the University of Dodoma (the university charter of 2012) under "staff development, administrative positions and promotion procedures" stipulate that the promotion standards (described by 17 regulations) and the criteria to be applied (outlined by 9 regulations) when appointing administrative leaders at both universities, gender aspects are not mentioned at all. The regulations focus more on the individual's acquired merits. In other words, there is nothing different in the organisational procedures regarding gender aspects in the promotion criteria between men and women. However, there were some indicators explored during interviews with both key and primary interviewees that showed that women usually receive priority for promotion and appointment over their men competitors if both are equally qualified.

A different perspective from the key interviewee at the University of Dodoma was explored when she identified "the government appointment" as another reason that can explain women's underrepresentation in leadership positions.

> Recently we have been experiencing a lot of women in academia being appointed by our political regime to work outside the university. We are also affected and indeed this has drained a lot of our potential women candidates whom we were expecting to take top leadership positions. (key interviewee, University of Dodoma)

The status of gender and politics that exist behind contemporary feminist movements in Tanzania (putting pressure on the political regime to ensure that qualified women are appointed in top government positions) has become a concern in HLIs. The image that is revealed by the key interviewee reflects the concerns of local feminist organisations' (i.e., Tanzania Gender Network Program [TGNP], Tanzania Women Lawyers Association [TAWLA], Tanzania Media Women's Association [TAMWA]) when it comes to influencing the government to make upper-class women equal with upper-class men in the government positions that involve presidential appointment. The phenomenon was also verified by a government official at the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children Affairs: "Very soon we are going to get a strong gender policy document, the government is now fulfilling many gender concerns raised by gender activist groups, our president has appointed a significant number of qualified women from academic institutions, this to a large extent minimises the gap between men and

women in higher government positions". Although this is considered a step to fulfil gender concerns at a national level, the phenomenon is perceived differently in HLIs.

A report by the Tanzania Higher Learning Institution Trade Union (THCU; 2018) documents the challenges facing academic staff teaching at various HLIs. According to the THCU report, despite a shortage of qualified women in academia, the shortage of academic staff in general is also high, having reached 44 per cent as of 2018. The shortage is more acute among women academic staff who often have been appointed to work in other public sectors.

The robust category of highly qualified women academics has become a demand both inside and outside universities. Most qualified women academics are appointed to work outside the university. This is partly explained by the reciprocal of meritocracy (green pasture) and changing discourses on the gendered dynamics of power (gender balance). A critical challenge remains in academic institutions. They have run out of qualified women candidates that could be recruited for the top leadership positions. *"Currently, we were searching for a vice-chancellor and deputy vice-chancellors, and no woman is qualified, only men are qualified"* (man academic, member of the search team, head of the department, social science).

The problem of the lack of qualified women academics for top leadership positions was also verified by the THCU report (2018) which stated that a search team at the University of Dar es Salaam could not successfully find a qualified woman candidate for the positions of vice-chancellor and three deputy vice chancellors. In that report, the appointment of women academic staff to work outside the university was not considered a major problem. The underlying factor outlined in the THCU report (2018) was the number of publications by men academics compared to women academics within the previous five years (2013 to 2018). The university report (2018) indicates a publication ratio skewed by gender, revealing that for every 10 publications by academic staff at the university, 1 publication was by a woman and 9 publications were by men.

Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU) guidance (2016) stipulates that leadership positions such as the vice-chancellors, deputy vice-chancellors, deans of schools, principals of colleges, directors of institutes, faculty deans and heads of departments must be held by only academic staff and are subject to attained academic rank. TCU categorised staff rank as tutorial assistant, assistant lecturer, lecturer, senior lecturer, associate professor and full professor. Specifically, tutorial assistant must hold a bachelor degree with a GPA of 3.8 or above as a basic qualification. Assistant lecturers must hold a bachelor's degree with a GPA of 3.8 or

above and a master's degree with a pass mark of B+ or above as basic qualifications. A lecturer has to hold a PhD along with basic qualifications, while a senior lecturer must hold basic qualifications, a PhD, and several publications accumulating to 3 (sometimes up to 4) points based on the University Research Bureau of Standards (URBS). As a requirement, an associate professor must hold all qualifications of a senior lecturer and publications equals to 6 points based on URBS. A full professor is a top rank where the holder must have all the qualifications of an associate professor and more publications equal to 6 (sometimes up to 9) points based on URBS guidelines.

According to the TCU guide (2016), only professors are qualified to be vice-chancellors and deputy vice-chancellors. Positions, such as deans of school, principals of college, directors of institute and faculty deans can be occupied by senior lecturers, associate professors or full professors. The position of head of department can be occupied by lecturers, senior lecturers, associate professors or full professors. Under the TCU stipulation, tutorial assistants and assistant lecturers are not eligible or entitled by law, to any leadership positions in HLIs. This guide reflects a formally gender-neutral system and represents a distributive principle adhering to the logic that success comes to those who earn it.

Interestingly, nearly all of the interviewees noted that women's intellectual capacity is not lower than men's. Thus, the question arises as to why more men than women get leadership positions in HLIs. This observation suggests that there is a series of other factors alongside meritocracy, visible or invisible, which are ignored and not taken into consideration in the system.

> In my experience, I have observed that many women in academia, despite their intelligence, do not advance to leadership positions because they tend to underinvest their human capital. Instead of focusing more on education, they would rather focus more on building families and other social roles. (man academic, former deputy dean, engineering)

Gender roles that assign cultural values to women in building families is identified as a uniquely feminine barrier that causes women in academia to underinvest in their human capital (i.e., skills, knowledge and other personality attributes embedded in the ability to perform). According to the interviewee, in their undergraduate class they had five women, three of whom were very bright and got married before finishing their studies. They then dropped out of school and decided to engage themselves more in family affairs. As for the other two, when they finished their undergraduate studies, they were offered a scholarship to proceed with a master's degree. They both, unfortunately, declined the offer and said the bachelor's degree was enough

for them. They also then engaged in family affairs. The interviewee above noted, "These women had several opportunities, but they denied themselves".

Specific concerns are associated with "family issues" that characterise women in academia (irrespective of their rank difference) with making some expected choices (either dropping out of the career, or temporarily or permanently avoiding the responsibilities that take time away from their family). This phenomenon was identified as a serious concern.

> We have some senior women staff at our department who have been several times approached for the leadership positions and rejected them. They do not want leadership responsibilities at all. They rather prefer more time with their families. (man-academic, head of the department, social science)

However, the problem of women in academia turning down leadership responsibilities is linked to work and family balance. This indicates how institutional policies in HLIs do or do not support or recognise women's roles outside academic duties. This situation is what women academics called patriarchy.

> We have family and they need us, so the university needs to understand our situation. They know working beyond formal working hours is difficult for women, and to get us out of the system, they organise meetings and other programs after work time. This defines patriarchy, and they tend to be blind to it. (woman academic, social science)

Fulfilling non-work responsibilities, especially those related to family or domestic activities, was identified as an important part of women's academic life. Women academics at the University of Dar es Salaam illuminated positive aspects of combining family life with an academic career by exploring how having children could help them to attain dual roles as mothers and professionals or leaders. This phenomenon was contrary to the perception of men academics. The interviewed men academics did not view women's situation of combining family life and academic career through a positive lens. "Working overtime is not a common tendency for women, and it is very rare to find women in the office at late hours after normal working hours at the department" (man academic, head of the department, social science). Explanations for this tendency were related to women's desire to give more priority to family matters, especially after working hours. This situation, according to men academics, constituted a significant barrier to women's academic progress.

One of the interviewed women academics spoke strongly about the complexity of being a woman in academia and how to overcome a strong wind of patriarchy from all directions. "A woman who has to cope with the demands of full-time teaching cannot manage it in addition

to engaging properly with administrative responsibilities as well as responsibilities at home" (woman professor, social science). The other direction of the patriarchal wind that women academics identified as affecting their performance was their home situation (including power relations within their marriages).

> For every successful man, there is a woman behind him, in contrast to every successful woman a man is pulling her back. We sometimes decide to focus more on family matters than our career development or leadership responsibilities, not because of our desire but we are facing many challenges from our husbands and family in general. These are private matters, difficult to express at your working place. That's why it becomes difficult to understand why women tend to choose their family first. (woman academic, social science)

The paradox of women academics and family issues was indicated to be more serious at home than at the workplace. This concern was also verified by the interviewed men academics when they were asked to evaluate their marriage situation and their career development.

> Our marriage system in Tanzania is complicated and more [subjugating for] women. To swing or not to swing, the best solution, if you are a woman in academia, is to delay your swing and get it when you are already on board. Only men can swing earlier because marriage supports them. Patriarchy is all over not only at the university. (man academic, science)

The concept of either to swing or not to swing referred to engage in marriage or delay it. On the other hand, the discourse of making a decision when the right time is to engage in marriage, childbirth and childcare had been a dilemma of many of the women academics interviewed.

> I decided to be more focused on my career, so I got married when I finished my PhD, If I compare myself to my classmates, who decided to go for marriage first, I am far better off than them, as they are still struggling with publications. (woman academic, science)

Although some women academics thought delaying marriage was one of the available coping strategies, more arguments were focused on the need for women to have a strong belief in their self-efficacy rather than delaying marriage. The belief of women academics in combining both family and work, some argued that reflected their joy and the fact that the family is also benefiting and becoming proud of their academic status or leadership status. This was referred to in multiple contexts during the interviews with women academics.

> I would like to acknowledge that in the process of attaining my education, my family played a very big role in encouraging me, and that provided me with strength and a strong attitude to study hard. I did a bachelor's degree in civil engineering. I was the only female student in the class. Many people thought I could not manage. The situation was different, I was determined, and I did better than several males in the class. My dreams came true when I was retained as an academic staff at the University of Dar es Salaam. (woman academic, engineering)

103

In general, the underlying thought pattern that explains perspectives explored from men academics indicates that traditionally assigned gender roles in the Tanzanian public has a significant effect on women academics in higher learning institutions. The regime of gender roles provides spaces of conflict in which women academics display highly constitutive elements related to family matters and develop less interest in leadership positions. Besides explorations concerning work-family issues, a closer link between numbers, organisational and social challenges were reflected on by the interviewed women academics.

We are few, not underrepresented

Women academics defined their underrepresentation in leadership positions as a situation that should not be viewed as a problem. They rather preferred to admit that they were few and strongly insisted it was the number of women, not the amount of representation of those women, that is the problem. This argument persisted with both women and men academics.

> Based on the fact that there are few female students admitted in HLIs, there are also few women graduates retained as academic staff at the university. By comparing the number of men and women academic staff, there are more men than women' academic staff. Likewise, the gender distribution among the administrative positions reflects the same pattern. It is obvious. (woman academic, social sciences)

The argument about numbers was also supported by the university UDSM annual report (2018) on "facts and statistics" explored from both universities. At the University of Dar es Salaam the total number of academic staffs was 1538, of which 1136 were men and 402 women (cf. Table 5.2). When the academic staff were categorised by rank and gender, the university report from 2018 indicated that in the 2016/17, the total number of professors was 51, of which 43 were men and 8 women. Only 16 per cent of the professors were women. There were 92 associate professors: 81 men and 11 women. Only 12 per cent of assistant professors were women. There were 189 senior lecturers, 155 men and 34 women. Only 18 per cent of senior lecturers were women. There were 359 lecturers, 259 men and 100 women. Only 28 per cent of lectures were women. There were 632 assistant lecturers, 452 men and 180 women. Only 29 per cent of assistant lecturers were women. There were 215 tutorial assistants, 146 men and 69 women. Only 32 per cent of tutorial assistants were women.

Table 5.2: UDSM number of academic staff by rank and gender (2018)

Rank	Total	Men		Women	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
All academic staff	1538	1136	74%	402	26%
Full Professors	51	43	84%	8	16%
Associate Professors	92	81	88%	11	12%
Senior Lecturers	189	155	82%	34	18%
Lecturers	359	259	72%	100	28%
Assistant Lecturers	632	452	72%	180	28%
Tutorial Assistant	215	146	68%	69	32%

Source: UDSM facts and statistics (2018)

The percentage of women in administrative positions such as principals, directors, deans, and head of departments at the University of Dar es Salaam was less than 10 per cent. Women were more visible in the positions of head of departments where they constituted 27 per cent. Students' enrolment at the University of Dar es Salaam also indicates that far fewer women are admitted to the university than men. The university report of 2018 indicates that the total number of bachelor's degree students at the University of Dar es Salaam in the year 2016/17 was 24,313, of which 16,066 were men and 8,241 women. In other words, the number of men students at the bachelor's degree level was two times the number of women.

Statistics at the University of Dodoma in 2018 (cf. Table 5.3) indicate that, of the 1443 employees, 721 were academic staff and 722 non-academic staff. The distribution of gender within 721 academic staff was skewed, with 545 men and 176 women. The University of Dodoma had a total of 6 full professors, 5 men and 1 woman. There were 23 associate professors at the University of Dodoma, 22 men and 1 woman. There were 147 lecturers, comprising 117 men and 30 women. There were 492 assistant lecturers, comprising 361 men and 131 women. There were 61 tutorial assistants within the academic staff, comprising 40 men and 21 women. Thus, the number of men appeared to be almost three times more than the number of women.

Table 5.3: UDOM number of academic staff by rank and gender (2018)

Rank	Total	Men		Women	
		Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
All academic staff	721	545		176	
Full professors	6	6	100%	0	0%
Associate professors	23	22	96%	1	4%
Lecturers	147	117	80%	30	20%
Assistant lecturers	492	361	73%	131	27%
Tutorial assistant	61	40	66%	21	

Source: UDOM facts and statistics (2018)

Likewise, the assessment of gender distribution in management positions at the University of Dodoma included the top five senior officers: the university chancellor, the chairperson of the university council, the vice-chancellor and two deputy vice-chancellors. Among these, there was only one female chairperson of the council. It is also important to note that she was not a member of the academic staff but rather a political figure. Additionally, out of the seven colleges within the academic structure of the University of Dodoma, there were seven college principals and no women in the list. Out of the fifteen schools within the academic structure of the University of Dodoma, all fifteen deans of school were men. Seven of the nine directors at the University were men and two were women. One of these two women directors was a non-academic member of staff and held the position of human resources and administration.

Apart from the statistical evidence, the gender imbalance was also testified to by the interviewed men academics.

> Although we have a gender balance rule in our university charter and gender policy, there are no women to balance. In our department right now, we don't have women in senior positions. Last year we thought about where to get a woman to become the head of our department. We didn't get one within our staff. We even thought of inviting women from other departments for leadership positions, but still, other departments also experienced the same problem. (man academic, engineering)

Generally, the key argument about numbers according to women academics was not about the scarcity experienced in leadership positions. For them, it is all about the enrolment and the recruitment realities in HLIs in Tanzania.

Reflecting on the search procedures (election of candidates into leadership positions), the interviewed women academics perceived that they were placed in a men's club in which the so-called democratic procedure prioritised men.

> One of the unfair stages in the searching procedure is the voting stage. Many qualified women are disappointed in this stage. First, can you imagine a situation where a woman is competing with a man while the majority of voters are men? What I know is that men always struggle for power and they tend to use different means to achieve it. In my experience, men don't vote for women. We have complained about it several times. You know what? Still, we are complaining to men. I think you understand what I mean. (woman academic, science)

During an interview with the key interviewee at the University of Dar es Salaam, procedures for appointing leaders were explored:

> Whoever wants to become a leader at the university, he/she needs to meet the criteria, and the process of appointing leaders is conducted by a search committee. The committee has a mandate and is authorised to search and make an ethical vetting of leaders. The process is democratic and fair. For instance, if we are searching for the head of the department, a search committee will make a list of all academic staff within the department who qualify. The list of names will be sent to a department and members of the department vote. (key interviewee, University of Dar es Salaam)

Gender biases in this process, according to the interviewed women academics, existed within the context of voting. So long as there are more men than women who can vote, the possibility of men being voted for is higher, particularly as men tend to create informal networks before the election.

> I have witnessed it myself, that men create their network and sometimes use such platforms to get leadership positions. The problem that always intimidates women is to be presented to a patriarchal network and being rejected. This is disappointing for them, and it becomes more serious when you question why we even have voting. The answer could be, or maybe to camouflage patriarchy and colour the so-called free and fair process or election. We have challenged this process, but no remarkable solution has been found yet. (woman academic, social science)

The explanations given by the primary interviewee were very suggestive that patriarchy in HLIs is rooted in many hidden factors, with some factors being informal and residing in the formal procedures. This is similar to how Bruno Latour (2005) describes the network as being "behind the scenes". Women academics cited the gender composition of the search committee as an example of a patriarchal network (men's club). Men constituted 96 per cent of the search committee members and its formation fuels the patriarchal network in undermining women's

potential for accessing leadership positions. This concern was also verified by the key interviewees at both universities. The key interviewee at the University of Dar es Salaam said, "Our search committee is composed of thirteen members. If you look at their gender distribution, eleven are men and two are women". He continued by clarifying:

> The appointment of the search team is as stipulated by the university regulations. According to regulations, nine members enter the committee based on their positions and four members are appointed by the vice-chancellor. In this case, it has happened that all those nine who qualify by their positions are men, and there is no way to filter them. Of the four appointed members, two are men and two are women.

Likewise, the key interviewee at the University of Dodoma explained the following:

> Our search team is composed of eleven members, and there is only one woman. Membership of the search team is based on positions. Unfortunately, almost all who are currently in positions are men. I am the only woman in the committee due to my position as well. (key interview, University of Dodoma)

Centralisation of power is another aspect that can explain the concerns raised by women academics as a patriarchal strategy: "After all, the recruitment team doesn't need to be part of the academic staff, since it can be outsourced" (woman professor, social science). According to the interviewee, only HLIs have created this search committee structure thus far. In other government institutions, recruitment activities are done by external agencies.

The university search committee has a long history of being challenged in its operation and has encountered a lot of criticism. During my fieldwork, the office of the University of Dar es Salaam Academic Staff Assembly (UDASA) was consulted, and I interviewed one of the UDASA leaders. One of the specific agendas was to explore his opinion about the appointment procedures and the spaces of concerns with respect to gender. "To tell the history, until 1997, deans, directors and heads of departments were elected through democratic elections". He further clarified that members of academic staff had to compete for a position, and the election was organised through a majority vote within either the department or faculty. "In 1997, the University council voted to drop the elective principle in favour of a procedure involving a search committee". According to UDASA leader, the new procedure was launched after accusations of many irregularities in the elections that involved vote-buying and tribalism. "Since that time, campaigning for posts were banned". In his argument, UDASA made a statement to criticise the university authority that the decision was taken without adequate consultation with academic staff members. "Currently, UDASA is campaigning for the reintroduction of the elective principle on the grounds that the search committee is

undemocratic and could easily be tempered by the circle of cronies". He moreover emphasised, "To maintain the current search committee is to damage the good image of the university".

The "circle of cronies" referenced by the UDASA leader could also be seen as what women academics referred to as "men's clubs". Although UDASA was against search committees, addressing gender-related biases has not been part of their agenda. During the interview, the UDASA leader was asked about spaces of gender concerns in their campaign against search committees, and he replied, "We have women in our association. Ever since UDASA was established no woman has competed for the leadership position in our association. Likewise, no woman has come to complain about gender inequality. We have never received any complaints about gender inequality, even in our association, though we are all men" (man academic, engineering).

When the UDASA leader was asked why women are underrepresented in leadership positions, he identified barriers related to culture and women's cultural expectations as bigger contributing factors than those related to structural or organisational procedures. "Women academics tend to avoid leadership positions, not because of being denied by the organisational procedures, but because of other hidden or silenced socio-cultural factors".

As an emergent theme, during interviews, women academics were asked to give more opinions on the socio-cultural environment in their career development.

> Our gender roles are constructed at the intersection of our culture and our affiliated religions. This is a problem because both cultural and religious teachings invest men, and not women, with a natural right to be leaders. This mind-set is deeply internalised in our society. Leadership is categorised as masculine relevance. For a woman to aspire to leadership, her first question is, how am I going to be interpreted by my family? society? and colleagues? This, in turn, results in women's desires to avoid leadership. (woman academic, social science)

The interviewed women academics strongly indicated a need to compromise with cultural and religious values and their teachings. For them, these were two major agents that cause the gender imbalance in leadership positions.

> Yes, I am a Muslim. Our religious values do not allow women to be exposed to and lead men. I don't aspire to leadership positions; teaching and publications are enough for me. I am a woman, and a mother as well, I need time to spend with my family. Even though I am educated, it doesn't mean I don't need God. I will always practice the good values of my religion. (woman academic, engineering)

The dilemmas of both Christian and Muslim values that build a base of gender inequality/ subordination were interpreted in different perspectives. The main message from the primary interviewees was that "our religious values do not allow women to be exposed to and lead men". This perspective reveals that women academics who are strongly affiliated to religious beliefs do not interpret religious values as a barrier for women when it comes to leadership positions. However, in reality, it stands as one of the indirect barriers.

Some women academics were more liberal and expressed their religious concerns the other way around. The first concern was that religious teachings and values undermine the strengths and potentials of women.

> I am a Christian. To tell the truth, over 90 per cent of Tanzanians are affiliated to religions, either as Christians or Muslims. Our religious teaching in both religions dictates women to obey men. The Holy Bible says a woman is created from man's rib, the Holy Quran says a man can even marry four wives. All these teachings psychologically undermine the strength and potential of women. We are pronounced as weak or dependent creatures. We are not viewed as potential leaders. (woman academic, social science)

Christian and Muslim religious values characterise women as assistants to men. According to the primary interviewees, femaleness in religious values is viewed as a supporting mechanism concerning production (reproduction) and care, while men are religiously defined as first ranked, as leaders and as superior. This perspective disqualifies women from aspiring to hold leadership roles in their religious life as well as in other formal structures.

The second concern was about the subordinating religious marriage covenants, which are constitutionally recognised and unbreakable (meaning, no divorce is permitted). In such marriages, a woman is obliged to always obey and respect her husband's decisions, for he is the head of the family. In this religious covenant, women are positioned with less power and right to make decisions. This extends to other working contexts outside the family level.

> Just to tell you my story, when I got married, I got a government appointment as a District Administrative Secretary. In order to accept that offer, I was supposed to be transferred to another district in another region. My husband said no and could not allow me to accept the offer. So, I had to decline the appointment for the sake of my marriage and to respect my husband's decision. Although that position was, in fact, good for the family in terms of privileges and income. (woman academic, science)

The testimony by the interviewee that "I had to decline the appointment for the sake of my marriage and to respect my husband's decision" highlights the perspectives of gendered power relations in religious and traditional marriages. This scenario reflects why many women tend to avoid or reject leadership positions at their departments and in their universities in general.

In one gesture during the interview, the primary-interviewee argued, "Yes, we have people to make decisions for us and we have to comply to avoid family problems" (woman academic, social science). This reflection could be one of the pieces of evidence to suggest that religious values underlying marriages give more power to men, and that decisions related to many women academics to avoid leadership positions might not be their own choice; rather, it could be most likely that of their husbands.

Although universities in Tanzania are traditionally viewed as centres of free thought and change, the interviewed women academics in HLIs were overwhelmed by the many socio-cultural ("behind the scenes") factors hindering the likelihood for change. In general, the women academics I interviewed argued that there was a need for the university administration as an authority to reflect on the gendered social structures in academia. According to the women academics, this goes beyond their attitudes and behaviours. From their experience, gender stratification and the associated women's underrepresentation in leadership positions were due to organisational deficiencies and socio-cultural barriers. According to the women academics, these were informal factors but they existed and were practised in the formal organisational procedures. The argument reflects a lack of connection between unspoken forms of cultural constructs and the efforts to reform organisational procedures. According to Acker (2006), such a lack of connection happens when organisational structures and procedures that reflect masculine values are not adjusted to accommodate women.

Identified thought patterns by age-group

Table 5.4: Revealed thought patterns when academic staff were split by age-group

Group	Socio-demographic category	Interviewees	Explored key thoughts that pattern a group
Primary interviewees split by age-group	Academic staff aged 49 and below	Formed a pattern group of 25 interviewees.	Gender roles, especially those which marginalise women, are outdated, and women are not obliged to stick to them since they don't help women to become leaders.
	Academic staff aged 50 and above	Formed a pattern group of 13 interviewees.	The cultural and religious norms that define gender roles are important, and they affirm typical women's status that if recognised in a formal system, women will indeed be inclusively motivated to aspire for leadership positions.

The results of my analysis (cf. Table 5.4) indicate that splitting academic staff by their age-group (junior academic staff aged 49 and below vs senior academic staff aged 50 and above) can make a difference in understanding the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions. Academic staff aged 49 and below perceived gender roles, especially those which marginalise women, as outdated, and women were not obliged to stick to them as they do not inspire women to become leaders. To the contrary, senior academic staff (aged 50 and above) perceived the cultural and religious norms about gender roles as important, and they affirm typically women's status that if properly recognised in a formal system, women will indeed be motivated to aspire for leadership positions.

Some gender roles are outdated

Junior academic staff perceive the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions as qualitatively rooted in the traditional gender roles, especially those which marginalise women. Their key argument is that some traditional gender roles, especially those which socialise young girls in such a way that they end up being positioned as servants, are outdated. Moreover, they are not relevant in modern society and should not be entertained.

> When I reached twelve years old, my aunt came home from the village, and the following day my mother called me and said, 'My daughter, you are now grown up, your aunt has come specifically to talk to you.' In a very deep analysis of the traditional division of labour between men and women, she said, 'You are a girl and soon will be a woman. Taking care of home activities such as cooking, cleaning, prepare firewood, gardening, washing clothes, and taking care of men and children are women's responsibilities. (woman academic, social science)

Junior academic staff referred to this kind of transmission and internalisation of culturally assigned traits of what women can and cannot do, especially compared to men. Such traditional teaching does not psychologically empower girls/women as leaders.

> I am telling you, since that day, I felt men are kings and we are born to be their servants. I think this is how many of us have been taught when we were kids. This is not correct, because we are assigned roles which subordinate us and we are developing an attitude of avoiding leadership roles. I tell you, this has a significant contribution to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions. I internalised such subordinating values, and I never aspired for leadership positions in my life. (woman academic, social science)

According to junior academic staff, treating girls and boys equally with the same privileges will contribute to the development of gender equality as behaviours and values in a society.

> I thank my parents. They didn't entertain traditional stuff in our family. We are seven kids in our family, four girls and three boys. All of us [girls and boys] we were treated equally

with the same privileges. We had a shift of cleaning the house, kitchen duties and cooking. It happened that one of my brothers was a very good cook, and we liked his food. When we finished high school, I and my brother joined engineering. Based on how my parents treated me as a leader, I have always been feeling that I can be a leader, even outside my family. (woman academic, engineering)

During interviews with women academics, they were asked if there is any connection between how they have been raised in their family along with their cultural values and their success to leadership positions.

I am the firstborn and my brothers were listening to me as their leader and sister. We had a lot of work at home, my mother had many projects at home, and we had a retail shop, vegetable garden and poultry farming. My father was always encouraging us to work together, and he treated me as a leader. By being treated equally as my brothers at home, this has developed my strength and positive attitude for working with men and built my interest in leadership. To some extent, this has made me seen as a leader everywhere I have been studying. I was the head girl in high school and a very active cabinet minister when I was in my undergraduate studies. I am now the head of the department. (woman academic, science)

Indeed, most women academics who held leadership positions thought that their success was strongly connected to how they were raised in their families. This testimony supports the theory that leadership is socio-culturally constructed. The pattern of argument was similar to what some of junior men academics narrated.

I do not teach my children about our traditional gender roles. They are very intimidating values for women. I can't tell my daughter to be submissive to boys. I can't tell my daughter only men can make decisions. I can't tell my daughter she has to depend on her husband. I can't tell my daughter that only men are entitled to property ownership. A modern parent will never accept this. Likewise, even modern kids are aware of their rights. They will not understand me if I preach such horrible practices. (man academic, social science)

The overall argument of this primary interviewee was to filter the cultural practices that constitute subordination among women. Many women in academia were less interested in leadership positions due to their acquired cultural mind-set. They were not brought up as leaders from the very beginning. Junior academic staff in HLIs represented the young generation with modernity-inspired perspectives. Their thought patterns indicated a need for building a gender-neutral society.

Another subordinate practice was linked to bride price. According to junior academic staff, bride price has a symbolic meaning regarding power relations in marriages, and while it has a very big effect on women, women treat it as a private matter.

> I was married when I finished my Doctorate. What annoyed me was that my husband had
> to pay a bride price (Mahari). This is symbolically like buying a commodity. I felt I was
> sold. Psychologically, it means my husband bought me, so I am owned, and he has all
> power to control me. Sometimes I can't make decisions on my own, so, as my boss, my
> husband has the final decision. Last week, I was appointed to be a treasurer in our cell
> group. My husband simply said, 'Do not accept that.' I had to apologise to my colleagues
> who trusted me, and say 'I am very sorry, but I cannot do it.' These are simple examples,
> but they have a very strong impact on many women in academia. We can't say directly that
> we were restricted by our husbands because this is part of our privacy. (women academic,
> science)

Many married women in academia do not make decisions regarding accepting leadership on
their own. Their husbands are the decision-makers. A need was suggested for further research
to uncover the grounds of the bride price arrangement and its effect on women and leadership
in academia.

The overall argument that patterned the thoughts of junior academic staff was that culture does
not recognise women as leaders, and this has influenced the practices even in academic
institutions. Despite women academics being part of academia, they are still part of the larger
society in which they live. This larger society contains spaces of cultural practice that does not
encourage women to be leaders. This parameter of socio-cultural constructs discourages
women from aspiring to leadership positions.

A contrary argument was raised by the senior academic staff, who considered the cultural and
religious norms as important, and if recognised in a formal system, women's needs, which in
most cases not part of the formal procedures, will indeed be among important values of the
academic institutions.

The cultural and religious norms about gender roles are important factors

According to senior academic staff, gender policies that originate locally along with the
traditional norms will be more understandable and easily acceptable in our society. This
phenomenon implies that there are good values in our gender roles if incorporated in a formal
system, and gender policies in HLIs would become more effective and practical.

> I have a different opinion, even though I am completely agreeing with the existing gender
> policies and other gender regulations imposed at the university as well as in other different
> spheres in our country, I feel that there is a need for establishing practical gender policies
> that originate locally along with our traditional norms. Perhaps this might bring a useful
> solution for eradicating the existing gap between our internalised traditional gender roles
> and imposed gender policies with Western perspectives in our institutions. (woman
> professor, social science)

The connection between spaces of local values and gender policy was interpreted as an important feature that could provide a sense of more acceptance and understanding. According to the interviewee, this understanding is very important for policymakers when they develop practical measures relevant to women's participation in leadership positions.

> Our cultural and religious values provide good manners for how a man or a woman can behave. These are powerful values for our social relations, and they are the driving force of our daily life. My point is, we can't take out women's social roles. They are important for everyone and they stand as a need for them to fulfil. What is important is to recognise them officially and have them be integrated into a formal organisational procedure. (man professor, social science)

The senior academic staff cited a gap that existed between assigned gender roles and the organisational procedures in the working environment. For them, practical gender policies could only be established if the authorities managed to integrate socio-cultural practices that define gender roles into formal organisational procedures.

> For instance, we know women have more domestic responsibilities and therefore cannot work overtime. Thus, we need to have a policy and regulations that recognise this challenge — namely, a policy that can instruct all administrative activities to be done within working hours and not after formal working hours. Likewise, we need to consider a long term and fully paid maternity leave. The current three months doesn't support women academics well in fulfilling their childcare roles. (woman academic, science)

In general, senior academic staff defined religious and socio-cultural factors as important attributes that shape women as nurturing, sensitive, empathetic, intuitive, caring and accommodating. According to senior academic staff, these are important traits for effective leadership in academia. They were seen as innate feminine characteristics, which should be recognised as important. Also, with respect to gender assigned roles, if they were managed properly and valued, women could effectively handle both leadership responsibilities and domestic activities. The underlying problem that compromises women's aspiration for leadership positions was the lack of recognition of the importance of socio-cultural gender roles in the formal system of recruitment and promotion.

Senior academic staff in Tanzania are viewed as role models in society. They are highly respected and considered to be full of knowledge and with far more experience than junior academic staff. This could also be why their perspectives are different.

Identified thought patterns by marital status

Table 5.5: Revealed thought patterns when academic staff were split by marital status

Group	Socio-demographic category	Interviewees	Explored key thoughts that pattern a group
Primary interviewees split by marital status	Married	Formed a pattern group of thirty-four interviewees.	There were no thought pattern differences between the two categories, as both shared the same thought: It is a dilemma for women to be married while in an academic career. Married men are privileged with less domestic demands and married women are obliged to fulfil their 'innate' responsibilities of childbearing, childrearing and domestic duties.
	Not married	Formed a pattern group of four interviewees.	

In this analysis, I examined whether the marital status of individual members of academic staff (those who were married vs those who were not married) made a difference in understanding the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. The results (cf. Table 5.5) revealed that there were no differences in thought patterns that differentiated the two groups. This implies that all interviewees (married or not married) had a unified perspective of how married women in academia differed in terms of work-family engagement when compared with men.

The common perspective underlying their pattern addresses the dilemma of being married while in an academic career. Married men were seen as privileged with less domestic demands, while married women were obliged to fulfil their innate responsibilities of childbearing, childrearing and domestic duties. The key argument that unites the two groups recognised that women's dedicated efforts to carry out domestic duties did not reflect only their strength and gender role, but their barriers toward their professional advancement as well as their potential for leadership positions.

> Although I can afford to employ maids to assist my domestic work, the fact remains that I am a woman. I must fulfil my innate responsibilities of childbearing and childrearing. Maids can only assist in tidying the house and cooking. The role of childbearing and childrearing cannot be delegated to maids. Such roles are quite involving and affect our professional advancement as well as our potentials of getting leadership positions. To manage them, we are appealing to the system, because we need to be accommodated. (woman academic, science)

The role of childbearing and childrearing was considered by academic staff with marital status as part of their life. Their perspective stressed the importance of a much deeper exploration and politicizing women-specific needs that differ from that of married men academics.

> It is common for men academics to hand all domestic activities over to their wives and to concentrate more on academic work and go back home after midnight without facing any family challenges. Women cannot do that; only occasionally is it acceptable. (woman academic, social science)

Marriage signifies relief to men academics. The existing cultural values and practices allow married men to enjoy the care and domestic services from their wives. To ensure they have access to a wide range of support, men academics tend to marry women who are less engaged in other occupations.

> If you assess men in academia and the type of jobs or work their wives are engaged in, you might find that the highest percentage of men academics have housewives or wives who are engaged in mostly domestic businesses or less engaged in formal jobs like a primary school teacher. This means that their wives have more time to deal with domestic matters. This gives men academics a loophole to engage more in publications with no stress about family matters. (man academic, engineering)

The situation was the other way around for married women in academia. The traditional gender norms did not provide a space for them to get their husbands domestically engaged.

> There are many women in academia married to men who are engaged in less involved jobs or are self-employed. That doesn't mean they [the women] get relief from the domestic matters. The tradition does not allow us to let our men deal with domestic activities. If we tend to neglect family roles, the public perceptions and our partners tend to think we are not good wives or mothers and more conflicts emerge and create more stress for our professional development. (woman academic, social science)

How most women in academia balanced work and family in a socially acceptable way was by engaging themselves in lower leadership positions, which are not that demanding. This situation is experienced more strongly when women academics with high academic rank that signifies their potential for being assigned leadership roles, at the same time also are expected to engage comprehensively in family issues. This discourse helps explain why many women are in lower administrative positions.

Identified thought patterns by professional career

Table 5.6: Revealed thought patterns, when academic staff were split by profession

Group	Socio-demographic category	Interviewees	Explored key thought that pattern a group
Primary interviewees split by professional career	Individuals affiliated with science and engineering	Formed a pattern group of 12 interviewees.	• Lack of gender agenda in recruitment procedures has led to fewer women academics in leadership positions
	Individuals affiliated with social science	Formed a pattern group of 26 interviewees.	• Gender stereotypes and cultural beliefs about the division of labour contribute to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions

The results of my analysis (cf. Table 5.6) revealed that splitting academic staff by their profession (those affiliated with science and engineering vs those in social science) can make a difference in understanding and interpreting the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. Individuals affiliated with science and engineering perceived that the lack of a gender equality agenda in recruitment procedures had led to fewer women academics in leadership positions. On the other hand, individuals in the social sciences perceived that gender stereotypes and cultural beliefs about the gendered division of labour contributed to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions.

Lack of gender equality agendas as a contributing factor

Gender equality agendas are the point of departure for the political mechanisms that determine how gender-specific objectives can be reinforced by appropriate gender equality policies and gender equality rules and regulations for maintaining their use and sustainability. The lack of gender equality agendas was emphasised by academic staff affiliated with science and engineering as reflecting the issue of missing gender concerns in the organisational procedures to improve the gender balance in sectors with fewer women (i.e., in science, engineering and in leadership positions).

> After the Beijing conference in 1995, gender sensitivity emerged and several gender equality policies were introduced in higher learning institutions and in other occupations where men dominated, including engineering. We experienced a tremendous change, as women started massively engaging in science and leadership positions. However, the change in academia was not sustainable, as it lacked the appropriate and practical policies

to sustain and support women's eligibility for leadership positions. (man professor, engineering)

The Beijing Conference of 1995, referred to by the interviewee as the Fourth World Conference on Women, focused on action for equality, development and peace. The conference was convened by the United Nations. At this conference, governments from around the world agreed on a comprehensive plan to achieve global legal equality, known as the Beijing Platform for Action (UN-Women, 1995). According to the interviewee, after the Beijing conference, a growing gender sensitivity a significant increase in women's participation in sectors where they previously had been less engaged. The phenomenon was temporary and could not be sustained due to a lack of instruments to reinforce its sustainability.

> I remember that in the 1990s a political push about gender balance and gender equality issues emerged at the university. It was at that time when we had the first woman chief academic officer at the university. It was the same period when we had a special women's entry programme in science and engineering at the university. It was at the same time we had several women's promotions at the university, and women became professors. However, the wind of change had no supporting tools for its sustainability. No imposed rules or policy were introduced; thus, the change diminished silently. (woman professor, science)

The pattern of arguments among academic staff affiliated with science and engineering stressed the importance of introducing gender equality agendas into the recruitment procedures. A growing number of women are required to improve the gender balance, and this can only be enforced by introducing a policy that dictates all recruitment of academic staff to adhere to a gender balance rule in terms of the number of people hired. Also, any breach of the rules should be punished severely. This would consequently introduce other mechanisms of encouraging more women to get into leadership positions as well as join departments where few women have been recruited.

> It was very unfortunate that the wind of gender equality was partly meant to fight against men. Men were not fully involved at that time. We were not eligible to apply funds for gender projects. In turn, all imposed gender projects at the university emerged from the outside force and ended when the projects went out of funds. That was the end of the implementation. Had it been involving fully the university community (which was comprised largely of men), there probably could have been sustainability. (woman academic, engineering)

This primary interviewee reflected on the weaknesses of the methodological approach used to promote gender equality in HLIs. The approach lacked provisions to create the necessary

connection between political instruments and organisational procedures to shape and reshape the sustainability of gender inclusion through organisational procedures.

Generally, the academic staff affiliated with science and engineering perceived awareness for gender equality in HLIs as one of the strategies that had led to a great increase in the number of women in the science and engineering fields and in leadership positions. However, its implementation was not effective and sustainable because they were not reinforced by policies and rules as terms of reference.

In contrast, the academic staff in social science described the engineering field and leadership occupations as oriented more towards men. The problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions could therefore also be explained by some gender stereotypes shaping the gendered division of labour.

Gender stereotypes, cultural beliefs and the division of labour

According to academic staff affiliated with social science, the embedded practices and processes that constituted leadership positions in HLIs were socially perceived as masculine rather than feminine. However, masculinity and femininity are not essential categories but can be verified by the numbers. Top leadership positions with more complex activities were occupied by men while women were visible in lower positions with easier tasks and less work.

> Top leadership positions in HLIs are complicated, with more working hours, unnecessary involvement of travelling, too many meetings after working hours and going to the office on weekends. All these favour men and it looks like a man's career. Lower leadership positions are friendlier, with fewer demands and competitions. Most women aspire toward lower positions. What I see now is that there is a form of gendered division of labour in higher learning institutions. Men in top positions, and women in lower positions. (man academic, social science)

Academic staff in social science believed that they were raised in a culture that assign gender roles extensively with a specific career relevance. Women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs reflects this perspective. Engineering and leadership occupations were characterised as masculine activities. This cultural setting had contributed largely to the low level of women's engagement in engineering careers and leadership positions. To combat the problem of women's underrepresentation, these interviewees saw a need for adjusting some forms of what they considered the masculinity element in leadership roles, such as late hours of work and extensive travelling, to suit women's situation.

5.3   Summary

In this chapter, a careful focus on how academic staff made their subjective judgements in relation to their experiences and ideas has been explored. The effects of certain socio-demographic characteristics (structures of social relations) of academic staff in HLIs were hypothesised to influence differences in the perception of the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions. The aim was to reveal how this problem was constituted and to what extent academic meritocracy, politics and socio-cultural factors can explain men's dominance in academic social relations, arrangements and the transformations that could facilitate change from such forms of domination.

Cluster analysis techniques (employing the Nvivo programme) have been used to uncover the groups and the content that differentiated the groups in each socio-demographic category. To identify what has been specifically said in each group, a query search was used to identify the answers.

Four groups were identified as significant: when academic staff were stratified by 1) gender (men academics vs women academics); 2) age difference (junior academic staff aged 49 and below vs senior academic staff aged 50 and above); 3) marital status (those who are married vs those not married; and 4) profession (individuals affiliated with science and engineering vs those in social science). However, when academic staff were stratified by their parental status (those with children vs those without children), no common pattern thought was identified; therefore, this group was deemed unnecessary for further analysis.

The problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs was described as multifaceted and interpreted differently by men and women academics. Gender was argued to be an integral part of organisational practices, structuring the social relations. Men academics placed the problem of women's underrepresentation more often as meritocratic effects than caused by socio-cultural parameters — thus, as not part of a patriarchal hierarchy. They perceived women's underrepresentation as associated with individual factors relating to women's personality traits, and they partly saw political factors as contributing barriers. Specifically, the following arguments prevailed:

- Gender roles that emphasise women's cultural value as family-builders were identified as a unique feminine barrier that causes women in academia to underinvest in their human capital.

- The government appointments (politics) can also explain women's underrepresentation in leadership positions, since most qualified women academics are appointed to work outside academia.

Women academics related the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions more as emerging from geographical spaces of culturally related practices and beliefs that defined gender roles in career development to constitute a significant effect that produced the low number of women in academic careers. Also, they pointed to the organisational and social challenges they faced in academic processes when it came to attaining promotions and leadership positions, compared to men. More specifically:

- Fulfilling non-working time responsibilities, especially those related to family or domestic activities, was identified as an important part of women's academic lives. Women academics illuminated positive aspects of combining family life with an academic career and explored how having children can help them to attain dual roles as mothers and professionals or leaders. A contradicting perspective which women academics described as a challenge was that men academics do not view such a situation in a positive lens and indeed institutional policies do not support or recognise women's roles outside academic duties. This situation is what the interviewed women academics called patriarchy.
- The other direction of the patriarchal wind that the women academics identified as affecting their performance was coming from their home situation (including power relations within their marriages). Patriarchy was indicated to be more complex and limiting at home than at the workplace.
- Women academics defined their underrepresentation in leadership positions not to be viewed as the problem. Rather, they explained the problem as a numeric one. Quantity impacts the gender balance in many ways and should be addressed directly.
- Furthermore, the argument about numbers, according to the interviewed women academics, was not about the scarcity of women's experience relevant to leadership positions. Rather, the argument reflects the enrolment and recruitment realities in HLIs in Tanzania, seen as a whole.
- Women academics strongly indicated a need to compromise with cultural and religious values and their teachings. For them, these are two major agents that shape the gender balance of leadership positions. Femaleness in religious values is viewed

as supporting women's responsibilities concerning production (reproduction) and care, while men are religiously defined to be the first in line, as leaders and as superior to women. This perspective disqualifies women from aspiring toward leadership in their religious life as well as in other institutions.

Splitting academic staff by their age-group (junior academic staff aged 49 and below vs senior academic staff aged 50 and above) showed another underlying mechanism that structures social relations in interpreting the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs. Academic staff aged 49 and below perceived the cultural beliefs about gender roles that position men as leaders and women as subordinates to be outdated. They believed that women were not obliged to adhere to the beliefs since they do not inspire women to become leaders. Specifically:

- The argument that pattern the thoughts of junior academic staff is that culture does not recognise women as leaders, and this has influenced even the practices of academic institutions.

In contrast, senior academic staff (aged 50 and above) perceived the cultural and religious norms about gender roles as important and affirming women's status in society. If this was recognised by the formal systems of hiring and promotion, women would indeed be motivated to aspire for leadership positions. More specifically they argued that:

- Gender policies that originate locally along with traditional norms are more understandable and may easily be acceptable in society. This view implied that there are good values expressed in the gender roles that should be incorporated in the formal systems of hiring and promotion. If so, gender policies in HLIs would be more effective.

There were no underlying mechanisms that structured differences in thought patterns that could differentiate those married from those not married. Both groups shared the interpretation of experienced facts. The common perspective underlying their thought pattern observed the dilemma of being married while in an academic career.

- The argument that united the two groups recognised that women's dedicated efforts to carry out domestic duties reflect not only their strength and the gender roles but also the barrier that hinders women's professional advancement and their potential for leadership positions.

- The role of childbearing and childrearing is considered by married academic staff as a necessary part of their life. Their perspective stresses the importance of a much deeper exploration that politicises women-specific needs that differ from those of married men in academia.

Dividing academic staff by their profession (those affiliated with science and engineering vs those in social science) also disclosed a significant mechanism that structured social relations in interpreting the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs.

Individuals affiliated with science and engineering perceived that the lack of gender equality agendas (gender politics) in recruitment procedures had led to fewer women academics in leadership positions. More specifically:

- An increasing number of women to achieve a better gender balance was considered genuinely necessary, and this could only be enforced by introducing a policy that dictates all recruitment of academic staff to adhere to a gender balance rule in terms of numbers.
- Awareness of gender equality in HLIs was considered as one of the important strategies that emerged with a previous great increase of women in the science and engineering fields and in leadership positions. However, its implementation was not effective or sustainable because it was not reinforced by policies and rules.

Individuals affiliated with social science perceive that gender stereotypes and cultural beliefs about the gendered division of labour contributed to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions.

- They perceived the engineering field and leadership occupations as more relevant to men and that the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions could also be explained by gender stereotypes around the division of labour.

5.4   Conclusion

The spaces of culturally related perceptions, attitudes, norms, values, practices and beliefs in Tanzania have a significant influence on gendered dynamics of power as well as in structuring social relations in HLIs. Differences in the composition of socio-demographic characteristics among individuals in HLIs contribute significantly to their differences in perception and attitude while addressing the problem of gender inequalities. To establish practical gender inclusion strategies and policies in HLIs, a need for recognising and understanding the diverging socio-demographic composition of individual's thought patterns (shared meaning)

about how they perceive their subjective reality is important and relevant. Importantly, the inclusion of women into leadership positions in HLIs is a complex process. To identify the underlying mechanisms (meritocracy, politics and social cultural factors), there is a need to deal with ideas rather than events only, in order to focus on the way the observed mechanisms intersect with gender in ways that are not recognised through the organising of HLIs in Tanzania.

Although universities in Tanzania are traditionally viewed as centres of free thought and change, local specificities that form structures of social relations, gender roles and religious values have a significant intersectional effect on gender differences in career advancements (merits) as well as in formal organisational procedures. Women academics are overwhelmed by many socio-cultural factors ("behind the scenes" network; Latour, 2005) hindering the likelihood that women can secure leadership positions as well as succeed in the process of achieving academic promotions and ranks.

Chapter Six

The paradox of gender policy: Perspectives of women's inclusion and leadership positions

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, spaces of gendered dynamics of power and the pattern of social structures in academia in Tanzania were analysed. The analysis presented shared meanings around socio-cultural practices and opinion embedded within the academic staff and how this varied by socio-demographic strata in perceiving and interpreting the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions. This chapter aims to analyse and evaluate the efficacy of the gender policy in higher learning institutions (HLIs) and its overall context in strategizing women's inclusion into leadership positions by drawing upon experiences and perspectives articulated by the interviewed academic staff in the two HLIs that I have studied.

The hypothesis underlying this analysis assumes that inclusion strategies to increase the number of women in leadership positions in HLIs cannot be effective if the gendered socio-cultural spaces that provide the context of the potential for the inclusion of women are not integrated into gender policies. The inclusion of women conceptually refers to embedded strategies or actions of including women within a group or structure where they were not present or insufficiently represented (de la Rey, 2005). Gender inclusion is operationalised as a comprehensive mechanism of integrating men and women along with their embedded gender roles in a sector, structure or activities to create a culture of gender equality/balance (Unterhalter, 2006).

In this analysis, Organisation Theory, Actor-Network Theory and the adapted Intersectionality approach all outlined in Chapter Three provide a base of knowledge to help understand the interplay of meritocracy, politics and culture in making practical gender policies, gender regulations, ways of how universities deal with gender issues, as well as how such factors account for the paradox of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. Three issues will be explored: 1) explanations underlying meritocracy cover the elements of employment procedures, promotion practices and appointment procedures in HLIs; 2) politics defines the institutional framework, power relation and reinforcement mechanisms such as gender policy and regulations applied in HLIs; and, 3) culture defines spaces of gender roles and the phenomenon of work-family issues experienced by women in academia.

More specifically, Organisation Theory as outlined in Chapter Three provides a base of knowledge in understanding 1) which cultural expectations about gender roles affect the university organisation; 2) how meritocratic procedures may produce gender inequality in HLIs; and 3) how politics play a role in making gender policies and gender regulations in HLIs. The Intersectionality approach is adjusted to inquire how these potential factors (meritocracy, politics and culture) may be interconnected and work as a system in which such factors cannot be examined separately from one another when it comes to suggesting appropriate gender inclusion strategies for leadership promotions in HLIs. Actor-Network Theory is adapted to be relevant for understanding the connection and assemblages of these defined factors (meritocracy, politics and culture), resulting in the construction of practical gender policies in the analysed HLIs and to what extent other gendered socio-cultural parameters/factors do not account for the underrepresentation of women in leadership positions.

Background

The United Republic of Tanzania (URT) is committed to the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action (BPA), the Beijing +5 Political Declaration and Outcome Document, and the Millennium Declaration Goals (MGDs; URT, 2017). Cognisant of the need to set clear targets in each area, the government of Tanzania has decided to concentrate on four initial critical areas of gender concern in order to lay a solid foundation for the implementation of the rest of the areas as well as the MDGs from 2000-2015. In this regard, four main areas were identified. These are the enhancement of women's legal capacity; women's economic empowerment and poverty eradication; women's political empowerment, access to leadership positions and decision-making; and women's access to basic education, higher education, training and employment (URT, 2017).

In 2016, a review and an appraisal of the progress made by the United Republic of Tanzania in the implementation of the four targets was done per the United Nations' questionnaire guidelines. On the whole, the report notes that there have been significant achievements in the implementation of the BPA goals/areas of focus. In the first four critical focus areas, the government identified an achievement of putting in place the National Gender Policy of 2000 and its implementation plans (strategies) in 2003. In this regard, the National Gender Policy has acted as a springboard from which laws and programmes relating to the critical four areas of gender concern have taken off. Thus, for instance, the Constitution of the United Republic was amended in 2004 to provide an increase in women's representation based on proportional

representation. Gender mainstreaming was considered successful in all public sectors, especially in HLIs, and there has been an increase of women's access to higher education, employment in academic positions and leadership positions (URT, 2017).

Despite the existence of gender policies in HLIs in Tanzania, the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions persists (TCU, 2018; TGNP, 2018). Gender blindness and gender insensitivity still exist in recruitment and appointment procedures (TGNP, 2018). This could be an indication that gender inclusion into leadership positions, specifically in HLIs, is conceptualised through a very narrow framework (TGNP, 2018), and therefore inclusion strategies directed at women find little meaningful space in the gender policies (LHRC, 2018; TCU, 2018; TGNP, 2018). These situated constructions of gender mainstreaming (gender policy) provide less gender accountability for women's access to important decision-making positions, and it obscures their respective gendered dynamics of power (LHRC, 2018).

Gender inclusion is socially produced, and its production requires management within a policy framework that should be adhered as terms of reference (Pilcher & Wheelan, 2004). A policy document conceptually refers to a set of principles/regulations or protocols that guide decisions or practices for achieving the intended goal or outcome (Althaus et al., 2007). These are statements of intent and are implemented as a procedure (Hicks et al., 2016). Gender research has indicated a significant relationship between insufficient spaces for women in the organisational structures (following the principles/regulations, procedures or protocols that guide decisions or practices) and the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions in HLIs (Chanana, 2011, 2020; Pinheiro et al., 2015: Shah, 2019: Tamale, 2020).

More specifically, Chanana (2011, 2020) argues that the masculine framework of gender policies in HLIs contributes significantly to a low number of women in leadership positions. Winchester and Browning (2015) recommend a need for improving spaces for women in gender policies to achieve a notable increase of women into leadership positions in universities. Howe-Walsh and Turnbull (2016) conclude that when little is known about women's interests, gender concerns will always find little meaningful space in the procedures of electing or appointing leaders in HLIs.

6.2 Procedure

This analysis uses the indigenous model (an emic approach to the perspectives of insiders) to evaluate the practicability of gender policy in HLIs. The indigenous model suggests the significance of insiders' perspectives in understanding the practical relevance of the policy based on the practitioners' experience (Darling, 2016). In this analysis, opinions and perspectives are explored from the accounts of interviewed academic staff (both men and women) when they were asked to evaluate the effectiveness of specific Gender Policy Articles and their relevance to women's inclusion and gender inclusion strategies related to leadership positions in HLIs. Through this approach, the central evaluation of the gender policy in HLIs and its overall context in strategizing women's inclusion into leadership positions are explored and presented based on interviewees' opinions, experiences and perspectives.

Carol Bacchi's (2009) 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' (WPR) approach, which suggests five important steps for policy analysis, is applied. These include: 1) to introduce the policy; 2) to identify the key themes that constitute a policy; 3) to use the value criteria to unfold relevant themes for analysis; 4) to discuss what is perceived as a problem in the policy (using information explored from the interviews); and 5) to make a recommendation and conclusion.

NVivo software program (cf. Chapter Four) was applied to uncover the relationship between identified key themes from the policy documents and explored opinions from the interviewees. Specifically, Cluster Analysis Technique and Query search method (cf. Chapter Four) were used to pattern each policy theme for the analysis and the explored information from academic staff when they are asked to evaluate how a specific theme (article) in the gender policy is understood, experienced and practised in HLIs.

6.3 Brief description of the National Gender policy and a list of its key themes

There has been only one national gender policy in Tanzania since her independence in 1961. It is named "Women and Gender Development Policy" (WGDP; 2000), and it was established under the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children (MoCDGC). The Ministry was established in 1990 as the national machinery for spearheading gender development in the country. Gender issues in Tanzania gained momentum in the 1990s when the struggle for the emancipation of women was forged through Women in Development (WID) at both the national and international level.

WID was developed through "International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade", which was issued in 1980 influenced Tanzania to form the Ministry of Community Development, Gender and Children (MoCDGC) in 1990. The MoCDGC adopted WID in 1992 as a national gender guideline, locally referred to as WID Tanzania 1992. The MoCDGC's aims were outlined as follows: to define the concept of WID and its relevance in the national development plans; to provide mechanisms for identifying problems arising from national development planning without a gender focus and a guideline that can integrate gender in the national development plans; to identify obstacles hindering the participation of women in development and to direct ways of removing the same; to initiate strategies of establishing a system of reducing women's heavy workload; and, to expound on the ways they will be used in coordinating women development programmes.

From 1992 to 1995, MoCDGC achieved seven goals through the affirmative principles of WID. They include the following: 1) the formation of the first Tanzania Women Organisation (UWT); 2) the introduction of a new system of education, which was geared towards the enrolment of more girls and the establishment of co-education secondary schools to reduce the disparity between the number of girls and boys in secondary schools and HLIs; 3) the introduction of universal education and adult education, aimed at educating the majority of women who did not get access to formal education; 4) the introduction of a system of reviewing all laws which discriminate against women; 5) the strengthening of social service and the introduction of special health service for women (i.e., mother and child health, family planning health); 6) the enabling of Tanzania to become a member of international organisations dealing with women's issues; and, 7) the implementation of international agreements to safeguard the rights of women.

In 1995, the gender activist and politician Gertrude Mongella from Tanzania became the Secretary-General of the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing. The motivation congruent to such representation, the Beijing Conference (1995) had a significant influence on gender issues in Tanzania. More women's voices came out and the government committed to implementing new recommendations for action to ensure full implementation of gender goals made in the Beijing Conference. The government among other efforts initiated a process of forming the National Gender Policy. The establishment of Women and Gender Development Policy (WGDP; 2000) was highly influenced by the Beijing Conference.

The WGDP has aimed to ensure that gender perspectives are mainstreamed in all public policies, programmes and strategies in the country. To achieve this objective, in 2001 the MoCDGC initiated the establishment of gender focal points in all ministries, independent government departments, and regional and local authorities. In 2002, the established gender focal points were made (authorised by law) for gender mainstreaming in their respective plans and programmes. This, together with other legislative, administrative and affirmative actions, resulted in one of the most remarkable achievements in gender development in many public sectors in Tanzania.

Notable areas in this regard are gender issues being integrated into areas where women to a large extent have been excluded, i.e., leadership positions, higher education, science and technology, the labour market, business, politics and other public sectors. Despite having successfully addressed public sectors in 2002, the public sectors and institutional contexts in which gender policy was mainstreamed continued to face many challenges. The challenges were associated with its implementation and how to attain the goal of gender equity and gender equality. In 2003, MoCDGC along with other gender policy stakeholders, i.e., NGOs and gender focal points (all ministries, independent government departments, regional and local authorities), agreed to adopt a strategic plan as terms of reference to overcome implementation challenges experienced due to WGDP (2000). It is in this regard that the National Strategy for Gender Development (NSGD; 2003) was introduced to build on WGDP (2000). The NSGD (2003) document is almost identical to WGDP (2000), but in NSGD, the implementation framework is added.

The rationale for the NSGD (2003) is to guide further implementation of the WGDP (2000), Conventions, Laws and Programmes to achieve gender equality and equity as stipulated in the National Constitution. Article 9 of the Constitution of the United Republic of Tanzania endorses gender equality and equity and guarantees full participation of women and men in social, economic and political life. Alongside with NSGD, the government is also implementing international commitments as enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the Human Rights Declaration (1948), the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW; 1979), the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC; 1989), Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995), African Union (AU) Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality and the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples Rights on the Rights of Women (2003), World Summit 2005 Resolution on Gender Equality and Empowerment of Women, Policy on Women and Gender Development (2000), Southern

African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development (1999), Addendum on Prevention and Elimination of Violence Against Women and Children (1998), and the East African Community (EAC) Treaty (1998).

NSGD (2003) consists of five articles: Article 1 provides a situational analysis of WGDP (2000), the layout of NSGD, gender development in Tanzania, the rationale for NSGD, aims, goals and objectives. Article 2 presents the key themes of gender policy concerns. Article 3 presents its implementation framework. Article 4 is about monitoring and evaluation, and Article 5 presents the logical framework of the NSGD.

Article 2 of the NSGD (2003) outlines twenty major areas of policy concerns (themes). Table 6.1 shows the list as well as policy statements and their underlying sections of the provisions.

Table 6.1: List of the major areas (Key themes) of gender policy concerns in the NSGD

	Areas of Gender Concern	Policy Statement
1	Institutional Framework	Section 2.1.1.2 Capacity of actors to be built in the existing administration and development structures to ensure sustainable collaboration and coordination for proper planning and implementation of gender-based programmes.
2	Decision-Making and Power	Section 2.1.2.2 Women be empowered to enable them to participate fully and equally with men in decision-making at different levels.
3	Legal and Human Rights	Section 2.1.3.2 The legal system be reviewed to take into account women's rights as human rights; laws translated into Kiswahili and popular versions and be made available to communities and other stakeholders.
4	Education	Section 2.1.4.2 Equal access to education be enhanced and ensured for boys and girls, women and men.
5	Training	Section 2.1.5.2 Training opportunities to be enhanced to empower women with skills and abilities that will enable them to effectively participate in socio-economic development.
6	Economic Empowerment	Section 2.1.6.2 A conducive environment be put in place to ensure that women and men are economically empowered and have access to capital and markets.
7	Employment, promotion and appointment	Section 2.1.7.2 Create a conducive environment for equal opportunities in employment, promotion, and appointment to leadership positions for both women and men.
8	General and Reproductive Health	Section 2.1.8.2 Women's access to health care facilities and quality reproductive health care services be ensured.
9	HIV/AIDS	Section 2.1.9.2 Communities be sensitized on HIV/AIDS and its impact with the view to reduce new infections, stigma, and discrimination mitigation.
10	Food Security and Nutrition	Section 2.1.10.2 Measures that are geared to address problems of food insecurity and poor nutrition be promoted.
11	Division of Labour	Section 2.1.11.2 Communities be empowered to articulate equitable division of labour at family and other levels.
12	Information, Education and Communication	Section 2.1.12.2 Information Education and Communication mechanisms to be strengthened and established in the urban and rural areas respectively to facilitate knowledge and experience sharing in matters related to gender equality.
13	Appropriate Technology	Section 2.1.13.2 Communities to be empowered to access and use appropriate technologies in their respective areas.
14	Environmental Protection and Conservation	Section 2.1.14.2 Communities and other stakeholders at all levels be sensitized with respect to the importance of establishing gender balance in environmental management committees, to protect and preserve their surroundings and environment.
15	Access and Ownership of Resources	Section 2.1.15.2 Put in place systems for equal access, control, use and disposal of resources by women and men.
16	Gender Mainstreaming	Section 2.1.16.2 Mainstream gender in all policies, programmes, plans, strategies, budgets and activities to bridge the existing gender gaps at all levels.
17	Gender/Sex Disaggregated Data	Section 2.1.17.2 Ensure availability of gender disaggregated data and provision of guidelines that will enforce compliance to inclusion of gender/sex disaggregated data by actors at all levels.
18	Social Security	Section 2.1.18.2 Social security services be established at all levels.
19	Community Participation	Section 2.1.19.2 Men and women to be empowered to realize their capacity in gender analysis and identification and finding solutions to problems, using available resources, to generate and increase income and raising their standard of living and hence attain sustainable development.
20	Customs and Traditions	Section 2.1.20.2 Create and sustain a society that is free from harmful practices, customs, and traditions.

Sources: NSGD (2003) and URT (2018)

6.4   Identifying policy themes for the analysis

I will use a few relevant outlined key themes of gender policy concerns from the NSGD (cf. Table 6.1) to analyse gender inclusion strategies related to leadership positions in HLIs. The NSGD is broad and extensive, and it was formed to cover all public sectors, including HLIs.

In its mission, Article 3 (about the implementation of the policy), Section 2, reads, "The gender focal points (i.e., all the government ministries, independent government departments, regional, local authorities and public institutions) should adopt and make use of only a few themes of policy concerns from NSGD that best suit their organisations".

I used a purposive sampling procedure to select five themes relevant for analysing gender policy in HLIs. In this approach, a theoretical account, specific objectives of the study and themes that constitute the University of Dar es Salaam Gender Policy (UDSM Gender Policy 2006) were used as value criteria to unfold relevant themes for analysis from the list of NSGD key themes of gender concerns.

From the theory (cf. Chapter Three) and objectives of the study (cf. Chapter One), three factors (meritocracy, politics and culture) were hypothesised to influence gender inclusion with respect to leadership positions: 1) Explanations linked to meritocracy cover *employment procedures, promotion practices, and appointment procedures* in higher learning institutions. 2) Politics defines *the institutional framework, power relations, and reinforcement mechanisms such as gender policy and regulations* applied in higher learning institutions. 3) Culture refers to *spaces of gender roles and the phenomenon of work-family issues* experienced by women in academics. These qualitative themes (italicised above) from the theoretical perspectives of the study correlate with five themes in the list from NSGD (cf. Table 6.1, rows 1, 2, 4, 7 and 16). Moreover, the UDSM Gender Policy of 2006 is constituted with the same qualitative themes derived from NSGD key themes of policy concern (cf. NSGD Article 2, Sections 1, 2, 4, 7, and 16). UDSM Gender Policy of 2006 is used as a case in my study.

Based on this background, five themes (cf. Table 6.2) derived from NSGD are modelled as best fit for the analysis. The identified themes are clearly described by UDSM Gender Policy 2006 and can be replicated by the theoretical perspectives. The identified themes are also appropriate and extensive enough to explore the objectives of the study. Moreover, the data collection tool (interview guide) is sufficiently covered by the identified themes and the themes stand as subheadings of the analysis. Bacchi (2000, 2009) argues that when a researcher manages to specifically use themes derived from the policy as criteria or subheadings to evaluate the policy, it signifies that the identified themes constitute the best fit model for the analysis.

Table 6.2: Identified (relevant) themes for the analysis

	Areas of Gender Concern	Specific areas of analysis	Policy Statement
1	Institutional Framework	Are structures and mechanisms available? Namely, are gender laws, gender regulations or gender policy in higher learning institutions available for attaining the goals and objectives of gender inclusion?	Section 2.1.1.2 Capacity of actors is built in the existing administration and development structures to ensure sustainable collaboration and coordination for proper planning and implementation of gender-based programmes.
2	Decision-Making and Power	Power relation between men and women Focusing on understanding is there any policy or rule that directs gender balance in the decision-making process?	Section 2.1.2.2 Women be empowered to enable them to participate fully and equally with men in decision-making at different levels.
3	Education	Admission and enrolment procedure and specialisations. The key focus is to understand are they gender-sensitive?	Section 2.1.4.2 Equal access to education be enhanced and ensured for boys and girls, women and men.
4	Employment, promotion and appointment	Women still find it difficult to compete with men due to some women's low academic qualifications and stereotyped male domination.	Section 2.1.7.2 Create a conducive environment for equal opportunities in employment, promotion and appointment to leadership positions for both women and men.
5	Gender Mainstreaming	Is gender mainstreamed in higher learning institutions? Are spaces of gender roles recognised in the organisational procedures?	Section 2.1.16.2 Mainstream Gender in all policies, programmes, plans, strategies, budgets and activities to bridge the existing gender gaps at all levels.

6.5 Policy analysis and the explored perspectives from the academic staff

An important point to note about the gender policy in Tanzania is that WGDP (2000) is the national gender policy and the main policy. In this analysis, NSGD (2003) is also referred to because it was formed to succeed and implement the WGDP (2000), and both have the same contents and articles. Likewise, in this analysis, UDSM Gender Policy (2006) is also discussed. Although UDSM is a case study institution, the UDSM Gender Policy constitutes key themes derived from the NSGD (ref. NSGD Article 2, sections 1, 2, 4, 7, 16 and 17). Therefore, by referring to UDSM Gender Policy (Articles), the reflection implicates both NSGD (2003) and the WGDP (2000).

During analysis, the term "policy article" will refer to a specific theme of the policy, and the policy will refer to the whole document, i.e., either NSGD (2003), the WGDP (2000) or UDSM Gender Policy (2006).

Policy article "institutional framework"

The policy-article "institutional framework" focuses on the systems of formal laws and regulations, as well as procedures, informal conventions, customs and norms that shape gender issues and behaviour in HLIs. In HLIs' patriarchal system, customs and traditions that discriminate against women perpetuate gender inequalities. The policy article "institutional framework" is aimed at providing the following directives: to facilitate the equal empowerment of women and men based on merit; to ensure that macro and micro policies are gender-sensitive; to ensure that the legal framework is gender-sensitive; to strengthen institutional mechanisms for gender development; and to ensure that adequate resources are available to address gender inequalities and the implementation of policies, strategies, plans and programmes (URT, 2018). In this context, the administration is argued to be the key actor of the policy article (URT, 2018).

The "institutional framework" is stipulated in NSGD (2003) under Section 2.1.1.2, which states, "Capacity of actors be built in the existing administration and development structures to ensure sustainable collaboration and coordination for proper planning and implementation of gender-based programmes". This statement directs HLIs to put in place structures and mechanisms that can facilitate the attainment of the goals and objectives of gender equality in all sectors, departments, professions, specialisations and in leadership positions where women are few or absent. The structures referred herein are the institutional gender laws, gender regulations and gender policy.

When this policy article was presented for evaluation to the academic staff at the University of Dar es Salaam, it was immediately noted that there was an ongoing debate which focused on the question of whether gender equity and gender equality stipulated in the national gender policy as well as in the UDSM Gender Policy were meant to support the inclusion of women into leadership positions or treating men and women equally in the search procedures related to the appointment of leaders. This query has been seen as contentious among many of the project's interviewees, especially the women.

> We have a gender policy at the University of Dar es Salaam which was adopted in 2006. I have read it several times. Its core values are gender equality and gender equity aimed at ensuring that both women and men are considered equal and treated equally in terms of dignity, rights, procedures and opportunities. I consider this to be wrong, since we cannot be treated equally. We are not the same as men, and we have different needs. The gender policy has not clearly described women's needs and how to accommodate them. I consider this to be one of the major problems of the policy. (woman professor social science)

The concept of gender equality and gender equity in the policy was pronounced by the interviewee as ambiguous, since it silences women's needs and does not embrace the affirmative actions that are important for supporting women's inclusion.

According to the interviewee, the philosophy of equity and equality, as it is applied in the policy, does not recognise the individual differences and their special needs. When reviewing exactly what is defined in the policy, the University of Dar es Salaam's Gender Policy Section 1.2.1 describes gender equality as an idea that no individual should have fewer opportunities, less access to resources and benefits or fewer human rights than others. Likewise, Section 1.2.2 defines gender equity as the quality of being fair, just and giving rights to both women and men (UDSM Gender Policy, 2006). The policy is not fully clear or well defined, and it does not give a clear descriptive interpretation of how women and men can be treated equally considering their different social roles.

Although meritocracy has been culturally accepted as a platform of the institutional framework in defining gender equality and gender equity in HLIs, most interviewees believed that meritocracy constitutes chances of gender disparities. They moreover believe that when cultural expectations about gender roles are not clearly defined or made an integral part of meritocratic procedures of the gender policies (i.e., the employed concept of gender equality and gender equity in the article), women continue to experience exclusions within the existing organisational structures. The intersectionality of gender, politics, culture and meritocracy thus appears relevant and significant in shaping gender inclusion policies in practice.

The other policy concern raised by the interviewees was a query about equality and equity in terms of numbers.

> Our gender policy is theorised, based on equal access, "equality and equity", but these values have not been operationalised in terms of numbers. This is a significant gap in between. We proposed several amendments to our gender policy, but changes haven't been in place. In 2010, the university came up with a strategy of 'one-third' (meaning that at least one third of academic staff should be women). Again, this hasn't been proclaimed as mandatory. Likewise, we criticised that 'one-third' doesn't reflect the slogan of equality and equity, they need to balance the numbers. (woman academic, social science)

The significance of the numerical distribution between men and women at the level of recruitment was identified as important. According to the interviewee, measures to redress gender inequality in HLIs are not well stipulated in the Gender Policy. The ambiguity according to the interviewee was related to the lack of appropriate mechanisms to operationalise gender equality and equity in terms of balanced numbers. The ratio of one-third portrays neither a

qualitative nor a quantitative meaning of equality or equity. The interpretation of this finding implies that there is a significant link between numbers as a domain factor and the refined tools (meritocracy, culture and politics) to potentially explain practical gender inclusion strategies in HLIs.

The key interviewee at the University of Dar es Salaam argued that the concept of gender equality and equity in the policy-article was more related to qualitative appeal than numbers:

> We received several critiques from gender activist groups concerning the essence of gender equality and equity stipulated in the gender policy and its contradictions. We had a limited authority to revise the essence from qualitative to quantitative. What has been done in the UDSM Gender Policy (2006), Section 1.4 (about goal and objectives) in objective number two, is that we have in brackets added a new definition of equity and equality treatment. (key interviewee, University of Dar es Salaam).

To counteract the potential criticism from gender activist groups, the university administration with a limited authority made a simple amendment of the policy article to clarify the contradictory meaning of gender equality and gender equity. The UDSM Policy (2006), Section 1.4, number 2 (about the objective) reads as follows:

> Providing guidelines that will facilitate equality and equity of opportunities for women and men in terms of accessing knowledge, employment opportunities, leadership positions, services and resources as well as equality and equity of treatment by employers and all service providers at this university. [Equality and equity of treatment means meeting specific and distinct needs of different categories of men and women].

Although the proposed amendments to the policy were well received, it was noticed by the key interviewee that the administration had a limited authority. This indicates that there is also a question about who is responsible for making gender policies in HLIs and who is responsible to make amendments of the policy if circumstances dictate.

This phenomenon involves elements of power relations as well as the underlying elements of actants with agency. It indicates that the mechanism for amending the gender policy or a policy article is associated with multi-agency links of a diverse set of limited powers (i.e., the government, institutions that govern universities, the national constitution, national laws, administration in HLIs and academic staff).

The HLIs in Tanzania are allowed by law to formulate their gender policies based on their needs. The translation of this is based on Article 2 of NSGD. The article demands gender policies to comply with national laws. The Tanzania Commission for Universities directs HLIs to integrate gender policy in their procedures as mandatory only if it is stipulated and defined

under the National Constitution or a national law governing HLIs (TCU, 2018). The interpretation of this order means that gender policies introduced in HLIs can be implemented if and only if they comply with national laws and the constitution. This could also be a case of arguing that gender issues that are not stipulated by national laws cannot be imposed or introduced as a policy or a policy article in HLIs. This argument was partly verified during an interview with the key interviewee at the University of Dodoma.

> We do not have in place any gender policy as a separate document at the University of Dodoma. This doesn't mean gender issues are not taken into account. After all, we are not allowed to make our policies different from other universities. We are directed to adopt what is stipulated in the national gender policy (NSGD) or URT constitution. I know the University of Dar es Salaam has a gender policy, but that is the same as the national gender policy. (key interviewee, UDOM)

As the key interviewee points out, the rationale for the gender policy that redresses gender inequality in HLIs is not originating within universities. This means that the HLIs can either create a similar gender policy to that of NSGD or use the URT constitution and NSGD directly.

> The universities are allowed to translate the national policy or gender articles from the national constitution and contextualise them in their daily operation. Before coming here, I worked at the University of Dar es Salaam, and I remember a review of major UDSM policies from a gender perspective (2003), an assessment of UDSM gender-based violence (2004) and currently UDSM Anti-Sexual Harassment Policy — all these are examples. We are also about to do the same, but the policy must reflect the central government strategies. (key interviewee, UDOM)

The argument from the key interviewee suggests that politics play a vital role in changing or making gender policies in HLIs. Political influence is important when HLIs intend to effectively strategize strong measures for facilitating women's inclusion in leadership positions. The National Gender Policy and the National Constitution are both political structures. This is also verified by how gender policy at the University of Dar es Salaam was formulated. Section 1.1.1 of the UDSM Gender Policy says that "UDSM Gender Policy is a result of a long process and represents the culmination of various stakeholders and structures. The articles (themes) of the UDSM Gender Policy are derived from the National Constitution".

Article 9 of the National Constitution (URT, 1977) provides the directives for the recognition of human rights. It requires all the public institutions to provide equal opportunities for men and women. This is mandatory, and it stands as a national value (law). However, no details are provided about how to implement it. Article 21 of the National Constitution also asserts that every citizen of the United Republic of Tanzania (URT, 1977) has a right to participate in

governance and leadership, and it directs institutions to provide equal opportunity and equal terms and conditions to hold any public office. This is also legislatively mandatory. In Article 21 of the Constitution, gender is not mentioned and no details for implementation of gender policies are provided.

Given the discussed context, the HLIs have a role and mandate to establish and implement a gender policy which would be consonant with the national instruments (i.e., National Constitution and NSGD). Furthermore, they are obliged to promote gender equality, equity and women's empowerment subject to national instruments as a standard value. This phenomenon to some extent conflicts with a need to amend the policy articles (statements of the policy) to best fit current needs and demands. Some interviewees blamed the government's set up for being a barrier to making practical gender policies in HLIs.

> The University of Dar es Salaam has competent gender experts who can make a very practical and well-defined gender policy. What makes our gender policy impractical and unchangeable is the centralised system that characterises our government. The central government makes the policy. We are instructed by the government as to what should be in our gender policy. Should this condition change, the specific needs of women in academics will be encountered. (woman academic, science)

The explanation given by the interviewee links with an interplay of meritocracy, culture and politics. The implication of informing that the university has the competent gender experts indicates a preference of using a social system in which merit is trusted as a standard criterion to make a practical gender policy in HLIs. Likewise, the argument given by the interviewee relating impractical gender policies and the centralised system that characterises the government implicates embedded socio-cultural factors as actants that limit women's inclusion (i.e., women unfriendly centralised government systems or gender policies formed through top-down government systems, which do not capture the lived experiences of women in academia). Moreover, politics is another set of actants. According to the interviewee, the central government makes the gender policy and instructs what should be in institutional gender policies.

The Government of Tanzania amended the 1977 Constitution in 2000 in order to, among other things, increase women's participation in the National Parliament, local authorities and public institutions. The amendment of the National Constitution led to the establishment of the Women and Gender Development Policy (WDGP; 2000) and the National Strategy for Gender Development (NSGD). Since her first National Gender Policy in 2000, no amendments of the policy have been made. The procedures for constituting the national policies are centralised.

Therefore, it is difficult to amend them from lower levels. This has provided some limitations to HLIs' ability to either make their own gender policies or amending the national gender policy to suit their context. This suggests a need to influence a political agenda for the best interest of improving gender policies.

> Our political regime is not out of the patriarchal system. The language used specifically in our URT constitution and our national gender policy hide the gendered nature of women's exclusions, especially in higher learning institutions. Gender neutrality aspects do not give space to recognise women's special needs. Neutrality is patriarchy as such. It suggests men and women will be treated on equal terms while knowing that by doing so, men will eventually become advantaged. This is a problem (woman academic, social science)

The political regime is argued to be a patriarchal system. The implications of the gender neutrality aspects "equality and equity" portrayed in the policy article "institutional framework" silence the reality of the gendered nature of women's exclusions in HLIs. According to the interviewed women academics, presumed neutrality is patriarchal as it serves men's interest. Thus, they had a perception that the government does not pay attention to women's needs in changing social institutions that structure the gendered exclusion culture. This is also another perspective that reflects the need for focus on changing unspoken forms of organisational structures, hierarchies and procedures that prioritise men, so that they accommodate the realities of women's lives.

Policy article "Decision-making and power relations"

The policy article "decision-making and power relations" focuses on how women are involved in the top leadership positions and decision-making bodies in HLIs. The rationale for this policy article is to highlight the importance of women's inclusion in the decision-making bodies. The situational analysis that provides the background of this policy article is that in HLIs, women are still inadequately represented in the decision-making processes at all levels, despite affirmative actions taken by the government in the past years (referring Article 9 of the National Constitution).

Section 2.1.2.2 in the NSGD (2003) says, "Women be empowered to enable them to participate fully and equally with men in decision-making at different levels". Power relations between men and women are emphasised, and the policy (NSGD) directs all public institutions to ensure gender balance in the decision-making.

The specific objective of this policy-article was to ensure that women's access to decision-making would change and that more women were appointed to higher positions of decision-

making roles in compliance with national laws and government commitments to international conventions to reach the target of minimum 50 per cent women leaders by 2015. This target was not achieved in HLIs. Women are still inadequately represented in the decision-making process at all top levels.

When this policy article was introduced during interviews, several interviewees indicated an interest to evaluate it. The policy article seemed to be very familiar to many interviewees, and it was interesting to both men and women. The first argument about the policy-article was associated with the patriarchal structures that treat women as outsiders and men as insiders.

> Our situation could have been changed if a significant number of women could have been given a chance in the University Senate or Council. These are key and top decision-making levels at the University. Unfortunately, we are not there. We are outsiders. Women constitute less than 20 per cent in both the Senate and the University Council. To make any change in policy or procedures, only the senate or council is authorised. To make a decision, the Senate or Council members vote. Imagine, more than 80 per cent are men. Who then stands for women's interests? (woman academic, engineering)

The distinction between "insiders" and "outsiders" plays a distinctive role in interpreting the relationship between men and women in terms of power relations in this context. Usually, those who are a minority could be positioned as purely outsiders, while those with a much larger number have the features of the insider. According to the interviewee, the implications of women being a minority provided them with limited power to influence decision-making, for men dominated the majority, thereby lowering the chances of women's voices to be heard and honoured.

However, in the UDSM Gender Policy (2006), the second paragraph of Article 2.5 admits:

> There is an unequal opportunity for women and men in the UDSM senior leadership positions, both academic and administrative, including the key policy-making organs such as the Senate and the Council. This is also visible in student leadership. Generally, the university top and middle management structures are dominated by men.

In response to Section 2.5, the policy statement in the Article Section 2.5.2 states:

> UDSM shall institute gender-responsive structures and processes by putting in place mechanism for increased women's participation (at least 30 per cent as per institutional policy) in governance and management process but with a long-term goal of attaining the 50/50 per cent for both women and men (staff and students).

However, one of the interviewees testified that no significant change had been realised.

> In 2005 we had no gender policy, and women's representation in leadership and top decision-making positions at the university was less than 20per cent. In 2006, we had a

gender policy in place and aimed to increase the number of women in leadership positions and in top decision-making positions to at least 30 per cent. Today, it is almost 12 years since we got a gender policy, and there still has been no change. Statistics (UDSM 2018) indicates that women are fewer than 20 per cent in top leadership positions and decision-making positions. What I see is that we are lacking plans of actions in our gender policy to meet the objectives of the policy. (woman academic, science)

Despite the fact that the gender policy requires that there at least should be 30 per cent women in top leadership positions, it has not been effective and the policy has not been not implemented. According to the interviewee, women's representation in both leadership and top decision-making positions is below men's. Women are underrepresented. The circumstances of men's domination in leadership positions and top decision-making positions is associated with a lack of proper implementation strategies of the policy article. This could also mean that there are some forms of gendered dominance (patriarchy) in social arrangements within HLIs which are opaque and constitute barriers to the translation of the gender policy's vision, mission and goals to be achieved within a specific time. Gender policy at the University of Dar es Salaam does not have a mission with a clear a time frame to be implemented.

I remember that when the national gender policy didn't work, the ministry made a strategic plan of action to implement it. Likewise, it could be practical if we initiate a sort of action plan in our Gender Policy. We are lacking action plans to build on our gender policy, and probably we need to have an implementation audit to evaluate the achievement of the policy goals. We got a policy of 50/50 but no feedback about what we did achieve since we introduced it. (man academic, science)

Implementation audit is identified as one of the tools that might facilitate the understanding of how goals of the policy or specific policy article have been reached or not. According to the interviewee, the effect of a policy statement cannot be measured if there are no means or mechanisms to evaluate it. This argument is similar to Carol Bacchi's and Susan Goodwin (2016) post-structural analysis of policy. According to Bacchi and Susan, a critical evaluation of the policies or a policy statement involves asking questions about the expected visions, missions, and assumptions they rely upon, why they have been made, what their effects are, implementation strategy, and time frame to achieve it, as well as how they could be unmade.

The policy article seemed to be well understood by the interviewees, but the obstacles remain in methods of implementation. Article 2.5.3, part one, of the UDSM Gender Policy reads:

To define female target percentage to move UDSM to reach 50/50 gender ratio in leadership positions and membership in decision-making organs. The target that may vary from one unit to another should be revised after a specified period so that by the year 2010

at least 50 per cent of top leadership positions, heads of department and student leadership shall be female.

Although the UDSM Gender policy had set a timeframe and a target to achieve, the objective has neither been implemented nor achieved.

> The policy statement is very clear about the goal of '50/50'. The challenge is that there are no measures or strict conditions for holding office bearers accountable for not implementing the policy article. The policy is silenced by office-bearers. That's why [there have been] no changes, no improvements. (woman academic, science)

Office-bearers were said to be one of the barriers in the implementation of the gender policy. The concern, according to the interviewee above, is that the university lacks the mechanisms to hold office-bearers accountable or have them punished if gender goals are not met on time, whether it be due to their slow actions or their insufficient attention to putting in place affirmative actions. Despite having in place the UDSM Gender Policy of 2006, the authority (administration) is blamed for failing to implement the policy.

> The fact is, the time frame set by the policy was very short. A series of other procedures need to be implemented before. To make the 50/50 policy possible, it needs to strategize an increase of women in the pool first. The number of women in academia is low. (key interviewee, UDSM)

Implementation of the policy article needs to involve a chain of procedures and networking with other stakeholders. The key interviewee was more concerned with the extensive mechanisms associated with other procedures to make the 50/50 policy succeed. To increase the number of women in leadership positions would require an increase in the number of women academic staff. At the same time, getting strategies in place for enrolling more women students into higher education, especially in the science and engineering fields where there are very few women compared to other fields was considered important.

This observation provides some clues that gender policy that directs gender balance in terms of ratio or numbers cannot be realised when women are few, while at the same time there are no strategies in place to facilitate the inclusion of women.

> What I can say is that a 50/50 policy cannot possibly be implemented. We have very few qualified women for higher positions. We have only one female professor at the university. She is a director of research and postgraduate studies. It just happened that my position does not need to be an academic staff; otherwise, I would not have qualified for it. I strongly argue a need for extra efforts to let more women in; they are not there to make a balance of 50/50. (key interviewee, UDOM)

This argument is similar to the argument from the key interviewee at the University of Dar es Salaam. The lower number of women in academia in general contributes significantly to the slow implementation of the 50/50 policy in HLIs. This suggests that to make the policy of 50/50 successful, there is a need to establish strategies that can facilitate an increased number of women students in higher education, of women academics and of women promoted to high professional ranks; moreover, there is a need for ensuring that women's inclusion in leadership positions is achieved within a reasonable time frame.

A different perspective was explored during a focus group discussion at the University of Dodoma.

> Women in HLIs have no network or union, and this explains their low lobbying force and poor networking with other women's associations. It could have been very easy to influence the administration for the implementation of 50/50 policy as a group. Networking with other women's associations could also give a strong force from all directions and consequently immediate measures could have been taken to implement the policy. (man academic, science)

The common refrain of the focus group discussion is that not all policy articles/statements can be put into practice without influence. Arguably, women in academia should form a group and expand their network with other women's associations or NGOs to collectively influence the implementation of the policy. According to the participants, the associations, community-based organisations and NGOs play an important role in networking and complementing government initiatives towards women's advancement, women's empowerment and the implementation of gender policies. Examples that were mentioned centred on the active coalition of NGOs dealing with gender development and support for women (FEMACT). The "Umoja wa Wanawake Tanzania" (UWT) is a political party affiliated organisation which plays a key role and has continued to be involved in coordinating women's issues as well as supporting women in influencing a political agenda.

There are other professional women's organisations dealing with specific areas, such as the Women's Legal Aid Centre (WLAC), the Federation of Association of Women Entrepreneurs in Tanzania (FAWETA), the Equal Opportunities for All Trust Fund (EOTF), the Tanzania Women Lawyers' Association (TAWLA), the Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), the Tanzania Association of Women Leaders in Agriculture and Environment (TAWLAE), the Tanzania Media Women's Association (TAMWA) and the Women's Advancement Trust (WAT) (TGNP, 2019). All these organisations could have been playing a role in influencing the strengthening and implementation of the policy article. Amongst these

organisations, only TGNP has played a significant role in researching gender in HLIs, but it has not been approached to influence the implementation of the policy (ibid).

It was also discussed in the focus group that another way of implementing the policy article would be to conduct action research, focusing on the specific policy article.

> It is a fact that action research is needed not only to provide a solution for an existing problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions but also to provide detailed information about how to manage women's inclusion in the decision-making board by actions. Action research could also stand as an implementation method of the policy article. Action research can also give a space for defining the policy-article in a detailed and practical form as well as revealing new ways of improving the policy based on contextual needs. (man academic, science)

Thus, action research was identified by the interviewee as another tool relevant for implementing the policy article as well as achieving the policy goals. According to the focus group participants, action research is relevant in academic institutions as it helps to deal with issues that in one way or another seem to be unimplementable. Action research provides transformative change through the simultaneous process of taking action to implement the policy and doing research to identify new inclusion strategies to get more women into leadership positions.

Policy article "Access to higher education and gender sensitisation"

The policy article entitled "access to higher education and gender sensitization" is focused on how to strategize women's access into higher education, into science and engineering and how gender is included as a topic within university curricula.

The underlying background of the policy article is that in Tanzania existing attitudes still follow gender stereotypes by favouring education for boys over girls in most communities. As a result, most girls tend to end up with lower levels of education and concentrate on less valued fields of study, such as home economics, secretarial courses and nursing. In Tanzania, the structure of the formal education and training system is based on one or two years of pre-school, seven years of primary education, four years of junior secondary education, two years of senior secondary education (i.e., middle school) and at least three years of tertiary education (higher education/university).

The URT report (2018) indicates that girls outnumber boys from pre-primary school to junior secondary levels (54 per cent and 46 per cent, respectively). After junior secondary school education, a massive number of girls do not proceed to senior high school. A few will join the

less valued fields of education, such as home economics, secretarial courses, teachers in primary schools and assistant nursing. Others will drop from schooling completely and get married. The URT report (2018) also indicates the percentage ratio of girls and boys, respectively, is 40 per cent and 60 per cent in senior secondary education, and 33 per cent and 67 per cent in tertiary (higher/university) education. The associated reasons for such a trend include an unfriendly learning environment for girls, gender-biased curricula, and social and cultural values which are resistant to change with respect to girls' education.

Section 2.1.4.2 in the NSGD stipulates, "Equal access to education and gender knowledge [should] be enhanced and ensured for boys and girls, women and men". The objective of this policy article is to eradicate existing stereotypes and attitudes, which favour gender divisions in acquiring higher education and gender divisions in the choice of specialisations. The NSGD directs the HLIs to provide guidelines that will facilitate equal access to knowledge and choice of specialisations. A guideline for the universities should be established to make them take actions in redressing the historical gender imbalances, and such guidelines should include affirmative action policies. Also, the universities must take initiatives that can increase the number of women in areas and fields with a fewer number of women than men.

When this policy-article was presented in the interviews, many interviewees could not differentiate between activities initiated before the formulation of the policy article and after the implementation of the policy article.

> We had a special entry program for female students enrolled in science and engineering. This program was funded by the Swedish government. The entry points were lowered for female students and they had a special crash programme for three months. This program made a remarkable increase of female students in science and engineering. Unfortunately, this wasn't sustainable, since it was a donor project of five years. I do not know why the government did not manage to continue it. Probably no budget was allocated to implement it. But this was a very good strategy to implement the policy. (man academic, engineering)

The effect of the of the special entry program for women students was identified by the primary interviewee as 1) a very good strategy initiated by the Swedish government that facilitated to implement the policy article, and 2) a remarkable mechanism that facilitated the realisation of the policy article especially in science and engineering fields in HLIs. On the other hand, the interviewee linked the unsustainability of the program to the lack of budget allocation from the government (a political function which entails the distribution and allocation of resource).

The connection between the special entry program for women students and women in leadership positions in HLIs redress the initiative to increase the number of women academics

who became potential candidates for leadership positions in HLIs. This initiative, according to the interviewee above, was one of the best strategies. It proved to be effective and a good result of the policy article. A remarkable increase of women in science and engineering was noted.

On the contrary, when interviewing a key interviewee at the University of Dar es Salaam, a question about a special entry program was presented to verify if it was part of the implementation of the policy. According to the key interviewee,

> A special entry program for women students in science and engineering started in 1998 before the formation of the WGDP (2000), and it ended in 2003 before the UDSM Gender Policy 2006. Therefore, the program was not part of the implementation of the gender policy article.

Although the special entry program for the women students was considered a part of the implementation of the policy, the key interviewee at the University of Dar es Salaam explained that the policy was extensive. It needed to involve other stakeholders outside the University for its implementation. According to the key interviewee, "In 2003, the implementation of the policy based on NSGD directs universities 1) to ensure adequate and available gender-sensitive teaching and learning materials, and 2) to ensure increased enrolment rate and retention for female-students". He clarified that the first step was implemented at the university level. He also explained that the University of Dar es Salaam

> has introduced gender courses (module 1 and 2), [which] are compulsory for all first and second-year students. The objective of the courses is to sensitise all university students to gender issues. Also, the university has established the Institute of Gender Studies, aimed to widen spaces of gender research and to facilitate gender consultancy professionally. The institute has a role to establish a gender network with stakeholders outside the university. The second aspect of the policy article is about the retention of the female students. This part is not fully implemented at the university level. The government employs, but not the university. The university can only advise if circumstance dictates. In general, the university is understaffing academics, [so] we are also bargaining with the government to employ more academic staff. It is not in our capacity. (key interviewee, UDSM)

The employment of academic staff is controlled and processed by the government through the Ministry of Civil Servants. This bureaucratic protocol limits the universities' ability to implement the policy article of retaining women students. The university's role in this protocol is to suggest who they want to be recruited, but the government makes the final decision based on the national budget. According to the key interviewee, the policy article is also focused on changing attitudes to erode gender stereotyping and any forms of gender discrimination. To implement that, the university has made gender courses within Development Studies compulsory to all undergraduate students in their first and second years. The curriculum of the

course is focused on changing gender stereotypical attitudes. Also, the university has established the Institute of Gender Studies for research and work to increase the sensitivity towards gender issues. One of the core functions of the Institute of Gender Studies is to implement the articles of the gender policy and to establish a link with other gender stakeholders for the best interest of influencing a political agenda and the implementation of the gender policy in a professional way.

During an interview with the key interviewee at the University of Dodoma, a question about the implementation of a policy-article was introduced. A different perspective was revealed:

> We have a different approach to the implementation of the policy article, due to the concern raised at the University of Dodoma concerning fewer number of women academics. That probably could be the same experience in other universities too. Gender courses are taught by women, and this to some extent gives an assumption that gender has something to do with women and hence its teaching and objectives belong to the women's domain/group. This situation has contributed to limited gender responsiveness in the implementation of the gender policy. To overcome such a challenge, our approach is to engage more men academics and men students as key actors. (key interviewee, UDOM)

The key interviewee at the University of Dodoma admitted that although the majority of the courses/programmes, particularly those in hard sciences, at the University of Dodoma still were not gender sensitive, the university was planning to strengthen the gender syllabus. They wanted to make it user-friendly and continue to make it compulsory to all undergraduate students across all the fields. According to the key interviewee, gender blindness and gender insensitivity still exist in teaching, research and consultancy at the University of Dodoma. However, they were concerned that most of the gender courses were taught by women, and this phenomenon provided the university with a push to revive their strategy to make men academics and men students' key actors and part of the implementation of the policy article more often.

The University of Dodoma had not done much with gender issues and most of the academic staff had little information about gender policies. This is different from what was experienced at the University of Dar es Salaam. At the University of Dar es Salaam, the academic staff in science and engineering had made a project to implement the gender policy article:

> We have made a plan to visit girls' secondary schools and to give awareness, motivation and encouragement to girl students to aim for higher education, specifically in science and engineering. These information sessions will involve only women academics from engineering and science. We aim to inspire girls and empower them with the confidence that women can be engineers. We will present our stories. Also, we will introduce the

content of our courses and how to select science and engineering courses at the time when they seek admission at the university. This is how we have planned to implement the policy, and administration agreed to support us with transport. (woman academic, engineering)

The implementation of the policy involves measures that can be initiated from individuals as well as at the institutional and government levels. According to the interviewee, the policy also aims to provide information dissemination to girl students who are about to join the university. This could also mean that the University is being challenged to network with high schools. Currently, there is no direct network.

According to the interviewee, they had decided to focus on girls because despite government efforts to improve the rights of girls, especially through ensuring access to primary, secondary and tertiary education, they continue to face a lot of constraints in achieving their rights and proper education. From the family level, schoolgirls have often been subjected to child labour, rigorous domestic chores and harmful traditional practices (i.e., early marriage). The challenge according to the interviewee was to identify strategies to reach the parents and guardians of the schoolgirls. This could encourage women students to join higher education.

The policy article "Employment, promotion and appointment"

The policy article "employment, promotion and appointment" is focused on the recognition of gender roles and the embedded difference between men and women that should be taken into account in the formal recruitment, promotion and appointment procedures. The background of the policy informs that women still find it difficult to compete with men due to some women's socio-cultural barriers in achieving academic qualifications, weak career progress, stereotyped domination of men and inadequate recognition by employers of women's triple burden — namely, the reproductive, productive and other socially assigned roles that women hold in society.

Section 2.1.7.2 in the NSGD (2003) stipulates, "Create a conducive environment for equal opportunities in employment, promotion and appointment to leadership positions for both women and men". The NSGD directs the HLIs to initiate measures that will sensitise the academic community to value the triple role undertaken by women. Gender planning in HLIs should recognise that women have a triple role in society. Women undertake reproductive work (i.e., domestic work, child caring and rearing, adult care, caring for the sick, and other domestic work), productive work (formal employment), and community work (i.e., daily activities primarily undertaken by women at the community level). Men, on the other hand, primarily undertake productive and community work.

In this situation, to reduce the triple burden faced by women, HLIs are pressured to adjust the strict rules in the recruitment process, during promotions and in the appointment to leadership positions to best accommodate women and their challenging situation.

When the policy article was presented to the interviewees, some women academics indicated they were not comfortable with ways in which the policy article was interpreted and implemented. To implement this policy article, HLIs considered lowering the standard criteria for women when it came to promotion and appointment.

> This policy is good in terms of its content and that it recognises women's triple roles, [which] is truly a major barrier to women's progress in their career development, their promotion and their aspiration into leadership positions. I completely disagree with its implementation. The university wanted to lower the criteria for women, this is not correct. We are not incapable of meeting the criteria. We just need a friendly working environment and conditions that favour our triple roles. (woman academic, science)

This interviewee's preference that the promotion standards and criteria should be the same for men and women represents the mindset of many of the women academics who were interviewed. On the other hand, the interviewee's perception of both how the policy article was interpreted and the implementation initiatives indicates conflicting perspectives. According to the interviewee, the content of the policy-article appears to be relevant and important for women in academia. However, the interviewee disagreed with the implementation approach initiated by the university. According to her, along with some other women academics who were interviewed, lowering promotion criteria would be just another aspect of gender stigmatisation and stereotyping.

> It is far better for women to be underrepresented in leadership positions than being in a leadership position by favour. The policy doesn't say so. But the way it is presented, it looks like women are favoured. If you accept a favour, there will be no respect. Our leadership will be perceived as a robot and men as controllers. To become a leader is not about a favour; it is a totality of merits, behaviour, personality, vision and ability to lead. In this patriarchal society, we need to demonstrate our abilities and not inferiority. We are skilled, and we are leaders as well. We are not there because the doors are closed; if they open, we can enter by our own feet. (woman academic, social science)

Merit-based promotions and appointments to leadership positions were considered to be a significant event in women's professional career. The phrase "doors are closed" refers to social cultural and political limitations faced by women when aspiring for leadership positions in higher learning institutions. According to the interviewee, women in academia were also capable and qualified to take leadership positions in the same way as men, and they should be treated similarly. The approach to "favour" women was a misinterpretation of the policy. The

policy directs the university to be considerate in terms of the socio-cultural environment and rectify the historical imbalance through affirmative actions.

> I was consulted by the administration requesting that I, as one among leaders [of the Institute of Gender Studies], along with other gender stakeholders, advise the university on how this policy article can be effectively implemented. I would like to admit that I and my colleagues thought and agreed that, for the sake of this initial stage, all means to enable women into leadership positions are relevant, including the possibilities of giving favour to women [to lower the criteria or take a woman when it happens her competitor is a man with the same qualifications]. The first approach (to lower the criteria) hasn't been perceived positively by women. However, the second approach (take a woman when it happens her competitor is a man with the same qualification) is what the university is implementing now. (woman academic, social science)

When the wide scope of creating means for facilitating women's inclusion into leadership positions is to be highlighted, the interviewee argued that a range of other critical perspectives should be expected to emerge. According to the interviewee, all means to enable women's access to leadership positions were relevant, including the possibilities of giving favour to women. This abstraction by the interviewee complies with feminist ideological insight and a focus in which credence is eventually given to fulfil the needs of women as a vulnerable group that often remains invisible or neglected by the system.

The university administration has instructed search teams that when making any shortlist of candidates, they must consider gender balance as much as possible in the names that they want to recommend. Moreover, if any woman candidate approaches the cut-off point for the selection, that candidate must be given priority. The implication is not that women academics are incapable, but rather that given women's triple roles, reaching such a minimum criterion shows strength.

Likewise, women academics accept the use of the word favour in the policy article for the sake of facilitating strategies that will enable women to achieve the promotion criteria.

> The policy says that to promote equal access, this means that consideration of favour should be on areas that facilitate women to achieve qualifications or criteria for appointment. We need a favour, such as getting special funds for conducting research and publications. We need a favour for reducing teaching workload to give us more time for publications. We also need a favour of adjusting all university programmes and teaching to be within working hours. For now, we have classes, for example, at 8:00 in the evening. This doesn't favour our situation. I wonder why are these people thinking about lowering criteria. The policy does not mean so. (woman professor, science)

The perspectives explored from the interviewee above indicates a significant appeal to counter the misinterpretation of the word "favour" used in the policy article. This relates with Carol Bacchi's (2009) argument to policy researchers that the use of appropriate language is vital for understanding the policy statement. According to Bacchi, a statement or a word that fits the definition of a social problem can create public attention or create a policy problem if not effectively used or contextualised to fit the socio-cultural environment of the society. During the interviews, many of the interviewees strongly criticised the approach to "favour" that involved lowering criteria for women. Instead, they recommended an explicit definition of what a favour implies when the policy article is to be implemented and realised. On the other hand, as a struggle over alternative realities, the interviewee quoted above accepted the use of the word "favour" in the policy article for the sake of helping women achieve the criteria. The areas identified as acceptable "favours" includes: 1) getting special funds for conducting research and publications; 2) reducing their teaching workload to give women more time for publishing; and, 3) adjusting all university programmes and teaching to be within working hours, since having classes at 8:00 in the evening was a challenge for women.

Similar arguments were explored during the focus group discussion at the University of Dodoma. According to the participants, there is a need for amending the policy article by adding a definition that explicitly responds to the major critique of the word "favour" used in the policy article. The critique of the word "favour" as it is used now observed that current practice contradicted the university's values.

> I think we need a policy that reflects the university values. To lower criteria for only women doesn't make sense and it does not empower women. This is gender stereotyping and stigmatisation. And it is against the university values. The appropriate way is to form strategies to provide women in academia with a conducive environment to achieve the criteria. (man academic, science)

 In line with the woman professor quoted above, the focus group participants accepted that "favour" can be mentioned in the policy article without this affecting the university's values, meaning that what stands as a favour does not imply a lowering of criteria but rather a conducive environment for women to fulfil the promotion criteria. In this way, the word "favour" in the policy article can be used to suggest many mechanisms that can facilitate short-term and long-term inclusion of women.

The policy article "Gender mainstreaming"

The policy article "Gender mainstreaming" is focused on strategies that the higher learning institutions have initiated to bridge gender gaps in their respective institutions. The underlying background of this policy article is that the social relations between men and women are patriarchal. The social relations have shaped the division of gender roles, which are influenced by socio-cultural and traditional practices. This situation extends to HLIs, and they have an impact on women's participation in higher education politics, decision-making and leadership.

Section 2.1.16.2 in the NSGD (2003) stipulates that "Mainstream gender in all policies, programmes, plans, strategies, budgets and activities to bridge the existing gender gaps at all levels". NSGD directs HLIs to take affirmative action to initiate gender mainstreaming to bridge the gender gaps in all programmes, policies, strategic plans and leadership positions.

When this policy article was presented to the interviewees, it was perceived as too broad and unspecific.

> Gender mainstreaming is an approach to policy-making that takes into account both women's and men's interests and concerns. I am not sure why it appears as an article in the policy. Since 1993, the University administration has been making efforts to have gender issues continuously captured in the strategic objectives, and such processes are what we call gender mainstreaming. For instance, in the UDSM's five-year strategic rolling plans, we strategize gender sensitisation in all projects and sectors. We had a formation of the Gender Dimension Programme Committee (GDPC) in 1997 dealing with gender sensitisation workshops. Also, we had the establishment of two gender policies: anti sexual harassment and UDSM gender policy. All these we keep as records showing how gender has been mainstreamed at the University. (key interviewee, UDSM)

According to this key interviewee, the aim of gender mainstreaming is to take into account gender issues when designing, implementing and evaluating policies, programmes and projects, so that they benefit both women and men, therefore enhancing, rather than hindering, gender equality. Gender mainstreaming aims to solve some hidden gender inequalities in higher learning institutions. It is, therefore, a relevant tool for achieving gender equality in higher learning institutions. The key informant argued that it is wise to consider the whole policy document as a process of gender mainstreaming and not just one article.

> Issues of gender at UDSM trace their history way back to 1990s, and particularly since the start of the UDSM transformation programme in 1993. At this point, gender was identified as one of the main areas requiring strategic reforms. At that time, the gender imbalance was serious. Men were everything, [while] women appeared in secretarial duties or as office assistants. We had very few women in academia, and 98 per cent of all levels of leadership

positions were held by men. At that time the key focus was to "stop violence against women". No issues about sharing power [were raised]. (man academic, engineering)

The (re)organisation of gender mainstreaming at the University of Dar es Salaam began before the establishment of gender policies. Although gender mainstreaming appears as policy by itself, in practice it was carried out differently at the University of Dar es Salaam before the establishment of the UDSM Gender Policy 2006. According to the interviewee, gender mainstreaming originally was aimed at solving the problem of violence against women, both physical and psychological. This was given the highest priority at that time and was a crucial step before addressing other issues of inequality, such as representation.

> Like many other educational institutions in the country, gender imbalance and gender discrimination have been existing at the University of Dar es Salaam for a long time. In all faculties and across all disciplines, women have always constituted a minority. Men have always dominated top leadership positions. This situation is the reflection of the patriarchal nature or system that has historically been in existence and perpetuated by the social, political, cultural and legal framework that has been in place. And do so in the education system. That is why many HLIs cannot give any testimony on strategies that have been undertaken for mainstreaming gender in the fields where women constitute the minority. (man academic, social science)

Although the interviewee gave a very broad and general argument, his concern was that many HLIs cannot show that they actually have strategies of mainstreaming gender in particular fields where women constitute the minority. This concern gives some clues to new queries, such as about how gender continues to be formed and reformed in the spatial and temporal context in HLIs, and how gendered power continues to be relayed via everyday practices despite the existence of gender policies in HLIs meant to counter this. The explanations offered by the quoted interviewee suggest the need for assessing the interplay between social, political, cultural and legal framework factors that underlie the persisting nature of patriarchal systems in HLIs. Moreover, there seems to be a need to understand how such factors are linked to the gendered nature of different programmes of study where women appear to be minority.

> When I was applying for admission at the University of Dar es Salaam, my ambition was to pursue an engineering degree, but I wasn't sure which course could I apply for. I came across several degree courses offered in engineering, for instance, Bsc. in Industrial Engineering, Bsc. in Metallurgy, Mineral Digging and Processing Engineering, and Bsc. in Textile Design and Technology. I automatically chose the third, because it has a name that invites women. I couldn't raise any interest to read more on the second one. The name scared me at the first impression. It looks so masculine. When I joined university, I realised there were many of the same female students in one course. My argument is, there is a need to revise the names of courses to attract both genders. This could also be part of mainstreaming gender policy in specific fields. (woman academic, engineering)

Thus, the interviewee argued that embedded structures and the presentation of specific fields of study (that includes names of the courses) can have a negative gender effect. According to the interviewee, when names of courses sounds masculine, it may intimidate women. Her argument was that there is a need to revise the names of courses, especially in the engineering field, to attract both genders. This, according to the interviewee, could also be part of mainstreaming gender policy in specific fields.

6.6 Summary of the interviewees' assessments of the policy articles and their recommendations

Policy article "Institutional framework"

The policy article "institutional framework" is focused on the systems of formal laws, regulations, as well as procedures, and informal conventions, customs and norms that shape gender issues and behaviour in HLIs. In this policy article, "gender equity and gender equality is the main goal to achieve".

There is an ongoing debate which focuses on the question of whether gender equity and gender equality stipulated in the national gender policy as well as in the UDSM Gender Policy really are meant for strategizing women's inclusion into leadership positions or treating equally men and women in the search procedures for the appointment of leaders. This query was deemed contentious by many interviewees, especially the women. The concern was that the concept of gender equality and gender equity in the policy is ambiguous. The policy was considered to be poorly defined and not providing a clear descriptive interpretation of how women and men can be treated, considering their different social roles. In such circumstances, the policy was perceived to be blind to women's needs, since it does not embrace the affirmative action which was argued to be important for strategizing women's inclusion. Also, the ratio of one-third, as stipulated as a goal of the policy, was considered contradictory. It was claimed not to portray qualitative or quantitative meanings of equality or equity. A change with a focus on a clear definition of gender equality and gender equity would be important. Likewise, the ratio of one-third was considered as sustaining gender inequality; 50/50 would have been the best.

The HLIs have limited authority to make amendments to the gender policy beyond the NSGD parameters. Although the NSGD directs HLIs to formulate their gender policies based on their needs, all changes imposed by the policy must comply with national laws and the URT constitution. This could also be a case of arguing that gender issues that are not managed through national laws cannot be imposed or introduced as a policy in HLIs. Or, if imposed,

then the policy might not be compulsory for implementation. There is a need for formulating new gender policies which are specifically for HLIs. Many interviewees argued that the National Gender Policy of 2000 was too broad to effectively address the specific needs of gender issues in HLIs.

Politics play a vital role in changing or making gender policy in HLIs. Political influence is important when HLIs intend to effectively strategize strong measures to facilitate women's inclusion into leadership positions. The National Gender Policy and the URT constitution are both structures of the political function. What was revealed is that there is no direct connection between the HLIs and the political regime when it comes to gender issues, and women experts on gender issues in HLIs were not involved in the formulation of the NSGD. The NSGD, according to the interviewees, does not take into account the historical, legal, social, cultural and political contexts of the lives of women in academia and their lived experiences. As a result, the current gender policies in HLIs are extrapolated from men's experiences and then applied to women. Thus, gender policy should be reshaped to consider the particular situation of women, from its formation to its implementation. In the present version, the policy hinders effective inclusion strategies to get more women into leadership positions.

Policy article "Decision-making and power relations"

The policy article "decision-making and power relations" is focused on how women are involved in top leadership positions and top decision-making organs in HLIs. In this policy article, "the 50/50 power distribution is the main goal to achieve".

The policy article seemed to be quite familiar to many interviewees, and it was interesting for both men and women. The first argument made about the policy article was associated with the patriarchal structures that treat women as outsiders and men as insiders. The distinction between "insiders" and "outsiders" occupied a central role in interpreting the relationship between men and women in terms of power relations. Women constitute less than 20 per cent in both the University Senate and the University Council. These are key decision-making institutions at the university. Usually, those who are a minority were positioned as outsiders, while those in the majority would have the features of insiders. According to the interviewees, the implication of being a minority was having limited power to influence decision-making, being controlled by men, as well as lower chances of women's voices being heard and implemented.

Although the policy-article directs 50/50 power distribution between men and women in top leadership positions and top decision-making positions, several interviewees testified that no significant change had been realised. The lack of a proper implementation strategy (compulsory or non-negotiable) of the policy article at the University of Dar es Salaam was identified as a problem. The lack of an implementation audit of the policy-article was also considered to be one of the missing tools that might facilitate the understanding of how the goals of the policy or specific policy article have been achieved or not achieved. Office bearers were cited to be one of the barriers in the implementation of the policy article. The concern, according to the interviewees, was that the university lacks mechanisms to have office bearers be held accountable or be punished if gender goals are not met on time, either due to slow response or insufficient attention to getting affirmative actions in place. The low number of women academics was claimed to contribute significantly to the slow implementation of the 50/50 policy in HLIs. Thus, there should be strategies to increase the number of women students and faculty in higher education, as well as to facilitate the promotion of more women to high professional ranks within a reasonable time frame.

A different perspective was explored during a focus group discussion at the University of Dodoma. According to the participants, not all policy articles/statements can be implemented without influence. Arguably, women in academia should organise and expand their network with other women's associations and NGOs to collectively influence the implementation of the policy. The concern was that women in HLIs have no organised community, and therefore they have a weak lobbying force and poor networking capacity with other women's associations. It could have been easy to influence the administration to become more active in the implementation of a 50/50 policy as an organised group. Networking with other women's association could also provide a strong voice to require immediate measures to implement the policy.

It was also discussed in the focus group that the policy article could be implemented through action research. Action research was identified by one interviewee as a tool for providing for a more effective implementation of the policy article as well as for achieving the policy goals. According to the focus group participants, action research was relevant in academic institutions and could help with issues that in one way or another seemed impossible to implement. Action research was claimed as a means for enacting change through the simultaneous process of taking action to implement the policy and doing research to find new ways of satisfying a 50/50 goal.

Policy article "Access to higher education and gender sensitization"

The policy article "access to higher education and gender sensitization" is focused on how to strategize women's access into higher education, as well as into science and engineering and how gender should be a concern of university curricula.

The general assessment by the interviewees of the policy article suggests that although a special entry program for women students was not part of the implementation of the policy, the re-establishment of such a programme would be very beneficial for fulfilling the policy article by increasing the number of women students in both engineering and science. The policy article contains elements of recruitment initiatives (to retain women students), which are not directly part of universities' authority. It could be improved if the policy provided details on how to implement initiatives to reform the recruitment of university academic staff to include more women.

An underlying challenge is the fact that HLIs are controlled by the Ministry of Education, while the recruitment of the academic staff is a matter for the Ministry of Civil Servants. More contradictions arise when the gender policy directs the recruitment practices of the universities. Direct recruitment of women academic staff is mainly possible in private but not in public institutions.

Interviewees argued that gender studies courses and teaching should also involve men to avoid further gender stereotyping of professions. The majority of lecturers in gender studies courses and professionals in gender issues are women, and this creates the notion that gender agendas are only relevant for women. According to the interviewees, the involvement of men in gender issues could positively influence the implementation of the gender policy. They also pointed to the need for the policy to be mainstreamed in secondary schools, since there was no direct link between the two levels of education. Providing more information and site visits to secondary schools could probably motivate more women students to enter higher education.

The policy article "Employment, promotion and appointment"

The policy article "employment, promotion and appointment" is focused on the recognition of gender roles and the embedded differences between men and women that should be taken into account in the formal recruitment, promotion and appointment procedures.

When this policy article was presented to the interviewees, they suggested that this policy article was positive in terms of its content, since it recognised women's triple burden in society.

Also, they agreed that the policy article effectively addressed a major barrier to women's career development, promotion and aspiration to leadership positions.

However, the interviewees indicated a significant worry about misinterpretations of the word "favour" used in the policy article, mainly the way that "favour" was implemented by lowering appointment and promotion criteria for women. Their critique of the way the word "favour" was used was that it contradicted the university's values. The interviewee accepted that the use of the word "favour" in the policy article could help women to reach appointment and promotion by: 1) providing special funds for conducting research and publishing; 2) reducing women's teaching load to give them women more time for publishing; and, 3) adjusting all university programmes and teaching to happen within working hours, since having classes at 8:00 in the evening disfavoured women.

The overall argument of the interviewees suggests a need for amending the policy article by adding a definition of "favour" that explicitly responded to the above-mentioned critique.

The policy article "Gender mainstreaming"

The policy article "Gender mainstreaming" is focused on the strategies that the higher learning institutions have initiated to bridge the gender gaps in their respective institutions. When this policy-article was presented to the interviewees, they responded that it was too broad and unspecific.

The general assessment of the policy article was that gender mainstreaming in itself is a policy which reflects the whole policy document. Therefore, to make it a separate article within gender policy leads to confusion. The interviewees argued that any attempt to bridge the gap between men and women in projects, procedures and programmes reflected gender mainstreaming efforts. To invite women into fields where they constitute a minority requires initiating approaches that will target specific fields, such as engineering.

6.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have outlined major aspects of gender policy efforts in Tanzania with particular focus on policies related to HLIs. To explore and better understand the effects of these efforts, the policies were discussed in the interviews. The interviewees provided substantial critical assessments of and identified weaknesses in the policies, pointing to features of the recruitment and promotion systems that reflected the pervasive patriarchal culture of the HLIs as well as in larger society as well as providing additional insights into this culture. A

main challenge was what was called the triple burden of women, their particular responsibilities in families, communities and society.

The overall context of the gender policy in HLIs primarily fosters a meritocratic structure, as it pays less attention to the spaces of politics and socio-cultural constructs that shape and define gender in the local context. Reflecting on the content of the policy articles and the interviewees' perspectives, the concept of gender equality (embedded in a meritocratic definition) is paradoxical and cannot facilitate change and realisation of the policy objectives. The concept of equality in the gender policy does not explicitly recognise gender differences linked to gender roles (socio-cultural constructs), women's access and inclusion in terms of numbers, as well as the hegemonic futures of power relations (emanating from organisational structures, politics, hierarchies and procedures that prioritise masculinity).

To make the gender policy effective and relevant for gender inclusion strategies, an intersectional approach that links meritocracy, politics and socio-cultural factors is revealed to be significant for the development of a more effective gender policy.

Chapter Seven

Gender inclusion and leadership positions: Leveraging inclusion strategies in a local perspective

7.1   Introduction

The analysis in Chapter Six evaluated the efficacy of the gender policy in higher learning institutions (HLIs) and its overall context in strategizing women's inclusion into leadership positions by drawing upon experiences and perspectives shared by academic staff in HLIs. This chapter unfolds local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant for inclusion issues.

In this analysis, the analytical model (cf. Chapter Three, Figure 3.1) provides a framework for understanding the multiple factors important for strategizing gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. The factors form an integrated whole (group cohesion) and work as a system. In the analytical model, the mechanism for the inclusion of women into leadership positions in HLIs is conceptualised as a system of three interacting factors (meritocracy, culture and politics) that form an integrated whole. Explanations underlying meritocracy cover the elements of employment procedures, promotion practices and appointment procedures in HLIs. Politics play a role in determining how the government utilises resources to facilitate women's inclusion in HLIs, reinforcement mechanisms such as the formation of gender policy and gender regulations applied in HLIs, as well as defining spaces for women in academia. On the other hand, culture defines spaces of gender roles and the work-family issues experienced by women in academia. A prerequisite base of knowledge in understanding an interplay of the factors in making practical gender inclusion strategies is provided by Organisation Theory, Actor Network Theory and the Intersectionality Approach (cf. Chapter Three). These theories suggest that rather than dealing with only meritocratic values of academic institutions, it is important to recognise associated chains of direct or indirect cultural and political factors that play a significant role in a society (local context).

Underlying background

It is argued that one of the embedded paradoxes in strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania relates to the principles and practices through which knowledge about gender is acquired (Kavenuke, 2014; Bangi, 2014). Although available literature (e.g., Chafetz, 2006) suggests that gender norms and values vary a lot from one national (local)

context to another, the experienced nature of knowledge about gender, the nature of gender reality and the locus of gender equality control in action in HLIs in Tanzania are more of Western perspectives (macro-level), which focuses more on meritocracy than socio-cultural and political factors (micro-level) (Bangi, 2014; Kavenuke, 2014; TGNP, 2017). The underlying reasons for applying the Western approach in HLIs in Tanzania is based on the assumption that knowledge about gender that has been successful to transgress gender equality practices in Western countries may be perfectly compatible with the modern social expectations placed on women in academia in Tanzania. As such, gender inclusion strategies focusing on leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania give very little attention to the local spaces of culture and politics where gender is constructed (TGNP, 2017).

Over time, there have been gender-policy developments at the national level in Tanzania (i.e., WGDP-2000 and NSGD-2003) and across the institutional level (i.e., UDSM Gender Policy-2006), which have been intended to strengthen the mainstreaming of gender concerns and promote women's participation in decision-making processes and their employment at the leadership level in HLIs in Tanzania. However, the academic institutional context (higher learning institutions) in which gender policies are streamlined remains gendered and continues to offer fewer opportunities for women compared to men for advancing towards leadership positions (Bangi, 2014; Kavenuke, 2014; TGNP, 2017; URT, 2018). This phenomenon could be due to attributes of gender constructions from a local perspective which are not subject to controls of gender policies (cf. Chapter Six). It could also be due to a diverse socio-demographic composition of individuals (local community) in HLIs (cf. Chapter Five). Or, it could be due to the silent features of the socio-cultural environment that gives meaning to spaces of gender roles in Tanzania. However, few gender studies have considered these qualitative factors, especially the locally situated attributes of gender constructions when examining the persisting problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania (TGNP, 2018).

Indeed, this suggests the need to go beyond superficial gender inclusion strategies/policies (meaning, beyond the attributes of Western perspectives/macro-level perspectives) experienced in higher learning institutions in Tanzania. Spaces of local knowledge (micro-level perspectives) in many gender studies programmes are normalised/silenced, yet they contribute to a great extent to the understanding of place-specific gender issues, especially in Africa where gender issues are interpreted very differently from the West (Mama, 2003). Several studies have also demonstrated that Western perspectives contribute relatively very little with respect

to understanding discourses and embedded social practices of gender issues in the African context (Mamma, 2003; Odhiambo, 2011; CODESRIA, 2014; UNESCO, 2015) and more evidently in Tanzania (TGNP, 2017).

Hence, leveraging gender inclusion strategies from a local perspective is assumed to be an essential step in addressing the existing problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. And, indeed, it is essential and significant because explicit gender inclusion strategies entail the specificities of local knowledge in a place (Sørensen et al., 2019). Moreover, the cultural diversity of gender construction across the globe shows that the recognition of local spaces of gender in a specific geographic place/location is one of the important prerequisites for understanding different needs of different societies before adopting universal strategies of gender inclusion (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004; Unterhalter, 2006; LeMoyne, 2011; Sørensen et al., 2011; CODESTRIA, 2014; Shepard, 2015; UNESCO, 2015).

7.2   Procedure

To achieve the specific objective of this chapter, "exploring local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant for strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania", several steps have been taken. First, the "Create Theme Nodes by Auto Coding" method (NVivo software program) was applied in this analysis to generate the key themes (base factors) (cf. Chapter Four). Themes were constituted based on interviewees' opinions about what could be the best approach/strategic measures to implement to support the inclusion of women into leadership positions at the university. In this analysis, explored information was sampled as a "text search" (answer sheet constituting primary data from interview). By creating nodes from the "text search", a key list of themes (factors) was outlined. In this analysis, themes/factors stood out as important to focus on, if inclusion into leadership positions is targeted to be achieved in HLIs.

Second, the generated key themes/factors have been used as headings for running a text search query. The purpose of running a query search is to cluster the general interviewees' opinions about what exactly is said to be the best local strategies for gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs based on identified key themes. Local gender inclusion strategies were explored during the interviews, in particular through the question, "Other than identified efforts, strategies and the implementations taken by the university to sensitize gender issues in various sectors including leadership positions, in your opinion which strategy if added can

portray the local values relevant for gender inclusion into leadership positions at the university?" In this analysis, a wide range of local gender inclusion strategies was observed and linked to each related key theme.

The underlying objective of connecting the themes and the local gender inclusion strategies was to examine the degree to which an identified theme can be addressed based on but not limited to criteria beyond those emerging from gender superficial approaches, as well as to identify the silent attributes of socio-cultural factors that constitute daily gender practices in HLIs in Tanzania. The goal was to select among different local options for addressing the most important needs of women that were not highlighted in the gender sensitisation strategies at the university.

Moreover, to mediate the underlying connection between themes and strategies further, the explored results from Chapters Five and Six along with other secondary data are also presented along with the results to provide a background problem (identified gap) that connects the two.

7.3 Findings

In the first analysis, seven key themes/factors were identified as important for strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania: policy, women's inclusion, revealing blind spots within socio-cultural values, recognising spaces of socio-demographic attributes, performing action research, networking, and focusing on merits by a gender sensitive assessment of needs.

In the second analysis, a wide range of gender inclusion strategies that structured the themes under specific contingent local conditions was revealed. Table 7.1 maps the results in a qualitative model constituting: 1) the explored themes/base factors, 2) the related attributes (identified gaps), and 3) the explored inclusion strategies from the interviewees.

Table 7.1: Explored themes (factors) and the related attributes relevant for gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

Explored themes/ factors	Identified gaps	Explored inclusion strategies from the interviewees
1. Policy	• The National Gender Policy WGDP (2000) and the National Strategy NSGD (2003) are not intensive and extensive enough to address the current paradoxes of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs (cf. Chapter Six) • There is no specific gender policy for HLIs in Tanzania (ibid) • The gender policies in Tanzania do not contain spaces of leadership constructs (i.e., no policy article or statement that specifically addresses leadership aspects). • Spaces of culture and gender constructs are not addressed in the gender policy (ibid).	• A thorough review of the national gender policy and a comprehensive national strategy for gender mainstreaming in academia should be carried out. • Local values, which are not oppressive, should be reflected in the policy. • An explicit gender policy should be put in place specifically for HLIs. • Most of the policy content should be constituted of adjustments against oppressive gender practices. • Gender policies should be supported and reinforced by law.
2. Women's inclusion	• The number of women students is lower than men students, and the number of women academics is lower than men academics. Evidence (TCU, 2019): • The overall enrolment of students in all HLIs in 2017/18 = 63,737; men 38,779 and women 24,958. • The total number of academic staff in all public HLIs (2016) = 4,427; men 3,320 and women 1,057. • The total number of academic staff in all private HLIs (2016) = 2,453; men 1,778 and women 668.	• A political agenda for leveraging women's inclusion by objectives should be promoted. • The inclusion of girls/women from lower to higher levels of education should be strategized and maintained by numbers. • Parents and local authorities should be held responsible and accountable by law for any drop-out of girl students in primary and secondary schools. • There needs to be more opportunities and incentives for girls' education in primary and secondary schools • There should be more boarding schools at the secondary level (ordinary and advanced) for girls
3. Unfolding blind spots within socio-cultural values	• Advocates of the leadership positions in HLIs are the symbols of patriarchy and meritocratic systems. This positions women in academia as outsiders in top decision-making bodies. • The HLIs perform or reproduce inequality though behaviour/procedures that reflect gendered power relations. Spaces underlying top leadership positions (i.e., recruitment, appointment procedure and working environment) are best suited to masculine skills and features.	• There should be a conducive and friendly working environment in academia, which enables women in academia to full fill their gender roles, i.e., maintaining official working hour from 8; 00 am to 4;00 pm and not beyond as it is experienced now. • Gender roles needs to be understood and practised within formal organisational structures, which means to provide enough time for maternity leave, at least one year and not just three months as it is now.
4. Recognising spaces of socio-demographic attributes	• Differences in the composition of socio-demographic characteristics within individuals in HLIs contribute significantly to differences in perceptions and attitudes when addressing the problem of gender inequality (cf. Chapter Five) • Men are found to be less involved in gender issues in HLIs. The highest percentage of gender activists and gender professionals are women.	• Working with gender issues in HLIs should not exclude men, because the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions is multi-faceted and interpreted differently between men and women. • Men academics in researching and teaching gender courses in HLIs should be involved in order to transform the current mindset that associates gender and women.
5. Action research	• There has been no transformative change of gender equality in top leadership positions in HLIs. • What seems to be a strategy of gender equality in leadership positions exhibits stagnation and leads to complex misinterpretations in its implementation	• Gender research activities in HLIs should be enhanced through the simultaneous process of taking action and doing research, which are linked together by critical reflection.
6. Networking	• There is no known or registered national gender research centre that can facilitate the development of a gender research network at all HLIs in Tanzania. • Up to June 2018, there were no gender research centres at the institutional/university level. Only the University of Dar es Salaam had started the process to establish one. • The strategies imposed for women's inclusion are implicitly linked to other gender stakeholders. Hence, lack of support from other important stakeholders. • At the national level, gender issues are placed and coordinated in an incompatibly large Government Ministry i.e., Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MoHCDEC). This political composition makes gender issues invisible or silent. • There is poor coordination between lower levels of education, such as the secondary schools, and HLIs on issues relating to gender practices/relations in academia.	• There is a need to shape a political agenda to establish a national gender research centre. This will contribute significantly to coordinate, to document, to network with stakeholders, and how to approach appropriately gender issues at the national level. • There is a need to work with gender issues in a professional way within academic institutions, the establishment of gender research centres at the institutional levels is important. This will indeed facilitate critical thinking and social change within and outside academic institutions. • There is a need for HLIs to recognise and create networks with other gender issue stakeholders, such as NGOs, CBOs, GOs for sharing experience and building strong networks that can influence politics on gender issues • A need to impose outreach programmes in HLIs to network with lower level of education for information dissemination and targeting girls in secondary schools to inspire them at an early stage, understanding challenges and how to overcome them at the time when they join HLIs.
7. Merits by gender needs	• The meritocratic approach in HLIs is superficial, as it does not recognise different needs embedded in the gendered division of labour and responsibilities.	• Introduce special funds for women academics for research and publishing.

In the model chart (Table 7.1), gender inclusion strategies in column three are linked with the key themes/factors in column one. The explored gender inclusion strategies related to each theme offer useful means for accommodating local knowledge important for gender inclusion strategies. The strategies cover a wide range of intersecting factors. Some strategies have immediate effects and some contribute to long-term outcomes. Some strategies do not appear to be directly related to HLIs but were revealed to still have a significant effect. The overall pattern of the outlined strategies portrays partly the recognition of non-additive effects of multiple forms of women's exclusion that are experienced in HLIs in Tanzania.

Policy

A thorough analysis of the gender policy in Tanzania was presented in Chapter Six. Therefore, the reflections about policy in this chapter's analysis are focused more on how to recover the connection between societal values/practices (local platform) and the resulting priorities in the gender policy, making it effective in challenging the social structures of men's dominance within the institutional framework and, more specifically, in decision-making positions. The local platform referred to here stands as a tool for the adoption of gender-sensitive concerns, which are not visible in the formal operating structures but are informally practised within formal organisational procedures or silently ignored, despite the fact that they have a significant effect with regard to women's exclusion from and inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs.

When the interviewees were asked to characterise the relevance of the National gender policy in HLIs, the first impression revealed the impracticability of the policy in general. As reflected in the National Gender Policy WGDP (2000) and the National Strategy NSGD (2003), according to the interviewees, the embedded contextual constructions, their conceptualisation as well as their interpretation of gender equality and women's inclusion were more shaped by Western perspectives and far from the realities of the situated constructions of gender in academic environments in Tanzanian HLIs. As such, these characteristics limited the impact of these policies, making it difficult to translate the policies into local practices. Both the policies and the strategies were not considered by the interviewees to be sufficiently intensive and extensive to address the current paradoxes of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs (cf. also Chapter Six).

> Yes, we have the national gender policy, but the policy is not compatible with our cultural practices. What we practice is not what is written in the policy documents. We adopted gender policies from the activists influenced by gender movements from Western countries. Gender policies were placed for the best interest of satisfying donors from the West but not

emanating from our local needs and understanding. Unfortunately, our cultural practices are not receptive to Western cultural ideals of gender equality. There is a need for taking our initiatives to define local means of changing our cultural spaces of men's dominance and women's subordination for the best practices in strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in higher learning institutions. (woman professor, social science)

According to this interviewee, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that the National Gender Policy WGDP (2000) and the National Strategy NSGD (2003) are insensitive to the university context. There is a need for a thorough reform to give attention to local knowledge. It was in general pointed out by the interviewees that an explicit gender policy specifically addressing HLIs was a current demand due to the deficient organisational characteristics of academic institutions. Together with potential variations by discipline, the situation is different compared to other public institutional contexts. In HLIs, a different approach that mirrors women's situation within spaces of the socio-cultural environment is important.

In a specific way, it was pointed out that there is a silent socio-cultural conflict between spaces of women's reproduction/maternity and their eligibility to be admitted to education thereafter. According to the interviewees, education is socially acceptable for girls/women before or until they get married or pregnant. Thereafter, the trouble begins. No proper gender policies are in place to safeguard women in such conditions. This needs local attention. The phenomenon is not talked about or covered in the gender policy document.

> Just an example, a university student who gives birth is not entitled to maternity leave but rather a sick leave related to maternity. In this case, for her to cope with the academic programme, she has to take a shorter maternity-related sick leave of less than one month. Which is a tough situation to opt for. If she takes more than two months, in most cases such a student cannot proceed with the same class. She has to repeat the semester or the whole year. In most cases, it is common for such students to drop out of college. Our gender policies deviate from these situations, and we are losing many women potential leaders in academia, especially those who decide to drop out of the university completely. (woman academic, science)

According to the interviewee, 20 years ago before gender policies, the rate of women students dropping out of school (university) due to pregnancies was very high, so the University organised a local initiative to support women students who became pregnant to reduce the number of drop-outs. This effort was administered by the office of the dean of students, along with continuing social counselling. Through this initiative, any pregnant student got additional marks on top of any exam results she attended during her pregnancy and within her three-month maternity period equivalent to 10 per cent of the full grade. In addition, they were also allowed to register for special exams. This reduced the drop-out rate of women students due to

pregnancy by almost 70 per cent. The effect of this arrangement was also verified by the key interviewee at the University of Dar es Salaam:

> It's true, we had such arrangement, but that ended in 2001. The university had to adopt the procedures from the national gender policy, which was introduced in 2000 as well as gender articles in our national education policy. Our national education policy does not recognise or accept a girl or a woman who gets pregnant and wishes to continue with studies. In reality, any school girl who gets pregnant is supposed to be terminated permanently and, even after giving birth, she is not allowed to register again into public schools. This has also affected female students in higher learning institutions. We are not terminating our students here, because the university procedures are not the same as for lower learning institutions. But the way I see it, we do not have an explicit definition of such, but we are practising them.

According to the key interviewee, to improve the situation, spaces of culture that define girls/women's eligibility to formal education before and after having a child is one of the important areas to be focused on. An explicit definition and understanding of it should be addressed in the gender policy, particularly in regard to accepting girls back to school after having a child. Gender policy should target to provide solutions for marriage, pregnancy and childcare-related issues encountered by women in academia. These are silent issues that matter to a great extent. To establish or make a specific gender policy for HLIs that address these issues will to a great extent increase the number of women in academia, and there will also be an increased number of potential women candidates for leadership positions.

Other embedded local issues were explored during interviews with gender focal point leaders at the University of Dar es Salaam. Two gender issues from a local perspective were mentioned as particularly important for strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions:

1) A need to counter the socio-cultural perception of the community about different leadership qualities between men and women. According to the interviewees, leadership is culturally structured by gender in Tanzania. "Our culture has strongly defined leadership traits by gender roles and we have composed a common perception in our mind that men's gender roles are more congruent with the leadership role than are women's gender roles" (man academic, social science). This mind-set, according to the interviewee, needs to be strategically countered and be replaced with a new understanding of gender.

The underlying explanations referred to a new understanding was related to the need to amend the national constitution, national customary laws and national education and leadership policies to explicitly define and state that girls/women have the same rights, qualities and

capabilities as men to be leaders, from the family level to the public level. Thus, traditional and cultural practices should be forced to create spaces of recognising girls/women as potential leaders as much as men. According to the interviewees, many women leaders are currently misinterpreted and described as taking roles that are not socially assigned to them. This socio-cultural environment contributes significantly to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions.

2) There is a need to influence and welcome on-board religious institutions and organisations in the gender sensitisation campaign. According to the interviewees, attitudes of gender inequality are prevalent in religious beliefs and teachings. People are very committed to religious values and see them as important in their lives. This has a significant effect, especially for women in academia. They encounter a view of leadership as a man's role, one which is ordained by God. According to the interviewees, there is a need for coordination between religious institutions/organisations and the government to develop an explicit approach to improving gender equality in leadership positions. Over 90 per cent of Tanzanians are religious. Spaces of culture (religious values) that define gender practices should be negotiated, and the agreed values should be reflected in the gender policy.

Women's inclusion

Attention to women's inclusion is particularly significant given that gender inclusion into leadership positions cannot be implemented if the number between men and women in academia continues to be uneven. The gender composition in HLIs in Tanzania shows that there are fewer women students than men students. Likewise, women academics are fewer than men academics. As shown in Table 7.1, the statistical evidence from the Tanzania Commission for Universities (2018) indicates that the overall enrolment of students in all HLIs in 2017-18 was 63,737; out of this, 61 per cent were men and 39 per cent were women. The total number of academic staff in all public HLIs (2016) is 4,427, of which 74 per cent are men academics and 26 per cent are women academics. Likewise, the total number of academic staff in all private HLIs (2016) was 2,453, of which men academics constitute 72 per cent and women academics 28 per cent. According to the key-interviewees at the University of Dar es Salaam and the University of Dodoma, in the years 2016 to 2018, there was no new employment of academic staff in public HLIs.

During the interviews, mechanisms to influence a political agenda for leveraging women's inclusion into leadership positions by stating concrete objectives was pointed out as one of the

important local strategies to be focused on. According to the interviewees, most of the current gender equality strategies, including gender policies, are made from the assumption that the number of men and women in academia is even, which is far from correct. To remedy the situation, it was suggested that there is a strong need for the political regime (i.e., the central government with the Ministry of Education) along with management authorities in HLIs (i.e., TCU and COSTECH) to first accept that there is an uneven gender balance in HLIs and then to recognise that this is a critical issue that needs to be addressed, thus enacting a sense of urgency to tackle the problem. Emphasis was given by the interviewees to a participatory approach in exploring the best strategies.

> It could be practical if academic staff are fully involved and give their opinion and recommendations on how women should be properly included. The authorities have to listen and take suggestions seriously. Gender inclusion strategies should be formulated based on the information collected. Should this be implemented, I consider the resulting gender inclusion strategies will be effectively working. Strategies that originate from the community level will always function and people will have a sense of playing a role in it. And it becomes theirs'. (woman academic, science)

Community involvement is one of the important local approaches to let the academic community in HLIs participate fully in formulating and implementing practical inclusion strategies to get more women into leadership positions. An interviewee pointed specifically to one of the important issues that requires the involvement of academic staff: a flexible teaching environment. According to the interviewee, flexibility with respect to teaching (scheduling) would allow women academic staff to strike a balance between their work and home lives.

"For instance, the departments should prioritise giving women academics with small children morning classes (morning lectures) rather than late hours" (woman academic, social science). Women in academia have multiple roles, from mothers to caregivers to breadwinners. An initiative such as flexible working options provides women with much-needed possibilities to navigate their multiple roles.

A similar argument was also discussed in the focus group at the University of Dodoma. According to the participants, women in academia may suggest appropriate ways to include themselves in leadership positions. The government and university authorities should support their ideas. The key role to be played by the government and university authorities is to provide supporting power to make women in academia feel welcomed, included and supported. When women in academia feel the leadership doors are opened with full support, they are likely to have a stronger aspiration for leadership positions.

Another local, strategic approach that was emphasised as important was about creating sustainable mechanisms of maintaining the level of participation of girls/women from lower levels to higher levels of education. According to the focus group participants, to maintain a consistent inclusion by numbers (i.e., gender equal student admission from lower level of education to HLIs) will eventually influence the community to develop a positive attitude and behaviours towards gender equality practices in academia. The underlying explanations behind the strength of numbers were based on the argument that consistency in balancing gender in academia will eventually provide more women candidates for leadership positions in HLIs.

To maintain such local action, parents and the local authority in lower levels of education should be held responsible and accountable by law with respect to any drop-out of girl students in primary and secondary schools. There should be more opportunities and incentives for girl education in primary and secondary schools, and more boarding schools at the secondary level (ordinary and advanced) for girls.

Unfold blind spots of socio-cultural values

The blind spots of socio-cultural values refer to hidden or invisible core principles and ideals held by individuals in HLI practices. According to the interviewees, in HLIs there exist gender customs, gender values and a gender culture, which traditionally guide individuals in their daily life and strongly influence the gendered social structures in HLIs.

> Our socio-cultural values have two sides: one visible and one hidden. A visible side is the one that includes symbols, our language and sometimes our dressing code and traditional practices. However, the visible side constitutes only ten per cent, and ninety per cent is taken by hidden values. Our hidden socio-cultural values among others include our gender assumptions, gender beliefs, gender division of labour and our gender identity. According to our culture, these are private values that cannot easily be exposed or discussed in public. They are disseminated secretly, in a well-arranged manner and transmitted from one generation to another. Most of the hidden values place women to be submissive to men. Therefore, no matter how well women in academia have been educated, we are brought up to be submissive to men and with lowered motivation for leadership aspirations. Let's direct our torch there. (woman academic, social science)

According to the interviewee, the sexual division of labour is one of the hidden socio-cultural values reflected in top leadership positions in HLIs. The interviewee said that advocates of the top leadership positions in HLIs are symbols of patriarchy and meritocratic systems. In her view, meritocracy is openly described in the university's enrolment, recruitment, appointment and promotion procedures, and it is part of the visible university culture. A man-dominated culture, based on the sexual division of labour, exists as a hidden value and silently operates

with a strong influence on the appointment of leaders in HLIs. The mechanisms of these values go beyond institutional capacity, as they are rooted in cultural values. According to the interviewee, the transmission of these values is a one-way direction, from the older to the younger generation, and there is no room for discussion. A similar argument was also made in a focus group discussion at the University of Dodoma.

> We have a silent cultural attitude at the University that positions men as leaders and decision-makers. This attitude most of us have acquired from our families or our religion. This positions women in academia as weak and unconfident in the top decision-making bodies, and indeed this culture continues to build a stronghold of men in power. If we want to make appropriate gender inclusion strategies into leadership positions, we strongly need to change this perception and our cultural attitudes. (woman-academic, social science)

According to the interviewee, HLIs perform or reproduce inequalities that reflect individuals' cultural attitudes. Spaces of silent cultural attitudes support the pattern that privileges men's rise to top leadership positions as well as contextualise procedures (i.e., recruitment, appointment and working environment) to reflect masculine preferences in HLIs. To overcome this problem, an interviewee proposed the need for using a different approach because the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions was more associated with hidden socio-cultural values than visible values. According to this interviewee, gender equality problems related to hidden socio-cultural values cannot be resolved when focusing singularly on the visible features of culture.

To redress the situation, interviewees explicitly identified two ways of approaching gender problems associated with hidden socio-cultural values in HLIs. The first identified approach is the need for recognising the embedded differences between departments that structure HLIs (universities).

> We differ, we are not the same. It might be effective if gender inclusion strategies could be targeted differently. Strategies to be applied in engineering departments should not be the same as in social science departments. Our culture defines engineering as more of masculine relevance and social science as more of feminine relevance. More energy should be exerted in the engineering departments. In those departments, women are few, and not by accident. (woman academic, social science)

University departments are not homogeneous. According to the interviewee, each department has to consider how to address gender equality problems based on their specific needs and situation, or identify local gender-related values that either limit directly or indirectly the participation of women in their profession. Focusing on individual departments rather than the university as a whole should provide a useful starting point for understanding and remedying

a cultural profile unique to each department, to develop adequate gender inclusion strategies. In HLIs in Tanzania, academic staff define themselves in terms of departments (profession, specialisation).

> What is happening in our community? When someone introduces himself, "I am an engineer so and so", the perceived response from the community is, "Yes, this is a man", even if you are a woman. The other way around is also correct. When a man introduces himself with a profession not in science or engineering, the sense of power is low, since he is perceived as a common person. This means that it gives a great sense of power to be affiliated with some departments. (man academic, social science)

According to the interviewee, a degree of gendered power provided autonomy in some departments based on how culture defines the profession in terms of gender roles. This, to a great extent, positioned individuals from science and engineering as more masculine and consequently with more power than those from other professions.

> Stigmatisation exists at the university. Whoever is in social science is called a penguin or "ngwini" in Swahili, meaning that they relate us to flightless birds. The socio-cultural interpretation is that we have no power to be on top. We lost it. Penguins also lost the ability to fly and they ended up swimming, which is not among the main characteristics of birds. If we need to effectively strategize gender inclusion into leadership positions, gender knowledge should target more of our colleagues from natural science and engineering. (woman academic, social science)

The explanations underlying the narratives of the interviewee indicates that the lack of women in some professions is beyond the overall gender composition of HLIs, but reflects embedded socio-cultural influence based on gendered categorisations of academic disciplines. They were seen to be gendered and to provide for gendered power relations. Women were considered more visible in social science professions/departments and less in science and engineering. According to the interviewees, to facilitate a robust gender inclusion strategy related to leadership positions in HLIs, a different approach was needed, namely one which focused more on the inclusion of women in science and engineering departments.

The second identified approach is about changing the universities' procedures that are not gender sensitive. According to the interviewees, gender-free procedures (i.e., merit-based procedures) are silent with regard to gender ambiguities and blind to unpronounced gendered situations within work and family. They assume men's social roles to be similar to that of women.

> We need a change in the university procedures to achieve a new style of inclusiveness, especially those associated with the appointment of leaders, working hours and maternity leave. The procedures need to be adjusted and make an open window to allow new values

and gender roles being understood and practised within formal organisational structures. The university has to provide enough time for paid maternity leave, at least one year rather than three months, and a friendly working environment that facilitates women in academia to fulfil their gender roles. (woman academic, science)

According to the interviewees, recognising gender roles assigned to women in academia and adjusting the formal procedures accordingly would provide an institution with a new gender-inclusive style grounded in existing socio-cultural values. These are typically invisible and subconscious, and thus often overlooked. The findings suggest that insensitivity to gender differences regarding social roles and responsibilities when recruiting to leadership positions in HLIs is reproduced due to unchanged or conservative organisational procedures. To redress the situation, the recognition of women's gender roles should be recognised and accommodated in the formal organisational procedures.

Recognition of spaces of socio-demographic attributes

Differences in the composition of socio-demographic characteristics within individuals in HLIs in Tanzania contribute significantly to their differences in perception and attitude while addressing the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions (cf. Chapter Five). Although socio-demographic attributes include many variables (cf. Chapter Five), in the analysis in this chapter, only one variable, "gender linkage between men and women", is shown to provide more predictive power regarding views around what should influence gender inclusion strategies with respect to leadership positions in HLIs.

The observed different perceptions of gender between men and women demonstrate on the importance of men involved in gender issues in HLIs. Men were found to be less involved in gender issues in HLIs. Likewise, most gender activists and gender professionals in HLIs are women. During the interviews, the importance of involving men into gender agenda in HLIs was highlighted.

The former Director of the Gender Centre at the University of Dar es Salaam presented this as a necessary condition to succeed with gender inclusion strategies, saying, "Men need to be thoroughly involved if gender inclusion into leadership positions is to be strategized and achieved in HLIs". According to the interviewee, the idea of involving men in gender equality strategies was to provide opportunities for them to capture the impact of gender interdependences and to understand how gender roles were intersected by local values (culture). This was needed to provide a practical way of implementing the inclusion of more women.

On the other hand, the meaning of men's involvement was explained as a way of networking with an important stakeholder who tended to be left behind:

> Although we tend to think that men are potential resistors of our current gender policies at the university, if we do not effectively involve men, many of our gender inclusion efforts will simply fail. Men aren't our enemy; they are part of a gender that we want to balance. (woman academic, science)

According to the interviewee, networking with men on gender issues would contribute to a good relationship and eliminate suspicions that create or worsen the marginalisation of one gender. Moreover, networking would provide a major resource in strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions.

Another perspective was presented during a focus group discussion. It interpreted men's involvement as a way of reassembling gender:

> There has been much resistance by some (women) gender activists in HLIs to involving men in gender sensitisation projects, driven by fears about the dilution of their agenda and by anxieties regarding the diversion of limited resources/funds away from them and back into the hands of men. This, in turn, made the participation of men in gender issues in HLIs low. To be successful with our gender inclusion strategy, we need to reassemble our gender first by accepting men on board. (man academic, social science)

According to the focus group participants, the important task was to involve men, not just as beneficiaries of women's work or holders of privilege or perpetrators of violence against women, but also explicitly as agents of change, participants in reform, and potential allies in strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs.

Initiatives to engage men as allies were clarified by gender focal point leaders at the University of Dar es Salaam. According to them, although there are men in academia who continue to hold power and privilege over women and seek to safeguard that power, there are other men who reject such attitudes and are more open to change. *"*We have recently seen a group of men in HLIs changing their attitudes and behaviour to support opportunities for women or speak out against gender-based violence or discrimination" (man academic, science). According to one participant, by letting men in academia participate in gender issues such as researching gender and teaching gender courses, this would transform the current mind-set that associates gender with a women's agenda and motivate men to change. Likewise, the university authorities should ensure that all academic staff, especially men, were committed to gender inclusion and feel confident enough to make their contribution to achieving it.

Action research

A focus in action research is about strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions through the simultaneous process of taking action and doing research. I found the relevance of action research articulated by some interviewees as a means to facilitate change in gender inclusion strategies, which was derived from the traditional methods reflecting more of a Western perspective, to be based on methods that include local knowledge about daily gender practice in HLIs. Action research, in this case, was explained by the interviewees as a means to ensure cumulative efforts of the community affiliated with HLIs to participate fully in finding solutions to the challenges in implementing gender inclusion into leadership positions.

One of the underlying reasons that positioned action research as an important approach was that most of the strategies which had been used to overcome the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions lacked research-based local evidence to underpin an effective local action plan. What was described as a strategy (policy) for gender inclusion into leadership positions was considered as exhibiting stagnation and having been complexly misinterpreted in its implementation.

> Our gender plans at the university always do not function as per our expectations, and this is due to lack of follow up, poor evaluation mechanisms [and] no audit in our gender policies. I propose action research to be done along with the implementation of the gender inclusion policies. This will provide a room for checks and balances as well as understanding specific gender problems that might emerge as a challenge in the process. Through action research, evidence-based strategies will overcome several obstacles that otherwise could not be easily taken care of. (woman professor, social science)

According to the interviewee, to succeed with gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs, there was a need to launch a gender research group that could be responsible for organising the action research, providing reports (feedback) after visiting departments, faculty leaders, the college leader and eventually discuss with them about how they are implementing the policy, which challenges they are facing, and what are the best ways would be to overcome the challenges. This approach, according to the interviewee, would make gender inclusion strategies more active and functional.

Another important argument linked to action research in strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions is about asking the right questions to understand the complexities of various gender issues that have been present for a long time without the implementation of appropriate solutions. Thus, they were difficult to address publicly.

Last month the President came to inaugurate the new university library. Upon his convoy's arrival, one academic staff, a woman and gender activist, stood alongside the road with a big banner said, "There is a sex corruption at the university. Victims cannot speak it publicly". That statement brought a huge debate at the university. The university authority denied it and wanted to warn the academic staff that it was not the right way to express the matter to the public. This phenomenon indicates what is silently happening in our academic institutions. (woman academic, science)

The explanations underlying the argument of the interviewee were focused on how sexual harassment existed in HLIs, while it was a challenge for victims and the university authorities to expose them publicly. According to the interviewee, there was a need for thinking about action research, which would provide spaces for identifying critical gender problems that needed attention, to collect evidence, address the problems, to make a plan to tackle them, to evaluate the implementation the plan, and to develop new plans based on emerging challenges.

To ensure a practical gender inclusion into leadership positions, doing action research is the most reliable way we can begin to understand the complexities of various gender issues existing as a barrier for women to succeed in leadership positions in our institutions. Women in our institutions confront many silent obstacles including sexual harassment that many people do not realise exist. For a long time, we have been lacking watchdog mechanisms that can penetrate directly to the system and unfold this stuff. This will also be a better way of involving men to be part of the solution providers. (woman academic, social science)

According to the interviewee, action research should help the university community to develop critical thinking about detailed practical knowledge and experience regarding gender issues in academia. Action research should provide opportunities to address silent issues such as sexual harassment, which seem to have no solution in order to stimulate interaction processes between men and women to improve gender inclusion processes.

The need for action research was also raised during the focus group discussion at the University of Dodoma. Here, the participants spoke on action research and the formation of practical gender inclusion policies. According to them, action research could effectively help to explore local knowledge and help to formulate a practical gender policy in HLIs.

Networking

During the interviews, though I did not raise the matter of women's networks in connection to gender inclusion strategies at the leadership level, it was frequently discussed by the interviwees. Frequently, when the interviewees spoke about inclusion strategies, they raised concerns about the need for women's networking. The relevance of networking in strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions was based on the argument that networking could be

an effective way for women in academia to make valuable contacts, form a collective force, gain ideas for their career development and aspire to leadership positions.

> Our university in its establishment was organised according to male bias principles, with blatant gender discrimination in practices of appointment of leaders. To date, this has provided very narrow opportunities for women in decision-making positions. To fight against this gender biased system, networking among women in academia is important for their exposure, capacity building and building a collective force that will facilitate change and succeed to strategize more women in decision-making positions. (woman professor, social science)

According to the interviewees, HLIs in Tanzania were men dominated spaces. To overcome this situation, they argued the need for women in HLIs to organise and to engage in networking both informally or formally to fight against the patriarchal system:

> The only safe and reliable way is to network women as a group to ensure their needs are spoken out and recognised in a collective struggle. This will indeed create a strong basis for gender inclusion into leadership positions. (woman professor, social science)

Another perspective related to the strength of the networking was based on the history underlying the recognition of gender and women related curricula at the university. In this perspective, one interviewee perceived the power of women's networks as one among the important resources to leverage gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs.

> It took some time also for the university authorities to recognise women and gender studies as a valid area of analysis and research. I remember those days in the 1990s, when our postgraduate students were told that women or gender-related dissertation themes were not academic. (woman professor, social science)

According to this interviewee, "Research reports written by gender activists were termed irrelevant to Tanzanian realities and were labelled as influenced by foreign ideology". Furthermore, she remembered, "Lecturers who challenged that faced a backlash from the administration". She also talked about techniques used to avoid backlash while continuing with their struggle for gender equality.

> Many women, including myself, decided to organise ourselves in groups to provide solidarity and enhance our power and capacity to make changes. Most notable for me was the establishment of the Institute of Development Studies – Women's Study Group, shortened as IDSWSG. This was our underground network, which to large extent influenced gender studies to become compulsory in every field at the university.

The importance of creating networks was emphasised by the interviewee, observing that this had provided ways of connecting different departments and also enabled the creation of a gender studies centre at the university. These efforts were perceived as a success.

> Although I am retired, at this time in my short contract, we are organising a networking group from different departments, faculties, institutes and colleges to unite all women and fight together to achieve gender balance in decision-making boards and expand gender research in all disciplines. Our current network umbrella is the gender studies centre, and we have representatives from all departments. The objective is to build a strong women's network base. (woman professor, social science)

Feminist initiatives at the University of Dar es Salaam were perceived as a foreign ideology and faced resistance and backlash from both men academics and the administration. The challenge to the acceptability of gender research also implicated limited spaces for women to make connections with other professionals. Now, however, women's networking groups seemed to exercise more power, thus influencing change at the university. This could also mean that through women's network groups, gender inclusion into leadership positions could also be achieved.

A similar concern was raised during an interview with one of the former leaders of gender centre at the University of Dar es Salaam.

> Some years ago, I participated in campus gender activism, which centred on the struggle for equality and against sexual harassment at the university. All women from all departments were invited to come out and meet at Nkurumah Hall. The only challenge I saw was that we were not well-organised, and we were not properly connected as one group of women with a common interest. (woman academic, social science)

According to this interviewee, the movement did not meet its goal because they had no platform that identified them as a group. After a year or so, they decided to reorganise.

> We later decided to use the University of Dar es Salaam Academic Staff Assembly (UDASA) as a platform to network all women and organise ourselves again to denounce gender discrimination in employment, promotions, recruitment as well as in top leadership positions and fight against sexual harassment.

The plan according to the interviewee was to use UDASA, which has greater influence and is well organised. In addition, the women also aimed to involve men who might support them.

> This time around we had to raise more issues to inspire more voice from academics for more substantive initiatives. However, the issue of gendered divisions within the academic staff, UDASA and the university as a whole emerged as a serious problem, and eventually, we were seen as a source of division. The major concern about division emerged after using UDASA as our platform to network women because the UDASA forum included men who strongly opposed our movement. After seeing that the oppositional force was very intense, many women started pulling out. Had it been specifically a women's platform network, things could have had a different impact.

According to the interviewee, nearly all women in academia joined the movement within UDASA. Collectively, they carried out a quick survey to establish the number of women and men at different levels of employment and in leadership positions within the university. The breakdowns in terms of gender showed many skewed numbers in leadership positions as heads of departments, deans, directors and the top administration. The findings explaining the extent of sexual harassment of women staff and students and the lack of any serious strategy to deal with them was also disclosed to the UDASA forum. This activity, according to the interviewee, sparked a major and intense debate about gender at the university. The findings were seriously criticised, especially by men and the university administration. All the women who initiated the movement were seen as radicals who wanted to use the academic staff forum in the struggle against university bureaucracy. Although there were some efforts to establish a women's network group at the university through UDASA, the initiative did not work very well. A major concern was that if it became a separate women's network, the university administration would probably perceive it differently.

The key argument presented by the interviewee concerns the need for women in academia to form a formal organisational network. This argument was also presented in the focus group discussion at the University of Dodoma: "Women-centric networking events at the university tend to have a different feeling. It becomes more about supporting each other, rather than having to play the role of professional" (woman academic, science). A big concern was the lack of a recognised women's network group in HLIs.

> Women in academia have no networking groups. We sometimes organise gender conferences at the university, and we invite several women from other universities. The experience I feel when only women congregate is a sense of security and freedom. Women speak out more openly. I think having a women's network group is a good forum to let women speak and strategize gender inclusion into leadership positions based on their needs. (woman academic, social science)

Networking was perceived as an important way for women to connect, communicate and share common experiences. According to the interviewees, networking provided women in academia with greater opportunity to receive high-quality referrals, allowing them faster progress in their careers, and that would provide more opportunities to be appointed into leadership positions.

Apart from the important need for forming women's network groups in HLIs, there was a concern raised in the focus group discussion about the need for having a national gender research centre as well as gender research centres in the academic institutions.

> Currently, there is no known or registered national gender research centre that can facilitate a gender research network for all HLIs in Tanzania. Up to the year 2018, there were no gender research centres at the institutional/university level. Only the University of Dar es Salaam had started a process to establish one. (man academic, social science)

The need for establishing gender research centres was explained by pointing to the possibility building an academic career through centres that could facilitate professional networking as well as women's networking to support each other and to gain entry to leadership positions. Although some of the participant in the focus group discussion perceived networking as another job to do, which required commitment and time, most of them mentioned gender research centres as important. They argued that "there is gender stereotyping in research publications" at the same time that gender issues at the national level were assigned to unrelated institutions/ministries.

> At the national level, gender issues are placed and coordinated by an incompatible, huge government Ministry – Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MoHCDEC). This political composition makes gender issues invisible or silenced. (man academic, science)

As already mentioned, according to the focus group participants, there was a need to embark on a political agenda to establish a national gender research centre. This was believed to facilitate approaching gender issues in a professional way within academic institutions. The importance of gender centres was also noted by gender focal point leaders when they were interviewed as a group. According to their opinion, gender research centres in HLIs can be an important bridge to recognise, sharing knowledge, experience and bring other groups on board (i.e., NGOs, GOs, CBOs) for gender capacity building, networking and influencing politics on gender issues. Gender research centres could also facilitate the making and coordination of outreach programmes in HLIs to network with lower levels of education. This could be a means to reach girls in secondary school to inspire them at an early stage to take more education, which could help them understand university challenges and how to overcome them.

Merits by gender needs

Within HLIs, perceptions of gender-free procedures based on individual merits were considered by many interviewees as superficial. During the interviews, both men and women argued similarly that meritocracy does not recognise the consequences of and thus the different needs emerging from the gendered division of labour and responsibility, which has resulted in the institutionalisation of a skewed distribution of women and men in top leadership positions. The interviewees raised concerns about who is meritorious, what constitutes merit, and how

merit and gender targets can be reconciled when searching for the best people for the top leadership positions at the university.

> When we are searching for the best people for the top leadership positions at the university, merit is assumed to be an objective standard, based on set criteria, which people meet or fail to meet. However, there are many historical reasons for the university top leadership positions such as vice-chancellors being filled by appointment without considering current set up merits. (man academic, administration)

According to this interviewee, merit in appointing leaders could also be subjective, based on social values to comply with the current demand for gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs. His argument posited gender inclusion as one of the important social values in a modern society. "In most cases, if social values are not taken into consideration in our procedures, the objective recruitment processes will be highly gender discriminatory in HLIs". He perceived HLIs as being shaped through the influence of a patriarchal system. Therefore, merit is interpreted in ways that benefit men and work against women:

> To make it subjective, there is a need to spotlight merit and see how much can be equally met by gender. Thus, our national laws should establish clear rules for assessing merit and monitoring gender in recruitment procedures of leadership positions in HLIs. (man academic, administration)

According to the interviewee, if the number of publications counts as one of the merits, then there should be some guiding laws, rules or policy that stipulate how each gender can be supported to achieve the number, to synchronise merit and gender balance in the procedures.

However, during other interviews, it was considered a confusing question how merit and gender equity could coexist in academia, based on the fact that adherence to merit criteria (meritocracy) already had failed to provide gender balance in HLIs. Meritocracy may be seen as an objective principle that allows for continued recruitment of more people of the same sex without regard to the context and current gender gaps. If meritocracy was made subjective, the interviewees thought that university values and standards would be seen as broken. During a focus group discussion at the University of Dodoma, one of the solutions that was suggested was that a subjective procedure that maintained merit as a standard unit should be established. According to the participants, subjective procedures would be a means or mechanism to help women meet the criteria as men do. This implies finding additional ways to support women.

> If we are going to introduce in our system the special funds for women only in academia for research and publications, this will be one of the best systemic ways of ensuring that merit criteria are achieved and at the same time, we are targeting to increase the number of women on board. (man academic, administration)

Merit and gender targets can, however, co-exist in the HLIs. According to the focus group participants, implementing recruitment and appointment practices that combine merit and gender targets could help ensure achievement of gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs. To obtain this, one would need a systematic approach to facilitate women reaching merit criteria. In this manner, one may achieve gender targets without devaluating university values and standards.

7.4   Summary

This chapter has investigated local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant to strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. In this analysis, realities of gender construction within the local context were hypothesised to reflect a prolonged hidden gap of knowledge between existing gender problems in the Tanzanian context and research done elsewhere.

My main focus was to analyse beyond superficial gender inclusion strategies/policies (beyond meritocratic attributes of Western perspectives/macro-level) and explore spaces of local knowledge to improve the understanding of specific gender issues experienced in HLIs in Tanzania (micro-level). To explore such local specificities, the NVivo software program was applied to generate the key themes based on interviewees' opinions about what could be the best approach/strategic measures to focus on for gender inclusion into leadership positions at the university. In this analysis, seven key themes/factors were identified as important for strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. These include policy, inclusion of women, unfolding blind spots within socio-cultural values, recognition of spaces of socio-demographic attributes, performing action research, networking, and focusing on merits by gender-related needs.

These identified themes were connected with the explored local gender inclusion strategies to examine the degree to which identified themes can be addressed based on criteria outside gender superficial approaches (meritocratic procedures) as well as to identify the silent attributes of socio-cultural and political factors that underlie the daily gendered practices in HLIs in Tanzania. Local gender inclusion strategies were explored when the interviewees were asked, "Other than identified efforts, strategies and the implementations taken by the university to sensitise gender issues in various sectors including leadership positions, in your opinion which strategy if added can portray the local values relevant for gender inclusion into

leadership positions at the university?" In this analysis, a wide range of local gender inclusion strategies is clustered and correlated in each related key theme.

The results revealed the above-mentioned seven qualitative themes (factors) along with outlined local gender inclusion strategies on each theme. These include:

1. Policy (the National Gender Policy WGDP – 2000 and the National Strategy NSGD – 2003) are not intensive and extensive enough to address the current paradoxes of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs. There is no specific gender policy for HLIs in Tanzania. The gender policies in Tanzania do not contain spaces of leadership constructs (i.e., no policy article or statement that specifically addresses leadership aspects). Also, spaces of culture and gender constructs are not addressed in the gender policy. Therefore, to initiate a practical gender policy that will facilitate women's inclusion in leadership positions requires the following to be implemented:

- A thorough review of the national gender policy and a comprehensive national strategy for gender mainstreaming in academia are needed.
- Local values, which are not oppressive, should be reflected in the policy.
- An explicit gender policy specifically for higher learning institutions should be put in place.
- Most of the policy content should be constituted of adjustments against oppressive gender practices.
- Gender policies should be supported and reinforced by law.
- Ambiguous terminologies used in gender policies should be accompanied by explicit definition that best suits local context.

2. Women's inclusion (The number of women students is lower than men students, and the number of women academics is lower than men academics. Evidence are based on: the overall enrolment of students in all HLIs in 2017/18= 63,737; men 38,779 and women 24,958 (TCU, 2019); the total number of academic staff in all public HLIs (2016) = 4,427; men 3,320 and women 1,057; the total number of academic staff in all private HLIs (2016) = 2,453; men 1,778 and women 668). To overcome this gender gap, there is a need to initiate the following:

- To influence a political agenda for leveraging women inclusion by objectives.
- Strategizing and maintaining the inclusion of girls/women from lower to higher levels of education by numbers.

- Parents and local authorities should be held responsible and accountable by law for any drop-out of girl students in primary and secondary schools.
- More opportunities and incentives for girls' education in primary and secondary schools.
- More boarding schools at the secondary level (ordinary and advanced) for girls.

3. Unfolding blind spots within socio-cultural values (advocates of the leadership positions in HLIs are the symbols of patriarchy and meritocratic systems. This positions women in academia as outsiders in top decision-making bodies. Generally, the HLIs perform or reproduce inequality though behaviour/procedures that reflect gendered power relations. And indeed, spaces underlying top leadership positions (i.e., recruitment, appointment procedure and working environment) contextualised as relevance of masculine skills and features). To overcome these socio-cultural and political issues, the following strategies are advised:

- To initiate a conducive and friendly working environment in academia, which enables women in academia to full fill their gender roles, i.e., maintaining official working hours from 8:00 am to 4:00 pm and not beyond as it is experienced now.
- Gender roles being understood and practised within formal organisational structures, which means to provide enough time for maternity leave, i.e., at least one year and not just three months as it is now.

4. Recognising spaces of socio-demographic attributes (Differences in the composition of socio-demographic characteristics within individuals in HLIs contribute significantly to differences in perceptions and attitudes when addressing the problem of gender inequality. Men are found to be less involved in gender issues in HLIs. The highest percentage of gender activists and gender professionals are women). To accommodate this gender differences in strategizing practical gender inclusion, it is advised:

- Working with gender issues in HLIs should not exclude men, because the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions is multi-faceted and interpreted differently between men and women.
- Involving men academics in researching and teaching gender courses in HLIs will transform the current mind-set that associates gender and women.

5. Action research (There has been no transformative change of gender equality in top leadership positions in HLIs, what seems to be a strategy of gender equality in leadership positions exhibit stagnation and leads to complex misinterpretations in its implementation)

Therefore, to explicitly define, understand and approach gender inclusion, it is recommended that:

- Gender research activities in HLIs are enhanced through the simultaneous process of taking action and doing research, which are linked together by critical reflection.

6. Networking (There is no known or registered national gender research centre that can facilitate the development of a gender research network at all HLIs in Tanzania. Up to the year 2018, there were no gender research centres at the institutional/university level. Only the University of Dar es Salaam had started a process to establish one. The strategies imposed for women's inclusion are implicitly linked to other gender stakeholders. Hence lack of support from other important stakeholders. At the national level, gender issues are placed and coordinated in an incompatibly huge Government Ministry; Ministry of Health, Community Development, Gender, Elderly and Children (MoHCDEC). This political composition makes gender issues invisible or silent. There is a poor coordination between lower level of education such as the secondary schools and HLIs on issues relating to gender practices/relations in academia). To impose networking that will facilitate gender issues in a strong base, the following initiatives have been suggested:

- There is a need to shape a political agenda to establish a national gender research centre. This will contribute significantly to coordinate, to document, to network with stakeholders, and how to approach appropriately gender issues at the national level.
- To work with gender issues in a professional way within academic institutions, the establishment of gender research centres at the institutional levels is important. This will indeed facilitate critical thinking and social change within and outside academic institutions.
- There is a need for HLIs to recognise and create networks with other gender issue stakeholders, such as NGOs, CBOs, GOs, for sharing experience and building strong networks that can influence politics on gender issues.
- Impose outreach programmes in HLIs to network with lower level of education for information dissemination and targeting girls in secondary schools to inspire them at an early stage, understanding challenges and how to overcome them at the time when they join HLIs.

7. Merits by gender needs (The meritocratic approach in HLIs is superficial, as it does not recognise different needs embedded in the gendered division of labour and responsibilities). To ensure women are facilitated to achieve merit criteria, it is indeed advised:

- To introduce special funds for women academics for research and publishing.

The overall pattern of these outlined strategies on each theme reflects a recognition of non-additive effects of multiple forms of women's exclusion that is experienced in HLIs in Tanzania. This includes the concerns regarding the many hidden/silent socio-cultural values, such as recognising the assigned gendered roles to women in academia and the need to cater for their ensuing needs within the formal procedures of hiring and promotion. The interviewees expected that this could provide HLIs with a new gender-inclusive style, still grounded in local socio-cultural values.

7.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have seen how the local specificities constitute a set of important themes/factors that shape strategies and practices with regard to the (lack of) inclusion of women into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. The result is a framework that reveals the realities of gender construction within the local context to implicate: 1) "access", focusing on increasing the number of women, 2) "power relations", focusing on changing forms that make women vulnerable (unspoken forms of local politics that victimise women), 3) "socio-cultural constructs", focusing on adjustment and mechanisms for discursive practices to avoid gendering of differences, as well as 4) "connection", focusing on networks.

This revealed in-/exclusion framework involves the intersectionality of socio-cultural factors, political factors and meritocracy as potentially interfering effectively in strategies of inclusion of women into leadership positions in HLIs. Thus, this framework shows that the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions cannot be resolved simply by adherence to meritocratic procedures. Rather, one needs to consider the interconnections with other socio-cultural factors as an integral system.

The underlying measures that can facilitate the practical implementation of the inclusion strategies implicate short term and long term interlinking goals. Existing strategies underlying the gender policy, women's inclusion and action research were seen by interviewees to contribute to gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs. They considered strategies addressing themes/factors such as unfolding blind spots within socio-cultural values, focusing on merits by considering gendered needs, and the recognition of the impact of socio-demographic attributes, as important to the implementation of long-term strategies. Some of the strategies mentioned, especially those underlying networking such as outreach programmes

targeting secondary schools, do not appear to be directly related but are likely to have a significant effect.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion and recommendations

8.1   Issues and approaches

The problem of women's under-representation in leadership positions in higher learning institutions is a worldwide problem and disproportionally distributed between Western countries and Southern countries. The magnitude of the problem stands to a large extent in Africa and is noted to be alarming in Tanzania. Concerns are more focused on spaces of heterogeneity of women's experiences in academia and to multi-factor parameters affecting women's progress into seniority positions and in leadership positions within HLIs. The extent to which these multi-factor parameters of women in/exclusions are attributable to compositional conditions in geographical areas and in contextual condition vary substantially across Western countries and Southern countries such as Tanzania. The notable difference between Western and Southern countries is partly attributed to 1) spaces of socio-cultural factors that constitute gender roles between men and women in a place, and 2) spaces of politics that shape organisation of gender rules, regulations and policies in a place. These factors do not favour women in Southern countries, because societies in the Southern context have a stronger patriarchal culture than in Western countries. Culture (defined as set of beliefs, symbols, value-systems, attitudes and practices prevailing in a society) play an important role in facilitating gender in/exclusion practices in a place, and politics play an agentic role in interpreting and reinforcing such gender in/exclusion in a place.

However, spaces of meritocracy constitute a global key principle structuring universities' procedures from admission and evaluation of students to the employment of academic staff and promotion of staff. In Tanzania, the persistent lack of women in senior positions and in leadership positions within HLIs is significantly linked more to socio-cultural and political factors (influential factors) that constitute a strong base of patriarchy, which has limited many women's career developments in academia, as well as access in top leadership and decision-making positions, regardless of their meritocratic eligibility. Despite the extent to which the influential factors of women's exclusion in African context are known, very little attention has been paid to such factors within traditional gender theories that guide gender issues in both Western and Southern countries. This could also be evidence of the ineffectiveness of gender policies in most HLIs in Africa, and Tanzania in particular, since such policies are not adapted to spaces of socio-cultural values and gender practices within local contexts.

Based on the reflection of these diverse sets of factors and their disproportional effect on women's in/exclusion between Western countries and Southern countries, my present study has specifically appealed to: 1) spaces of gendered dynamics of power and the pattern of social structures in HLIs, 2) the efficacy of the gender policy in higher learning institutions (HLIs) and its overall context in strategizing women's inclusion and gender inclusion in leadership positions, and 3) local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant for strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. A closer link to an interplay of meritocracy, culture and politics as a cohesive system is hypothesised to provide a wide space for defining complex dimensions for understanding gender inclusion and leadership positions in HLIs. The main objective is to provide insights that can contribute to the understanding of the socio-cultural skills, abilities and ways of acting thought appropriate for women's inclusion in leadership positions, contributing to gender inclusion strategies to professionals in HLIs in Tanzania.

To achieve the main objective, three specific objectives have been performed within parameters of three research questions framed to guide the study:

- The parameters of the first research question were to find out: Do aspects of Tanzanian culture have a significant influence on gendered dynamics of power? Are women excluded from taking leadership in the academic institutions based on their cultural inclinations or assigned roles? If so, to what extent may spaces of socio-cultural constructs and strata of socio-demographic characteristics be identified and negotiated to strategize gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs?

- The parameters of the second research question were to evaluate: How do politics play a vital role in determining principles, resources and ways of how universities deal with gender issues? Do politics account for the paradox of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania? If so, what might best influence a political agenda to initiate alternative action plans and terms of reference suitable for gender inclusion in academia?

- And lastly, the parameters of the third research question were set to examine: Do spaces of socio-cultural environment produce gendered organisational procedures, practices, structure and hierarchy in academia? If so, how differently do embedded local specificities produce knowledge that best fit gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania?

Three theoretical approaches with relevance to interdisciplinary perspectives are used to guide the study and the interpretation of the study's findings: the Intersectionality Approach, Actor-Network Theory and Organisational Theory. The concepts of these theories are extended to suit this gender inclusion study. The Intersectionality approach is adjusted to enquire into potentially important factors contributing to gender in/exclusion and how such factors (academic meritocracy and socio-cultural factors and local politics that affect gender) are interconnected, linked and work as a system and cannot be examined separately from one another when it comes to suggesting appropriate gender inclusion strategies for leadership promotions in HLIs. Although the standard intersectionality approach (so-called Black feminism) mainly studied intersections of race and gender (sometimes class and sexuality); however, in the Tanzanian context, it was more fruitful to focus on other forms of intersections encountered in the study of gender in higher education institutions. Thus, the intersectionality approach applied in my study focus on the intersections of gender and three main social factors meritocracy, culture and politics. These factors appeared particularly appropriate to add into the analysis of the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

Actor-Network Theory has been used and adapted to be relevant for understanding how the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions in HLIs is constituted, and to what extent refined tools (academic meritocracy and socio-cultural factors) can explain what other domains of the gender socio-cultural parameters/factors could not account for. Actor-Network Theory has offered a diverse and critical discourse on the status quo, notably the recognition of gendered dominance in social arrangements/assemblages and the translations involved in change from such forms of domination. In addition, Organisation Theory has been used to provide a base of knowledge in understanding which cultural expectations about gender roles affect the university organisation and how organising procedures that produce gender inequality exist. How has gender become an integral part of organisational practices? Organisation Theory further helps shed light on cultural beliefs about gender and leadership and how universities as organisations may maintain institutional governance such as the appointment of senior leaders, academic promotions and their embedded gender neutrality as well as meritocratic principles. This also, on the other hand, has helped to demonstrate how politics play a role in making gender policies and gender regulations in HLIs.

In general, the extended concept of intersectionality along with a developed analytical model — a model for understanding an interplay of factors (meritocracy, culture and politics) in

approaching the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions as well as important for strategizing gender inclusion in leadership positions in HLIs — has proved useful, successful and relevant, because it has managed to capture insight the situation of women academics in Tanzania specifically. In the Tanzanian or African context, patriarchy is revealed to constitute a strong base of socio-cultural practices that extends its effects to formal structures (i.e., procedures and practices) in academic institutions. Indeed, patriarchy is exercised and experience within the universities, families and community. This is related to the triple burden that women experience more in African countries (context) than in Western countries. This suggests that a differential treatment of women is required. The insight from the Intersectionality approach used in this study is that what is needed in the Tanzanian context is not to undo exclusionary practices but to put in place wide ranging inclusion measures. Moreover, Organisational Theory has helped to illuminate the effects of institutional practices, while Actor Network Theory has helped to see how patriarchy was an assemblage of socio-cultural issues, ineffective policies and misguided beliefs in Western ideas of equal opportunities.

8.2   Performed analysis and results

Analysis one

Analysis one was performed to answer research question number one. To effectively cover the extensive parameters of the research question number one, two sub-analyses were performed: sub-analysis one specifically categorised members of academic staff based on the parameters of their socio-demographic characteristics (i.e., men vs women academics, junior academic staff vs senior academic staff, those who are married vs those not married and individuals affiliated in science including engineering vs those in social sciences). The underlying background of this sub-analysis is based on the argument that HLIs constitute a diverging pattern of socio-demographic composition of academic staff (i.e., by gender, age group difference, marital status, professional career, parental status, and ranks). This description is also reflected in their grid-group affiliation (social structures of like-minded people) and their behavioural pattern (which emanate from peer-hood perception). Thus, due to the diverging socio-demographic composition of individuals in HLIs, the challenge faced by several gender researchers is to find out what is shared among individuals about their subjective perception of reality and draw some conclusions relevant to suggesting appropriate gender inclusion strategies. This refers to strategies that can accommodate the diverging interests of individuals

as well as the attitudinal and behavioural dimensions that could be targeted for intervention. Such a challenge is found to be particularly pertinent in the context of HLIs in Tanzania where imposed gender policies have not significantly reduced the problem of gender inequalities.

Sub-analysis two was mainly focused on comparing the subjective thought patterns of the academic staff based on the parameters of their socio-demographic characteristics (i.e., men vs women academics, junior academic staff vs senior academic staff, those who are married vs those not married and individuals affiliated in science including engineering vs those in social sciences) when they were asked to evaluate and interpret the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in higher learning institutions (HLIs). A careful focus is placed on how academic staff provided meaning and interpretation of spaces of culturally related perceptions, attitudes, norms, values, practices and beliefs that can produce gender inequality or boundaries in HLIs.

Generally, in this analysis, the effects of socio-demographic characteristics (structures of social relations) of academic staff in HLIs was hypothesised to influence differences in the perception of the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions. The aim was to reveal how the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions is constituted, to what extent academic meritocracy, politics and socio-cultural factors can explain men's dominance in academic social relations and arrangements, and the transformations that could facilitate change from such forms of domination.

The specific target underlying analysis one in general aimed to explore the shared meaning of socio-cultural practices and opinions embedded within the academic community and create practical solutions that best fit both men and women, individuals from the different professions, individuals from different age groups and individuals of varying marital status in accessing equal chances and opportunities in leadership positions. On the other hand, the analysis also aimed to use explored testimonies and narratives from such independent groups about their experiences, and what actions that best can resolve the paradoxes of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs.

Results

Four groups were identified as significant: the first group when academic staff were stratified by gender (men academics vs women academics); the second by age group difference (junior academic staff aged 49 and below vs senior academic staff aged 50 and above); the third by marital status (those who are married vs those not married); and the fourth by profession

(individuals affiliated with science and engineering vs those with social science). However, when academic staff were stratified by their parental status (those with children vs those without children), no common pattern thought was identified; therefore, this group was deemed to not be significant for further analysis.

Identified thought patterns by gender:

The problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs was described as multifaceted and interpreted differently by men and women academics. Gender was argued to be an integral part of organisational practices due to its structuring of social relations. Men academics placed the problem of women's underrepresentation more often as meritocratic effects than caused by socio-cultural parameters (thus, not as part of a patriarchal hierarchy). They perceived women's underrepresentation as associated with individual factors relating to women's personality traits, and to some degree they saw political factors as contributing barriers. Specifically, the following arguments prevailed:

- Gender roles that emphasise women's cultural value as family-builders were identified as a unique barrier that causes women in academia to underinvest in their human capital.
- The government appointments (politics) can also explain women's underrepresentation in leadership positions, since most qualified women academics are appointed to work outside academia.

On the other hand, women academics related the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions more as emerging from geographical spaces of culturally related practices and beliefs that defined gender roles in career development to constitute a significant effect that produced the low number of women in academic careers. Also, they pointed to the organisational and social challenges they faced in the academic processes when it came to attaining promotion and leadership positions, compared to men. More specifically:

- Fulfilling non-working time responsibilities, especially those related to family or domestic activities, was identified as an important part of women's academic lives. Women academics illuminated positive aspects of combining family life with an academic career and explored how having children can help them to attain dual roles as mothers and professionals or leaders. A contradicting perspective which women academics termed as a challenge was that men academics do not view such a situation in a positive lens and indeed institutional policies do not support or recognise women's

roles outside academic duties. This situation is what the interviewed women academics called patriarchy.

- The other direction of the patriarchal wind that the women academics identified as affecting their performance was coming from their home situation (including power relations within their marriages). Patriarchy was indicated to be more complex and limiting at home and the situation extended to the workplace.

- Women academics did not view their underrepresentation in leadership positions as the problem. Rather, they explained the problem as a numeric one. Quantity impacts the gender balance in many ways and should be addressed directly.

- Moreover, the argument about numbers, according to the interviewed women academics, was not about the scarcity of women's experience relevant to leadership positions. Rather, the argument reflects the enrolment and recruitment realities in HLIs in Tanzania, seen as a whole.

- Women academics strongly indicated a need to compromise with cultural and religious values and their teachings. For them, these are two major agents that shape the gender balance of leadership positions. Femaleness in religious values is viewed as supporting women's responsibilities concerning production (reproduction) and care, while men are religiously defined to be the first in line, as leaders and as superior to women. This perspective disqualifies women from aspiring toward leadership in their religious life as well as in other formal structures.

Identified thought pattern by age-group

Splitting academic staff by their age-group (junior academic staff aged 49 and below vs senior academic staff aged 50 and above) showed another underlying mechanism that structures social relations in interpreting the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs. Academic staff aged 49 and below perceived the cultural beliefs about gender roles that position men as leaders and women as subordinates to be outdated. They believed that women were not obliged to adhere to the beliefs since they do not inspire women to become leaders. Specifically:

- The argument that pattern the thoughts of junior academic staff is that culture does not recognise women as leaders, and this has influenced even the practices of academic institutions.

In contrast, senior academic staff (aged 50 and above) perceived cultural and religious norms about gender roles as important and affirming women's status in society. If these were

recognised by the formal systems of hiring and promotion, women would indeed be motivated to aspire for leadership positions. More specifically, they argued that:

- Gender policies that originate locally along with traditional norms are more understandable and may easily be acceptable in society. This view implied that there are good values expressed in the gender roles that should be incorporated in the formal systems of hiring and promotion. If so, gender policies in HLIs would be more effective.

Identified thought patterns by marital status

There were no underlying mechanisms that structured differences in thought patterns that could differentiate those married from not married. Both groups shared the interpretation of experienced facts. The common perspective underlying their thought pattern observed the dilemma of being married while in an academic career. More specifically:

- The argument that united the two groups recognised that women's dedicated efforts to carry out domestic duties reflect not only their strength and the gender roles but also the barrier that hinders women's professional advancement and their potential for leadership positions.
- The role of childbearing and childrearing was considered by married academic staff as a necessary part of their life. Their perspective stresses the importance of a much deeper exploration that politicises women-specific needs that differ from those of married men in academia.

Identified thought pattern by profession

Dividing academic staff by their profession (those affiliated with science and engineering vs those in social science) also revealed a significant mechanism that structured social relations in interpreting the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs.

Individuals affiliated with science and engineering perceived that the lack of gender equality agendas (gender politics) in recruitment procedures had led to fewer women academics in leadership positions. More specifically:

- An increasing number of women to achieve a better gender balance was considered genuinely necessary, and this could only be enforced by introducing a policy that requires all recruitment of academic staff to adhere to a gender balance rule in terms of numbers.

- Awareness of gender equality in HLIs was considered one of the important strategies that emerged with a previous high increase in women in the science and engineering fields and in leadership positions. However, its implementation was not effective or sustainable because it was not reinforced by policies and rules.

Individuals affiliated with social science perceive that gender stereotypes and cultural beliefs about the gendered division of labour contributed to women's underrepresentation in leadership positions.

- They perceived the engineering field and leadership occupations as more relevant to men, and the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions could also be explained by gender stereotypes in the division of labour.

Analysis two

Analysis two was performed to answer the research question number two. The analysis focused on evaluating the efficacy of the gender policy in higher learning institutions (HLIs) and its overall context in strategizing women's inclusion into leadership positions by drawing upon experiences and perspectives articulated by the interviewed academic staff in HLIs.

The hypothesis underlying this analysis assumes that inclusion strategies to increase the number of women in leadership positions in HLIs cannot be effective if the gendered socio-cultural spaces that provide the context of the potential for inclusion of women are not integrated into gender policies.

This is meant to help propose an alternative reform strategy addressing the existing terms of reference in appointment procedures of leadership positions and to suggest practical means that best suit gender inclusion actions that cater to gender equity and equality. The significance of this analysis stems from the observation that gender inclusion is socially produced and that this production requires to be managed within a policy framework that should be adhered to as a term of reference in hiring and promoting people within academia.

To achieve the objective, the analysis used the indigenous model (an emic approach to the perspectives of insiders) to evaluate the practicability of gender policy in HLIs. Through this approach, the central evaluation of the gender policy in HLIs and its overall context in strategizing women's inclusion into leadership positions is explored and presented based on interviewees' opinion, experiences and perspectives.

Carol Bacchi's (2009) 'What's the Problem Represented to Be?' (WPR) approach, which suggests five important steps for policy analysis, is applied to structure the analysis. The steps are as follows: 1) introduce the policy; 2) identify the key themes that constitute a policy; 3) use the value criteria to unfold relevant themes for analysis; 4) discuss what is perceived as a problem in the policy (using information explored from the interviews); and, 5) make a recommendation and conclusion.

Results

With respect to the policy articles that I have highlighted in Chapter Six, the feedback from the interviewees may be summarised as follows. The policy article "institutional framework", stipulated in NSGD (2003) under Section 2.1.1.2, directs HLIs to put in place structures and mechanisms that can help to attain the goals and objectives of gender equity and gender equality in all sectors, departments, professions, specialisations and in leadership positions where women are few or absent. However, the concept of gender equality and gender equity in the policy article was deemed contentious by many interviewees. Their concern was that the policy article was ambiguous, not well defined and lacking a clear descriptive interpretation of how women and men can be treated while considering their different social roles. The interviewees recommended a change that focused on what I have presented as an extended concept of intersectionality needed to understand how the prevailing systems of meritocracy, culture and politics defined "gender equity and gender equality" as an objective to realise the policy article.

The policy article "decision-making and power relations", as stipulated in NSGD (2003) under Section 2.1.2.2, directs all public institutions to ensure gender balance in the decision-making processes. The interviewees' critical argument about the policy article pointed to the patriarchal structures that treat women as outsiders (minority) and men as insiders (majority) in decision-making arenas. According to the interviewee, being a minority meant limited power to influence decision-making, being controlled by other people as well as having less chance of being listened to. Action research to support women's academic achievements and influence was considered significant for realising the aims of the policy article.

The policy article "access to higher education and gender sensitization", stipulated in NSGD (2003) under Section 2.1.4.2, directs the HLIs to provide guidelines that will facilitate gender equal access to knowledge and choice of specialisations; to establish a guideline for the universities to take actions to redress the historical gender imbalances, and such guidelines

should include affirmative action policies. Also, the universities should take initiatives that could increase the number of women in areas and fields with substantially fewer women than men.

The interviewees' assessment of the policy article revealed that it contains elements of recruitments (to retain women students) which is not directly a part of university authority. The underlying challenge is the fact that HLIs are controlled by the Ministry of Education, while the recruitment of the academic staff is managed by the Ministry of Civil Servants. More contradictions arise when the gender policy directs the universities' recruitment efforts. Direct recruitment of women academic staff is usually possible in private but not in public institutions. There is a need to influence the political agenda, specifically on the decentralisation of power to allow direct recruitments of women academic staff in public institutions.

The policy article "employment, promotion and appointment", stipulated in NSGD (2003) under Section 2.1.7.2, directs HLIs to initiate measures that focus on the recognition of gender roles and the differences between the responsibilities of men and women that should be taken into account in the formal recruitment, promotion, and appointment procedures. Interviewees perceived the policy article as positive, since it recognised the effects of women's triple roles, which significantly hinder women's progress in their carrier development, their promotions and their aspirations to leadership positions. However, the interviewees worried that misinterpretations of the word "favour" used in the policy-article would lead to a lowering of criteria for the assessment of women. Thus, there was a need for amending the policy article by adding a clearer definition of the word "favour".

The policy article "Gender mainstreaming", stipulated in NSGD (2003) under Section 2.1.16.2, directs HLIs to take affirmative action by initiating gender mainstreaming to bridge the gender gaps in all programmes, policies, strategic plans and leadership positions. This policy article was perceived as too broad and unspecific. The interviewees argued that there was a need for initiatives that would target specific academic fields where women were a minority.

Analysis three

Analysis three was performed to answer research question number three. This analysis has investigated local specificities that form a set of important themes/factors relevant to strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. In this analysis, realities of gender construction within the local context were hypothesised to reflect a

prolonged hidden gap of knowledge between existing gender problems in the Tanzanian context and research done in more theoretically mature disciplines.

The main focus is the need to go beyond superficial gender inclusion strategies/policies (beyond meritocratic attributes of Western perspectives/macro-level) and explore spaces of local knowledge to the understanding of specific gender issues experienced in HLIs in Tanzania. This analysis has explored realities of the construction of gender in the local context. This is hypothesised to reflect a prolonged hidden gap of knowledge between existing gender problems in the Tanzanian context and research done in more theoretical mature efforts to explore such issues. Leveraging gender inclusion strategies from a local perspective is assumed as an essential step in addressing the existing problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. This is essential because explicit gender inclusion strategies entail the specificities of local knowledge.

To achieve the objective, several steps have been taken. First, the "Create Theme Nodes by Auto Coding" method (NVivo software program) was applied in this analysis to generate the key themes (base factors). Themes are constituted based on interviewees opinion about what could be the best approach/strategic measures to focus on for gender inclusion into leadership positions at the university. Second, the generated key themes/factors are used as headings for running a text search query. The purpose of running a query search is to cluster the general interviewees' opinions about what exactly is said to be the best local strategies for gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs based on identified key themes. Local gender inclusion strategies were explored when the interviewees were asked during interviews, "Other than identified efforts, strategies and the implementations taken by the university to sensitize gender issues in various sectors including leadership positions, in your opinion which strategy if added can portray the local values relevant for gender inclusion into leadership positions at the university?" In this analysis, a wide range of local gender inclusion strategies is clustered and connected in each related key theme.

 Results

Seven key themes/factors are identified as important for strategizing gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. These include policy, women's inclusion, unfolded blind spots within socio-cultural values, recognition of spaces of socio-demographic attributes, performing action research, networking, and focusing on merits by gender needs.

When these identified themes were connected with the explored local gender inclusion strategies to examine the extent to which identified themes can be addressed based on criteria outside gender superficial approaches (Meritocratic procedures), as well as to identify the silent attributes of socio-cultural and political factors that constitute daily gender practices in HLIs in Tanzania, a wide range of gender inclusion strategies that structure the themes under specific contingent local conditions were revealed:

- About the policy: 1) A thorough review of the national gender policy should be carried out, and a comprehensive national strategy for gender mainstreaming in academia should be put in place. 2) Local values which are not oppressive should be reflected in the policy. 3) An explicit gender policy specifically for higher learning institutions should be put in place. 4) The highest percentage of policy content should constitute adjustments against oppressive gender practices. And, 5) gender policies should be supported and reinforced by law.

- About women's inclusion: 1) To influence a political agenda for leveraging women's inclusion by objectives. 2) Strategizing and maintaining girls/women's inclusion from lower levels to higher levels of education by numbers. 3) Parents and local authority should be held responsible and accountable by law for any drop-out of girl students in primary and secondary schools. 4) More opportunities and incentives for girls' education in primary and secondary schools. And, 5) more boarding schools at the secondary level (ordinary and advanced) for girls.

- About unfolding blind sports within socio-cultural values: 1) A conducive and friendly working environment in academia which facilitates women in academia to full fill their gender roles, i.e., maintaining official working hours from 8:00 am to 4:00 pm, and not beyond as it is experienced now. 2) Gender roles being understood and practised within formal organisational structures, i.e., provide enough time for maternity leave, such as at least one year rather than three months as it is now.

- About recognising spaces of socio-demographic attributes: 1) Gender issues in HLIs should not exclude men, because the problem of women's underrepresentation in leadership positions is multi-faceted and interpreted differently between men and women. 2) To involve men academics in researching and teaching gender courses in HLIs, this will transform the current mind-set that associates gender and women.

- About action research: Enhance gender research activities in HLIs through the simultaneous process of taking action and doing research, which are linked together by critical reflection.
- About networking: 1) There is a need to influence a political agenda to establish a national gender research centre. This will contribute significantly to coordinate, to document, to network stakeholders and how to approach appropriately gender issues at the national level. 2) To undertake gender issues in a professional way within academic institutions, the establishment of gender research centres at the institutional levels is important. This will indeed facilitate critical thinking and social change within and outside academic institutions. 3) There is a need for HLIs to recognise and create networks with other gender stakeholders such as NGOs, CBOs, GOs for sharing expatriate, experience and building strong network that can influence politics on gender issues. 4) Impose outreach programmes in HLIs to network with lower level of education for information dissemination and targeting girls in secondary schools to inspire them at an early stage, understanding challenges and how to overcome them at the time when they join HLIs.
- About merits by gender needs: Introduce special funds for women in academics for research and publications.

The outlined local gender inclusion strategies on each theme build on each other and collectively offer useful means to accommodate local knowledge important for gender inclusion strategies in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania. The strategies cover a wide range of intersectionality of factors (within meritocracy, culture and politics) in which connections and immediacy are concerned. Explored strategies underlying the gender policy, women's inclusion and action research contribute to immediate effect in order to achieve gender inclusion into leadership positions in HLIs. While strategies constituting themes/factors like unfold blind spots within socio-cultural values, focusing on merits by gender needs and the recognition of spaces of socio-demographic attributes revealed relevant to contribute for the long-term strategies. On the other hand, while strategies, especially those underlying networking such as outreach programs in secondary schools, do not appear to be directly relating to HLIs, they likely have a significant effect.

8.3 Conclusion

The spaces of culturally related perceptions, attitudes, norms, values, practices and beliefs in Tanzania have a significant influence on gendered dynamics of power as well as in structuring

social relations in HLIs. Differences in the composition of socio-demographic characteristics among individuals in HLIs contribute significantly to their differences in perception and attitude while addressing the problem of gender inequalities. Thus, gender inclusion in top decision-making positions in HLIs in Tanzania involves a complex process. To identify an effective way of implementing it, it needs an approach that uses both 1) an abstraction — understanding a diverging socio-demographic composition of individuals and dealing with what is shared amongst individuals about their subjective reality in perceiving and their wish about practical gender inclusion strategies, and 2) contextualisation of the interconnected-evidences — paying attention to how socio-cultural and meritocratic systems deeply intertwine and influence women's experiences and opportunities in academia.

Although universities in Tanzania are traditionally viewed as centres of free thought and change, local specificities that form structures of social relations, gender roles and religious values have a significant intersectional effect on gender differences in career advancements (merits) as well as in formal organisational procedures. Women academics are overwhelmed by many socio-cultural factors hindering their aspirations for leadership positions or their achievement of academic promotions and ranks.

The overall context of the gender policy in HLIs primarily fosters a meritocratic structure, thus paying less attention to the spaces of politics and socio-cultural constructs that shape and define gender in the local context. Reflecting on the content of the policy articles and the interviewees' perspectives, the concept of gender equality (embedded in a meritocratic definition) is paradoxical and cannot facilitate change and realisation of the policy objectives. The concept of equality in the gender policy does not explicitly recognise gender differences linked to gender roles (socio-cultural constructs), women's access and inclusion in terms of numbers, or the hegemonic futures of power relations (emanating from organisational structures, politics, hierarchies and procedures that prioritise masculinity). To make the gender policy effective and relevant for gender inclusion strategies, an intersectional approach that links meritocracy, politics and socio-cultural factors is revealed to be significant to the development of a more effective gender policy.

It can be generalised that the problem of women's underrepresentation into leadership positions in HLIs cannot be resolved by focusing on meritocratic parameters alone. There is a need for adjusting certain forms of men-dominated culture in leadership roles, and the embedded process of getting leaders. This implicates to the appeal of the many hidden/silent socio-cultural

values within the formal procedure so as to provide HLIs with a new gender-inclusive approach grounded in socio-cultural values. These are typically invisible and sub-conscious and are thus often overlooked, but they strongly influence the gendered social structures in leadership positions in HLIs in Tanzania.

8.4 Recommendations

The underlying meritocratic procedures in HLIs along with gender policies that are currently used in strategizing women's inclusion in leadership positions are revealed to be paradoxical and relatively with low facilitation effect. In order to realise practical inclusion strategies that give precedence to gender representation in top leadership positions in HLIs, it is important to integrate socio-cultural abstractions. Such abstractions can be described as strategies that can accommodate the diverging interests of individuals based on the affiliated strata of their socio-demographic composition (i.e., affiliated profession, marital status, parental status, religious beliefs, and age generation). More research is recommended on this area, for there is scant research with this focus.

Women academics strongly indicated a need to compromise with cultural and religious values. These are major factors that contribute significantly to gender imbalance in leadership positions. A particular concern was the religious marriage covenants, which are constitutionally recognised. In such marriages, a woman is obliged to always obey and respect her husband's decisions, for he is the head of the family. Cultural and religious values position women with less power and right to make decisions, which then extends to other contexts beyond the family. This value was traced to many women's decisions to avoid leadership levels, which may have been more about the husbands' preferences than the women. More research is needed in this area. These are invisible values that constitute a strong effect on shaping individuals' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour.

Gender policy in HLIs tend to rely on a meritocratic structure, thus paying little attention to the spaces of politics and socio-cultural constructs that shape and define gender in the local context. Reflecting on the content of the policy articles and the interviewees' perspectives, the dilemma of gender equality concept (embedded in a meritocratic definition) is paradoxical and cannot facilitate change and realisation of the policy objectives. A redefinition of equality, inclusion and exclusion in the gender policy is recommended to explicitly recognise gender differences linked to gender roles (socio-cultural constructs).

Realities of gender construction within the local context are revealed to reflect a prolonged hidden gap of knowledge between existing gender problems in the Tanzanian context and research done based in the Western context. To promote practical gender inclusion strategies in HLIs in Tanzania, I recommend recognising the intersection of socio-cultural factors, political factors and meritocracy as potentially important in creating efficient gender inclusion strategies in leadership positions in HLIs.

This study recommends the establishment of a specific HLIs policy, which can address specific issues concerning women in academia that aim to take into account the local context according to needs and demands, at the same time as set a strategic time frame to accomplish and achieve the objectives. The findings reveal that there is a vast difference between having a policy and making it work. For example, the policy article on equal access cannot work when it comes to leadership positions, because socio-cultural practices and values that assign gender roles provide a more conducive environment for men to meet the required qualifications needed for the leadership positions, leading them to eventually outnumber women. In addition to the issue of numbers, I recommend HLIs to set strategies for gender balance among university students, which can lead to an increase number of women academic staff. However, this requires a strong coordination between HLIs and the Tanzania Commission for Universities (TCU), the latter of which is responsible for approving students' admission at universities.

The study also recommends mutual coordination and networking between different stakeholders i.e., gender stakeholders, policy makers, the government and related ministries. This is recommended because HLIs rely on the rules and procedures from the central government. Institutions, especially government institutions, have less autonomy in decision-making when it comes to, for example, the employment and recruitment of new academic staff. There has been a tendency to appoint academic staff to serve in other government sectors which in most cases the HLIs lose most of the qualified academics and at the same time they do not have the mandate to employ new staff when the national budget do not allow new recruitments. In addition to this, institutions have limited autonomy to retain or recruit new academic staff for the replacement, even when there is a need to do so.

I recommend incentives such as publication funds, specifically for women. This will be one of the important means of facilitating women in academia to achieve their career development and promotion on time and in large quantity. In addition, this will also facilitate a strong

network that can make change in the organisation structure as well as transformational change of HLIs' men-dominated culture.

Action research is recommended in order to identify and strategize appropriate and effective inclusion measures based on local knowledge. Action research is important for mapping and understanding how gender is reflected in policy, how such policies are implemented, which constrains they face, and what solutions might best fit the institutions' gender equality needs.

Finally, mentorship programs are recommended in HLIs in order to create spaces for young generations to develop leadership skills and become ready to carry on the work in an open-minded spirit that can promote a culture of gender equality and women's inclusion.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview guiding questions (semi-structured)

Appendix 1.1. Interview guide (Key-interviewee)

Introduction

Short presentation of myself and the project, information about anonymity and confidentiality of information provided and identity of the informant. Explanation on the need to have the interview recorded.

About interviewee information: Interviewee position at the university, level of education, working experience, and institution or affiliation of the informant.

Structure of the institution and gender composition:

Could you describe the structure of the institution? How many academic staff members are employed in your organisation? How many are members of staff women? How many academic employees are in managerial and administrative position? How many women are in managerial positions? How many women are in administrative position?

Guiding questions

- What are the procedures for an academic staff to acquire or be appointed into managerial or administrative position at the University?
- Among the procedures, can you tell how gender representation is incorporated?
- How would you describe gender distribution in the top management positions at the university (1 Chancellor/Vice Chancellor 2. University Board/Senate 3. Deans of faculties 4. College principals 5. Head of department 6. Directors of Institution and 7. Directors of program)
- Why do you think women are less represented in these positions?
- Could you please describe some of the important gender related values, norms and practices used as a guide or as prerequisite when recruiting or appointing leaders at the University?
- Could you please mention some of the remarkable gender strategies or policies that have been imposed, established or implemented to create gender balance in managerial/ administrative position at the university?
- What are the strategies for gender inclusion, why, who are the main actors, how are they applied, and what are the goals/results achieved?
- Could you please explain what would be the best approach to increase women participation/employment into managerial and administrative positions?
- According to your daily practices and administration operations, do you think the university/colleges/faculties/departments are doing enough to ensure gender balance?
- Do you think some disciplines or departments are doing better than others?
- Are their organisations or agencies working with or collaborating with university about gender issues?
- If yes, who are these agencies?
- Could you explain how are these agencies operate, their goals, and their success?
- Do you have comments/recommendations on strategies to create change in gender balance? (why, how?).

Appendix 1.2. Interview guide (Primary-interviewee)

Introduction:

- My name is Lucy Pius Kyauke, A PhD student at NTNU Trondheim Norway.
- My study is about Gender inclusion and leadership positions in higher learning institutions.
- UDSM and UDOM is my case study.
- The objective of my study is to explore shared meaning of socio-cultural practices and opinion embedded within academia society and create practical solutions that best fit both men and women in accessing equal chances and opportunities into leadership positions.
- This is a qualitative study, and today's interview is among several other interviews as a means to explore primary data.
- Research ethics have been followed, these include research permit from COSTECH, Research clearance permit from UDSM, Anonymity of information, and consent of recording information.

Guiding questions

- Could you please tell us about your education background, working experience and leadership experience to-date?
- What challenges did you experience in the processes of attaining your education?
- What made it possible for you to attain the leadership positions you have been into? (In other words, what were the motivations and how was that facilitated?)
- In your observation and experience, how would you assess the tendencies of gender distribution at the administration and management positions at university of Dar es Salaam? Could you explain why it is so?
- Why do you think women are less represented in these positions?
- Could you identify factors responsible for women underrepresentation in managerial and administrative positions at your university?
- In your experience, could you please mention/describe some of the remarkable efforts taken by your University to ensure or to sensitize gender issues in various sectors including leadership positions?
- What are these strategies, why, who are the main actors, how are they implemented, any results?).
- In your opinion, could you please explain what would be the best approach to increase women into leadership positions at the university?
- In your opinion, what would you consider as challenges limiting women into leadership positions?
- In your opinion what are the strength and challenges a woman can face in leadership.
- How and to what extent would you address or ensure more women into leadership positions at your university?
- Do you have comments/recommendations/inputs on strategies to create change in gender balance? (why, how?).

Appendix 1.3. Interview guide (Focus-group discussion) English version

Introduction

Short presentation of myself and the project, information about anonymity and confidentiality of information provided and identity of the informant. Explanation on the need to have the interview recorded.

About interviewee information: name, age, level of education, occupation, affiliation or employer of the informant, marital status and affiliated social groups.

- If we reflect on gender distribution at administration and managerial positions in your university, do you think women are adequately represented? Why is it so? Are there any procedures to ensure gender balance? Who is responsible for that?
- Can we describe or identify some remarkable gender efforts taken by your university to ensure gender balance in various sectors including leadership positions? How are they implemented? How successful are they? What are their weaknesses?
- If given a chance to advice, what can you suggest as the best strategy for initiating gender inclusion at your university? How can these strategies be sustained and implemented?

Critical questions will emerge from the discussion with relevance to inclusion/exclusion perspectives, meaning/interpretation of gender balance, ability to lead, carrier experiences/challenges, political issues, social cultural issues, individual inspirations/motivations, advantages/disadvantages being a man or a woman in academia/leadership ways forward/actions for change etc.

Appendix 1.4. Interview guide (Gender policy evaluation)

Introduction

This gender policy template introduces five gender policy articles which will be discussed along during interview session. Under each policy article there are guiding questions that will be asked for discussion. Kindly please review the policy articles and make reference on them for the coming interview.

1. Institutional Framework:

Section 2.1.1.2 Capacity of actors is built in the existing administration and development structures to ensure sustainable collaboration and coordination for proper planning and implementation of gender-based programmes.

- Are you familiar with this policy article? How do you understand it? Are structures and mechanisms available at the university? (i.e., gender laws, gender regulations or gender policy). Do you think mechanisms of these structures can facilitate the process of attaining gender goals and objectives of gender inclusion in leadership positions at the university? How? What do you think are the strength sof this policy? What do you think are the weaknesses of this policy article? What do you think can improve this policy article?

2. Decision-Making and Power

Section 2.1.2.2 Women be empowered to enable them to participate fully and equally with men in decision- making at different levels.

- Are you familiar with this policy article? How do you understand it? Could you please discuss about power relation between men and women at the university? Is there any policy or rule that directs gender balance in the decision-making process? Do you think this policy article can facilitate the process of attaining gender goals and objectives of gender inclusion in leadership positions at the university? What do you think are the strengths of this policy? How? What do you think are the weaknesses of this policy article? What do you think can improve this policy article?

3. Education

Section 2.1.4.2 Equal access to education be enhanced and ensured for boys and girls, women and men.

- Are you familiar with this policy article? How do you understand it? Are the admission and enrolment procedure and specialisations at the university gender sensitive? Do you think this policy article can facilitate the process of attaining gender goals and objectives of gender inclusion in leadership positions at the university? How? What do you think are the strengths of this policy? What do you think are the weaknesses of this policy article? What do you think can improve this policy article?

4. Employment, promotion and appointment

Section 2.1.7.2 Create a conducive environment for equal opportunities in employment, promotion and appointment to leadership positions for both women and men.

- Are you familiar with this policy article? How do you understand it? Are women still find it difficult to compete with men due to some women's low academic qualifications and stereotyped male domination? Do you think this policy article can facilitate the process of attaining gender goals and objectives of gender inclusion in leadership positions at the university? How? What do you think are the strengths of this policy? What do you think are the weaknesses of this policy article? What do you think can improve this policy article?

5. Gender Mainstreaming

Section 2.1.16.2 Mainstream Gender in all policies, programmes, plans, strategies, budgets and activities to bridge the existing gender gaps at all levels.

- Are you familiar with this policy article? How do you understand it? Is gender mainstreamed at the university? Are gender roles recognised in the university procedures? Do you think this policy article can facilitate the process of attaining gender goals and objectives of gender inclusion in leadership positions at the university? How? What do you think are the strengths of this policy? What do you think are the weaknesses of this policy article? What do you think can improve this policy article?

Appendix 2. Ethical formalities

Appendix 2.1. Introduction letter from Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)
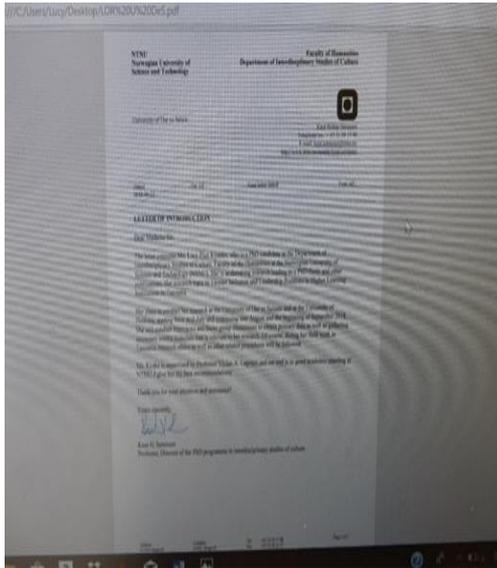
Introduction letter was written by Supervisor, Professor Knut Sørensen.

The letter was demanded by COSTECH, University of Dar es Salaam and University of Dodoma during the process of requesting research permit.

Contact: Professor Knut Sørensen, Department of Interdisciplinary Studies of Culture, Faculty of Humanities.

Email: knut.sorensen@ntnu.no

Appendix 2.2. Research permit from Tanzania Commission of Science and Technology (COSTECH) Tanzania

Tanzania Commission for Science and Technology

Authorized government agent to issue research permit for student and experts locals and internationals.

Permit is issued by certificate after evaluation report from the COSTECH committee

Permit issued from 25. Sept. 2018 to 24. Sept. 2019

Researcher is required to submit progress report on quarterly basis and submit all publications made after research if demanded by COSTECH.

Contact: Director general + 255 -022 2775155, Email: rclearance@costech.or.tz

Appendix 2.3. Research clearance from University of Dar es Salaam (UDSM)
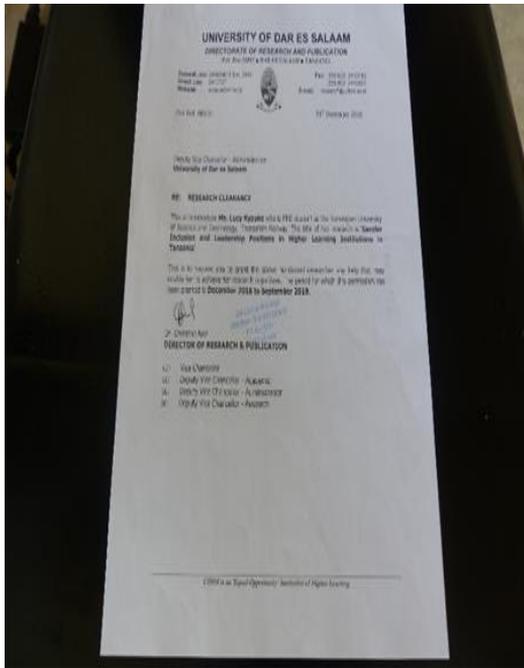
To work within university, research clearance permit is required despite permit from COSTECH

A letter to request the permit was written to the Vice Chancellor and it was issued by Director of Research and publications, University of Dar es salaam

Directorate of research and publications is responsible and authorised and to facilitate and assure quality of all research within the University including issuing permits/certificate.

Permit is issued by certificate *after* evaluation report from the research committee at the University

Permit issued from 25. Sept. 2018 to 24. Sept. 2019

Contact: Director of research and publications + 255 -022 2410500-8, Email:

Appendix 2.4 Photographing permit from University of Dar es salaam
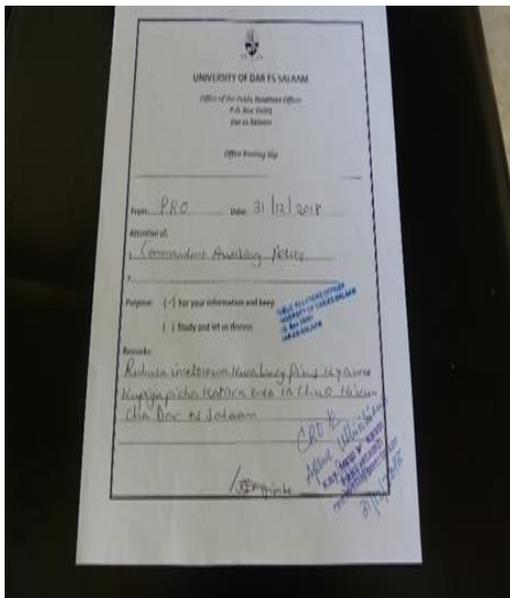
To take pictures within the university, photographing permit is required

A letter to request the permit was written to Public relations officer, and it was issued by Public Relations office, university of Dar es salaam

Public relations office is responsible and authorised to issue the Photographing permit at the University.

Permit is issued by certificate and approved by Auxiliary Police at *the* University.

Permit issued from 25. Sept. 2018 to 24. Sept. 2019

Contact: Office of Public Relations, P. O. Box 35091 University of Dar es Salaam.

Appendix 2.5. Research clearance from University of Dodoma (UDOM)
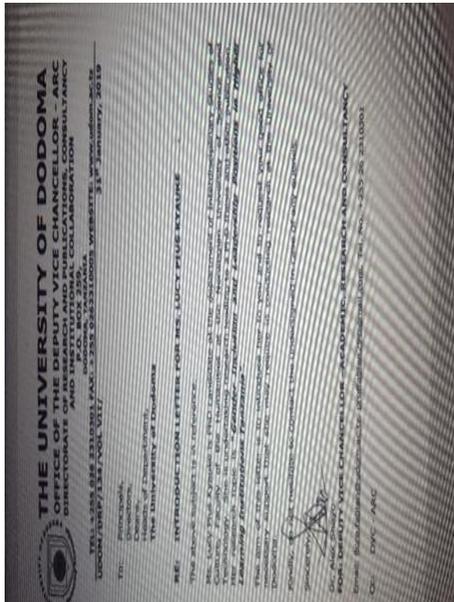
To work within university of Dodoma, research clearance permit is required despite permit from COSTECH

A letter to request the permit was written to the Director of Research and publications, University of Dodoma who issued Research clearance permit

Directorate of research and publications is responsible and authorised to facilitate and assure quality of all research within the University including issuing permits/certificate.

Permit is issued by certificate after evaluation report from the research committee at the University.

Permit issued from 25. Sept. 2018 to 24. Sept. 2019

Contact: Director of Research, and Publications, Innovations, Consultancy and Collaborations + 255 -026 2310301, website: www.udom.ac.tz

Appendix 3. Maps

Appendix 3.1. Map of Tanzania

NTNU

Norwegian University of
Science and Technology