

Gender, Institutional Cultures and the Career Trajectories of Faculty of the University of Ghana¹

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Introduction

History and national socioeconomic developments have shaped the University of Ghana in profound ways since its original conception in the colonial period as a residential liberal arts college for the creation of a new African male elite. Post-colonial changes such as Africanisation, the expansion in student numbers and economic liberalisation policies developed Legon as a space in which faculty continue to experience gender discriminatory practices that present particular problems for women's intellectual production and career development.

This article will explore how male and female faculty experience and contribute to shaping the university's gendered institutional and intellectual cultures, and how these interactions structure intellectual production and career trajectories. Faculty are discussed as men and women with multiple and intersecting social relations and identities arising from their gender, class, age, religion, marital and motherhood status and seniority within the institution. The article highlights the gender inequalities embedded in these identities and social relations.

The article's main sources are archival and documentary research, key informant interviews and life-story interviews.

Key informant interviews² of academics and administrators provided an overview, which framed the more detailed and in-depth accounts gathered through life and career history interviews. A total of eight persons, four men and four women, drawn from diverse disciplinary backgrounds and different age groups were interviewed in order to construct their life stories. Of these, seven were academics and one was a senior administrative officer of the university. My experience as both a student and a faculty member on the same campus provided useful information to support the life stories. This has enabled me to draw some tentative conclusions which otherwise would not have been possible from such a small sample.

Towards a Conceptual Framework

The dominant discourse about the low levels of women's participation in tertiary education is that this is largely a function of gender inequalities within society at large. This theorisation has been critiqued by feminist scholars, who view educational institutions as "socialising agents which transmit different patterns of achievement, aspiration and self evaluation to males and females" (Prah, 2002: 88; see also Pereira, 2007) or which function as key sites for "the production and reproduction of values and worldviews, for the production of people, of identities, subjectivities and consciousness" (Mama, 2003: 10; Barnes, 2005). As Mama argues, this ideological role of universities has most often been covert, in keeping with the liberal political tradition and its claims to neutrality (Mama, 2003: 10).

This article shares this latter view of the universities as key institutions in the creation and reproduction of particular institutional and intellectual cultures, which faculty, students and administrators all contribute to shaping. Conceiving of institutions as gendered enables a proper assessment of everyday practices which might be considered trivial, but which may be the manifestation of strongly held androcentric values. While gender is not the only axis of differentiation and power, it is a critical one.

Since the problem of women's representation has been analysed mainly as one of enrolment, other critical elements of institutional and intellectual cultures, which affect both faculty and students, are often not addressed. These include questions of structures and hierarchies, processes, social relations and agency in governance, teaching and learning, research and everyday life. Related to this, the questions of how differences among women such as age, seniority, marital status, qualifications, ethnicity, religion, networks and disciplinary background interact with institutional cultures are also often ignored. Some of these issues are examined only briefly in this paper because of space constraints.

Universities cannot be understood without their context and environment (Zezeza, 2002; Sawyerr, 2002; Manuh et al., 2004; Britwum, 2005), and are as much shaped by their internal processes as they are by their national contexts.

The National Context of the University of Ghana

The 1980s and 1990s were highly significant in shaping the current situation at the University of Ghana and this is true of many African universities. It is in this period that finance became the one most decisive factor in the life

of universities. As well, the fortunes of the university also came to be determined not only by national governments, but also by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Developments in this period included the unprecedented growth in the demand for higher education leading to sharp increases in enrolments and the growth in the mobility of and market for highly skilled labour. These, combined with the retreat of the state from social spending, resulted in a drastic decline of the financial support for public universities (Zezeza, 2002; Britwum, 2005; Sawyerr, 2002). In 1983, Ghana embarked on a far-reaching programme of economic liberalisation overseen by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. After a few years of macroeconomic policy reforms, the liberalisation agenda was extended to public institutions such as the universities (Woodhall, 1992; Adomako-Ampofo, 2002; Sawyerr, 2002).

During the late 1980s, the Government of Ghana announced changes in the structure of primary and secondary education. This led to the exponential growth of the pool of people seeking admission in tertiary educational institutions.³ Measures to tackle the problems of tertiary education were also announced. These included a revamping of the administration of higher education, cost reduction and income generation for the universities. A major break with the past was the adoption of a non-residential system of education to save on costs (Government of Ghana White Paper, 1990). The upshot of these reforms was that Ghana fully embraced the global trend of commercialisation of higher education. So funding, cost-sharing, income generation, access and strategic planning have become the main preoccupations of universities, replacing core concerns such as curriculum, teaching and research (Prah, 2002; Sawyerr, 2002).

For example, the main elements of the most recent strategic plan of the University of Ghana included mobilisation of financial resources and strengthening of financial management, creation of a performance-driven structure and the professionalisation of the human resource section, the development of consumer orientation and the active marketing of the university, the strengthening of information technology, the enhancement of infrastructure and capitalisation of the strengths and core competencies of the institution as well as the privatisation of its non core performing units. Questions of values, philosophies, intellectual and institutional cultures, on the other hand, were not explicitly discussed in the plan (University of Ghana Corporate Strategic Plan, 2000–2005: 7).

Elements of the Institutional Culture of the University: Intellectual Traditions and the Composition of Faculty

Intellectual Traditions

The university's identity as a liberal arts college created an unofficial hierarchy of subjects, which has been through many changes over the years. Until the 1960s, philosophy and the classics were very highly rated, although there appeared to be some openness about all courses of study. Though building strength in the natural sciences and research has been a longstanding aspiration, this has yet to be achieved.⁴

By the 1970s, professional courses had become very highly regarded with law, medicine and business administration becoming status symbols among students, their growing pre-eminence strengthened by the fact that students needed better grades to be admitted to these programmes. Economic liberalisation in the 1980s was accompanied by a more narrow and functionalist conception of what education was about; a new hierarchy of subjects formed. Business administration, economics and the social sciences were now preferred over the humanities and cultural studies.

Within the natural sciences, applied sciences were deemed more useful and potentially more lucrative, especially in a situation where equipment and laboratory facilities were insufficient for the serious pursuit of science. Those courses also satisfied the desire to strengthen links with industry and the private sector and to become economically viable through income generation activities. Subjects such as nursing, which were in the past not much sought after, have become very popular in the last few years, in response to the high demand for nurses in Europe and North America. In spite of these changes, the personal prominence of some academics in Legon balanced somewhat the otherwise declining interest in the disciplines and subject areas they were teaching.

The changing dominance of particular subjects within the intellectual culture has had gendered impacts. Some of the areas which lost out in the changing hierarchies over the years were also the areas with relatively more women on the faculty. Female faculty have been at the forefront of introducing courses and conducting gender research, but the university has been reluctant to employ and promote academic staff specifically for this. These programmes, introduced through individual and departmental initiative have been growing over the years. While these courses are popular among students, they are not highly regarded in the university (Manuh et al., 2004: 119).

There is now a strong belief in terminal degrees at Legon. This has implications for those who do not have these degrees. In the case of female academics who often embark on terminal degrees mid career, this involves very adroit planning and strategising to hold career, studies and family together at the same time.

The establishment of links with intellectuals and institutions abroad is now key to research prospects and the external review of papers for promotion. Those who have studied abroad are advantaged by being able to tap into these networks more easily. Because fewer women study abroad, and many women academics do not have terminal degrees, they usually have not had the opportunity to develop such relationships. This could be changing slowly, with the development of more opportunities for such collaboration in a range of areas, including women and gender studies.

The Gender Composition of Faculty

While there was never any doubt that the University of Ghana would be co-educational, both its antecedents and early practices marked it as a profoundly male space concerned with the creation of modern African masculinities. The low numbers of female faculty have improved slowly. In the 1970s, the faculty was still largely male even in the subjects which attracted female students. Since the 1980s, there have been more women on the faculty. However, as the statistics show, there are still a number of departments which have no women. In this sense, parts of the university are still stuck in the 1970s. Physics for example, did not employ a female member of faculty until the 1990s.

The demographic and sociological character of the faculty is an important aspect of the institutional culture in both being a determinant and a manifestation. The first generation of faculty who were trained before and in the 1960s were considered able to hold on their own anywhere in the world. It was this group that contributed to Legon's reputation. They trained the 1970s generation, which emulated them (Sawyer 2002). By the 1980s, following a period of military coups and political and economic crisis, most of the staff were trained entirely in Ghana and did not have terminal degrees. The majority of women academics belong to this third generation.⁵ With a few exceptions, their publishing record was not ideal and many were overwhelmed by the problems of institutional culture, heavy teaching loads and the lack of opportunities for research collaboration abroad.

Female senior members, both faculty and administrative staff, have almost consistently been only 3.3% to 4.4% of the staff total, while male members have been between 14% and 17%. Senior members who are academics are

ranked as assistant lecturers/research fellows, lecturers/research fellows, senior lecturers/research fellows, associate professors and professors. In all, about 79% are men, while 20.3% of the faculty are women. Women are disproportionately represented in the lower lecturer grade.

Africanisation appears to have enhanced gender inequality for a time: but while the University of Ghana's professorial class had 18.5% of females in the 1960s, there were none in the 1970s, and only 7.9% in the 1990s. Current figures put the number of women professors at 19% of the total. In 2006, women associate professors were 2.3% of academic staff and women full professors were 0.7% of academic staff. For men, the figures were 10.8% for associate professors and 8.9 for full professors. More than 60% of female academics are in the lecturer grade as opposed to less than 50% of men. Only about 5% of all women academics were professors as compared to 10% of men. In other words, women continue to be concentrated in lower ranks.

In spite of these stark statistics, the University is still considered gender neutral by influential members of administration and the faculty. Because women's absence has been attributed to their habit of terminating their studies at the first degree and to the demands of their biological and social roles as wives and mothers, the main response to the issue has been to encourage female graduate students finish and take up teaching jobs. That this has not translated into significant increases in female faculty suggests that the problems have not been fully diagnosed. As one respondent argues, women's low representation in the academy is due to both national trends and also to the institution's culture: "There is institutional complicity in gender blindness in that it has not sought to model a structure which would be different from what pertains generally. While some lip service has been paid to gender equity, there is not much going on" (male senior lecturer, aged mid 50s).

Analysing the Career Trajectories

Diverse careers

The material from the interviews with the seven members of faculty highlights how the history, the socio-economic context and the institutional cultures of the university have contributed to shaping the experiences of faculty. For example Adzo (female, late 30s) is widely perceived as the "mother in the department", to the effect that she should expect students to seek her out more than her colleagues. Esi (female, early 30s) can be characterised as a "young woman hitting buffers", as after only four years in her job, her sense of

frustration is palpable. She does not see exit from the university as a strategy and yet she has difficulty coping with uninterested students, cynical male colleagues and the lack of a roadmap for career advancement, and even for basic matters such as how to write an article.

Ama, in her 50s, is a “confident professional who has come a long way”. She is a professor and head of an important component of the university, a successful woman in the academy. She exudes confidence and competence, is well respected and considered a little intimidating by some respondents, perhaps because she does not have the motherly style demanded by men of women in the academy, and is not conventional in her political and social life. However, her rise has been neither smooth nor linear. She along with the other two subjects in their fifties have had many ups and downs related to beginning life as academics during the early 1980s, years of political and economic crises that have never really abated and from which Legon has never recovered. She finished a PhD only in the last few years. All the detours have paid off, though and her achievements are monumental. However, she appears to be exhausted by all the struggles of earlier years and professes a lack of interest in the highest offices in the university.

Akua is in her fifties, and is still not a professor. She “would have been a professor but for the proper equipment”, in her own words. She attributes this mainly to her being based in a natural science discipline, although she concedes that the general crisis of the university when she first started out at the faculty and the struggles to bring up children have also contributed. Like many scientists, she is only superficially interested in the cultures of the university and their workings. She retains a very positive view of her days as a student, her relationships with fellow academics, both male and female, and her place in the university.

Kwesi (male, mid 50s) feels keenly that he could have been more focused on career progression. He has had “a disappointing career trajectory” but remains “influential because of associational life.” In spite of the fact that he is not a professor, he has an important position in administration because of a history of active participation in extra-curricular activities. It is doubtful if a female member of faculty would have been appointed to this post, given their generally poor showing in extra-curricular activities.

These cases show the similarities and differences among faculty in terms of background, their experiences of national developments and the key elements of institutional cultures, their use of mentoring and outside collaboration to advance, and their experiences of marriage and family.

Among the men interviewed in depth, Kofi, is optimistic about his prospects and has a keen nose for how to advance himself – he is a “young man in a hurry”. He has been a lecturer under two years but receives excellent collegial support, and is already looking at other options because of his dissatisfaction with his conditions of service. Kwame (male, early forties), also enjoys collegial support, and can be characterised as “properly mentored and on his way up”. He has been promoted once and is looking to become an associate professor in the near future. He received textbook mentoring from his days as a national service person, through to post graduate work and employment as lecturer. He was very knowledgeable about how the university worked and confident of his eventual success, even if things were moving a little more slowly than he would have liked. He had already earned his stripes in the leadership of one of the halls of residence, and with his connections and confidence, appeared to be cut out to become a dean of students. None of the women interviewed were in his age group, which would have provided similarities and contrasts, but it is doubtful if there are women who have been so well mentored.

Table 1: Summary of respondent characteristics.

Pseudonym	Gender	Age group	Area of work	Seniority
Ama	Female	50s	Social Sciences	Professor
Akua	Female	50s	Natural Sciences	Senior Lecturer
Kwesi	Male	50s	Humanities	Senior Lecturer
Kwame	Male	40s	Natural Sciences	Senior Lecturer
Adzo	Female	30s	Natural Sciences	Lecturer
Esi	Female	30s	Social Science	Lecturer
Kofi	Male	30s	Humanities	Lecturer

Source: Life Story Interviews, 2005–6.

The women in the case study had better educated and/or more affluent parents than the men. The differences are sharpest in the case of the three respondents in their 30s. The two women in their 30s had studied abroad and already had PhDs, while the male respondent had an M.Phil. Their educational trajectories could not have been more different – university education abroad and the acquisition of three degrees in quick succession, and in one case, two children had been born along the way. The male in his 30s, Kofi, would not without

some benefactors have entered the university, because of financial constraints. It is arguable that had he been female, he would not have come this far.

The experiences of the women in their 30s – Adzo and Esi, are quite different from the situation of their older colleagues, many of whom acquired PhDs only when well into their forties, having first worked for some time and had children. More and more departments are demanding a PhD as minimum qualifications for an academic post, and this could hamper women's careers, given that there is a global tendency for women to complete their PhD's as much as six years later than their male counterparts.

National developments and career trajectories

The three respondents who were in their fifties had experienced the most marked effects of national developments during the crisis years of the 1980s, both on the state of the university and directly on their academic careers. Ama (woman professor, mid 50s) discussed the general breakdown of society and economy at the time. She barely did any academic work in this period because a lot of time was spent looking for food and the basics of life. The university itself was facing severe shortages. She compares this period to the late 1980s and 1990s, which were much more productive because it was also a period of national recovery.

Akua (senior lecturer, mid 50s) mentioned that her employment at the university in the 1980s coincided with the mass exit of Ghanaian academics to Nigeria and to other places, when increases in student numbers marked the beginning of complaints about large class sizes and heavy teaching loads.

In other words, in times of severe national crisis, intellectual production and careers become near impossible. It took those now in their fifties decades to secure promotion. Of the three aged in the mid 50s, only one is a professor. While they attribute this to different factors, their account of the 1980s makes it clear why they could not publish articles for many years. This contrasts to the situation of Kwame, who is in his forties and hopes to become an associate professor at 45. He embarked on his career after the crises which blighted the academic life of the 1980s. Adzo, who is in her mid 30s, is already contemplating promotion to senior lecturer grade.

More information is needed to fully assess the impacts of developments in the national socio-economic and political context on intellectual production and career trajectories than was collected in this study. Studies on economic liberalisation and higher education have highlighted the adverse implications

for students of cost recovery, massification and the growing attraction of a narrower range of courses. This clearly warrants more serious study.

The impacts of gendered institutional cultures on everyday lives

This section discusses the impacts of gendered institutional cultures on marriage and family, on participation in governance structures, on mentoring relationships and on aspects of everyday life in the university.

With regard to family life, the challenges of marriage and children could have an impact on the progress of the two women in their thirties within the academy, thus counteracting the advantages with which they have started. Respondents differed in how they experienced the impacts of marriage and family on their work. The ages of their children, their marital status and who they were married to, were all important factors. Adzo, who planned her child bearing during her post graduate studies, was very focused and organised. However, coping with sickness, the school run and extra-curricular activities, organising the lives of three children under ten years old, along with a full teaching load and heavy committee commitments, was proving to be a challenge. In the case of Esi, being married to a fellow academic was useful in the sense of helping navigate the complications of the university. Ama and Akua, women in their fifties, described the stagnation of their research and writing during their intensive child bearing and rearing years. Once this period passed, women academics settled into more productive periods of their career. However, by this time they were also older, and certain opportunities (such as scholarships for PhD training) had age limits, thus disqualifying them. Even so, Ama and Akua spoke about the freedom of having older children and how much space is liberated for work.

Legon offered more space for marriage and family life when compared with the stresses of academic life and tenure track positions in American universities, in the view of one of the female lecturers in her mid 30s. But, though conditions did not force a stark choice between work and family, they were not conducive for women getting ahead. In keeping with the pro-natalist national cultures of Ghana, women academics are expected to marry and have children, and they received plenty of conflicting advice from senior colleagues about when and how to do this. Much of the difficulty lay in the institutional culture's failure to distinguish between male and female academics and a firm belief that this was the correct approach. An academic was seen as a gender neutral individual who had the right qualifications. Therefore, there were no measures in place to

support them in the intensive period of childbearing and the raising of young children. The university's ostensible neutrality on these matters ignored critical differences between men and women, thus putting women at a disadvantage.

Everyday life on campus raised issues about the place of female faculty. These included the persisting perception that the real academics were male, the practice of giving more challenging and higher profile jobs to men, the continuing expectation that women would play domestic and ceremonial roles at work and the subjection of those who did not conform to these norms to ridicule and disapproval. Female faculty were routinely called "Auntie" and "Mama", while their male counterparts were addressed by titles signifying their academic achievements. This practice reinforced the maternal and wifely roles expected of women. The most difficult aspect of the institutional culture was the denial of the existence of gender discrimination at Legon (Manuh et al., 2004).

Female respondents were more exercised by their relationships with male colleagues than the other way round. Respondents observed a tendency to patronise women in ways which made resistance difficult. They observed that while certain approaches had sexual undertones, the jocular mode of the approach and the seniority of the men involved made it difficult to judge when the line had been crossed. As a respondent noted, "men have accused me of not being relaxed in some cases when I reacted unfavourably to sexual innuendo. Married women are protected in the sense that they are considered to belong to other men" (female professor, mid 50s).

The experiences of female faculty also appeared to depend on the particular faculty, the number of females there and the level of seniority of the person in question. The experiences of Adzo, who was in a branch of science with few female colleagues, were different from those of her counterpart in the social sciences, Esi, whose area of expertise had relatively more women. Adzo's experience as the subject of great curiosity and confusion about which toilet she might use were two situations which Esi was not likely to experience. In places where female faculty had been working for a longer time, the toilets were segregated either simply by gender or by both gender and seniority. There was no clear university policy on these matters. Beyond toilets, attitudes of students and subordinate workers could create frustrations. Female faculty who were younger or small often got mistaken for secretaries and were expected to take down messages for their colleagues.

More positively, Adzo was on various boards and committees, a situation Esi was not likely to experience for some time to come. Adzo's membership

of one of the established churches on the campus was also likely to stand her in good stead. Her head of department had already suggested that she might apply for promotion to senior lecturer grade. No one had had this conversation with Esi at the time of the interviews. And yet, both of them complained about the difficulties of writing, given their teaching loads. Kofi, on the other hand, had written two articles in two years, partly because of the collegial processes in his department. He was therefore likely to accumulate publications more quickly if he stayed in academia. While he denied that women in the academy suffered any distinct disadvantages, it was clear that he had more space for advancement than either of the two women in his age group.

As scientists, Akua and Kwame felt keenly the difficulties of progressing with poor equipment and laboratory facilities. For this reason, opportunities for outside collaboration were highly valued. Kwame enjoyed a period when his career progressed rapidly and this was the time he was working on a project with colleagues in the UK. Akua hoped to benefit from new contacts made in the US, where she acquired a PhD in the 1990s.

Kwame's "textbook" experience of generous and supportive mentoring showed the less formal ways in which universities renew themselves, and illustrates what has been lost with the undermining of mentoring traditions. It also demonstrated what disadvantages women suffered in a mentoring culture. The women in the study had not experienced mentoring in any systematic way. Esi did not even know how to write an article and did not have much information about career progression. There did seem to be departmental and disciplinary differences. Adzo was in the sciences with almost no other women colleagues, but she had a strong sense of what kind of mentoring she preferred and had taken steps to make it happen. She was cautious about becoming too closely identified with any one of her male colleagues, perhaps in order to avoid the perception of a sexual relationship. She preferred instead to seek advice about various aspects of her work from different colleagues. Her relationship with her head of department was good and she felt accepted by her peers and senior colleagues. Esi, on the other hand, found herself being subjected to the strictures of competitive academic life and several instances of ageism and sexism, despite the fact that there were several women in her department.

Adzo felt that *not* having been a student of the university was positive for the successful establishment of her autonomy, whereas Esi felt out of her depth partly because, having studied abroad, she did not have much of a history with the institution. She lacked classmates who had been contemporaries at the

university, and she was reliant on connections with scholars from outside. Ama, Akua and Kwesi had a stronger sense of the history and changing situation. All three were clearly comfortable at the University of Ghana. However, their experiences as students were not uniform. Kwesi remembered the university in the 1970s as an intellectually vibrant place that included a few well-spoken young women. Akua remembered a warm and close collegial atmosphere, in contrast to Ama, who remembered the gender segregation and harassment of women students, very much a minority presence then too.

In spite of its committee system of decision-making, the University of Ghana has a strong hierarchical culture and the most senior and influential academics are men. Therefore, the likelihood of experiencing the disadvantages of the seniority culture and not enjoying its perks was greater for women (female professor, mid 50s). Seniority was a factor in being able to serve on committees and boards. All professors were automatic members of the Academic Board. Through being there, they had the opportunity to serve on ad-hoc committees or to represent the academic board on other boards or to become members of the executive committee of the academic board which had become one of the key decision-making sites of the University outside Council. Seniority also determined workload, and the more junior respondents complained about having to do more teaching and having larger class sizes than their seniors.

In the final analysis, none of these career academics could escape national developments, the economic policy climate and its impacts on higher education, or the University of Ghana's culture and its implications for their life as teachers and the producers of knowledge. It was these environmental factors, and how they responded to them and attempted to influence them, that shaped their lives at the University of Ghana.

Summary and conclusions

This article has examined elements of the University of Ghana's institutional and intellectual cultures and the contribution of national socio-economic and political developments to these cultures over the years. A result of the years of financial crisis and reform has been a tendency in the university to focus on financial matters and cost recovery, at the expense of intellectual concerns, and the wellbeing of staff and students. I have also explored how male and female members of faculty similarly and differentially experience the various cultures in the university, contribute to shaping them, and how these interactions structure their intellectual production and career trajectories.

Gender inequality was a foundational characteristic of the university, manifesting in various ways and affecting different elements of the cultures of the university. From gender inequalities in student and faculty numbers, to the male-centred approaches in the residential arrangements and in the governance structures, the university has been an inequitably gendered space in which women have had to work hard to establish themselves.

The young, well-educated women in the study quickly came up against the institution's inability to recognise and take steps to address the imbalances created by women's family obligations and the exclusionary way in which informal networks operate. It might mean that for these women to succeed in the university, they would have to conform to certain norms and accept certain disadvantages as normal. Women leaders are expected to fulfil their social roles as wives and mothers, and then to still take on mothering roles at work in relation both to students and to their male colleagues.

There were also generational differences in the career trajectories of respondents. The respondents in their fifties had been particularly adversely affected by the economic and political crises of the 1980s. As young professionals, they had spent years unable to advance their careers, because conditions in the country had taken their toll on the university. The normalisation of the situation, coupled with the economic liberalisation of tertiary education has provided various opportunities for career advancement, while also bringing new challenges such as unmanageable student numbers and low morale among students, while failing to improve the terms and conditions of faculty.

Overall, there are several research findings which challenge the dominant view of the University of Ghana as a gender-neutral space, and evidence that gender works in combination with other dimensions of status and privilege. Further research would settle some of these matters more conclusively and support efforts to transform the deep and hidden cultures of the university. Thus far, the ad-hoc approach to gender equity adopted by the university has yielded some useful initiatives, but these have not begun to address the scale of change needed. This slow pace of change has been compounded by the university's view of itself as a gender neutral space. The situation is not likely to change until there is both recognition of the gendered character of the institutional and intellectual cultures of the University of Ghana and a will to change.

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Endnotes

- 1 The University of Ghana is also often referred to as Legon, the name of the Hill on which the University stands. Both names are used in this article.
- 2 Psuedonyms have been used for all interviewees.
- 3 From a figure of 6 000, there were now 20 000 people a year. This and other factors resulted in a quadrupling of students in tertiary education in one decade. From 12 000 in 1990/1991, numbers grew to 54 000 in 2002/2003 (Sutherland Addy, 1993).
- 4 To put research on a stronger footing, the University of Ghana has established a School of Graduate Studies and Research headed by a Dean.
- 5 Terminal degrees (doctorates) are considered vital for full membership of the fellowship of academics. Interestingly, a little under 50% of male academics had a terminal degree while the figure for women was a little over 25% in 1998. In 2006, the situation was not much different. A little under 50% of male senior members had terminal degrees while the figure for females was now a little under 30%, not much changed from the previous decade. A little under 50% of women had masters as opposed to around 35% of men. What was strikingly consistent over the years was that more male senior members had terminal degrees than did not have them, while for women, it was the other way round – more senior academic women had masters than men.

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