THE IMPACT OF THE GENDER POLICY IN A HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTION IN MOZAMBIQUE: THE CASE STUDY OF THE UNIVERSITY EDUARDO MONDLANE

By

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DECLARATION

I, Natália Helena Magaua (student number 2018681466), declare that the thesis that I herewith submit for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy with specialisation in Africa Studies at the University of the Free State, is my independent work, and that I have not previously submitted it for a qualification at another institution of higher education.

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this thesis was to analyze the impact of the implementation of the Gender Policy at the University Eduardo Mondlane. For this purpose I conducted a qualitative study, gathering original empirical data through questionnaires, focus group discussions, and individual interviews. My research participants were University Council members, Gender Unit employees, gender focal points, and selected academic community members (postgraduate students, administrative staff, and lecturers). These participants were purposively selected based on their presumed knowledge of the subject of study. I conducted thematic analyses on 13 individual interviews with University Council members, four focus group discussions (two with the Gender Unit employees and two with Gender Focal Points), and 27 questionnaires applied to selected members of the UEM academic community. Overall, my findings show that the Gender Policy has been unsystematically implemented at UEM for a variety of reasons that emerge from my data.

KEYWORDS: gender, gender policy, gender stereotypes, gender mainstreaming, higher education.

SUMÁRIO

O objetivo desta tese era de analisar o impacto da implementação da Política de Género na Universidade Eduardo Mondlane. Para tal, conduzi um estudo qualitativo, reunindo dados empíricos originais por meio de questionários, discussões em grupos e entrevistas individuais. Os participantes de minha pesquisa foram membros do Conselho Universitário, funcionários da Unidade de Género, pontos focais de género e membros selecionados da comunidade acadêmica (estudantes de pós-graduação, funcionários administrativos e docentes). Esses participantes foram propositadamente selecionados com base em seu conhecimento presumido sobre o assunto do estudo. Realizei análises temáticas de 13 entrevistas individuais com membros do Conselho Universitário, quatro discussões de grupos (dois com funcionários da Unidade de Gênero e dois com pontos focais de gênero) e 27 questionários aplicados à comunidade acadêmica selecionada. No geral, minhas descobertas mostram que a Política de Gênero foi implementada de forma não sistemática na UEM por uma variedade de razões que emergem de meus dados.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Género, Política de Género, Estereótipos de Género, Integração do Género, Ensino Superior.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to the following people:

My grandmother in recognition of her support in times of need.
My mother in recognition of her support throughout my life.
My husband in recognition of his endless support throughout my studies.
My children for their outstanding emotional, moral support and encouragement.

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

BPFA	Beijing Platform for Action
CNAQ	National Council for Quality Assessment of Higher Education
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
FFPs	Family Friend Policies
GAP	Gender Action Plan
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GM	Gender Mainstreaming
GFP	Gender Focal Point
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
UCM	University Council Members
UEM	University Eduardo Mondlane
UFS	University of the Free State

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Education is crucial to achieving sustainable social and economic development. No nation can become developed without education. Some advantages in educating people at all levels include the promotion of health, improved quality of life, expanded access to paid employment, increased productivity, and greater participation of women and men in the social and political arena (Moswete & Lacey, 2015: 607; Onebunne & Ezeaka, 2020: 36). Despite these advantages, gender inequalities persist in education, especially in many African countries (Aina, Ogunlade, Ilesanmi & Comfort, 2015: 2).

Different scholars have identified certain gaps between gender policies and their implementation in African countries (Psacharopoulos, 1990; Meena, 2007; Bennett, 2009; Loots &Walker, 2015; Verge et al., 2018). In this regard, Mozambique is no exception. Here too gender inequalities persist, not least in higher education (CNAQ, 2015: 7). This is despite the country having been a signatory to regional and international initiatives aimed at promoting equal rights for women and men (Tvedten, 2012: 15). A recent study conducted by Nota (2022) identified a disconnection between the existence of policies aimed to promote equality between women and men in higher education in Mozambique, and the actual implementation thereof (Nota, 2022: 118), meaning that, after the supposed implementation of the gender policy, certain shortcomings become evident. The reasons behind these shortcomings must be investigated, and the gender policy implementation strategy might have to be revisited and/or revised.

Recognizing the problem of gender inequalities in education at both inter/national and regional levels is the first step to identifying potential solutions to the problem. Such solutions are important for women, and for the whole society (Licumba et al., 2015: 924). The following sections focus on the problem statement for this study, its research objectives, the research questions, the significance of the study, and the definition of key terms. The chapter concludes with an outline of the structure of the thesis.

1.1 Problem Statement

In 2015, Mozambique adopted a gender policy for higher education called the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy. Its role is defined as being able to "contribute to the reduction of gender inequalities in higher education by encouraging gradual changes in the mentality of different actors involved in the processes of evaluation and quality assurance" (CNAQ, 2015: 10). Apart from the

gender policy, a particular higher education law (Law number 27/2009) establishes the principle of equality and non-discrimination, in accordance with the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique that promises equality of rights and opportunities for women and men.

However, despite the existence of this gender policy and the higher education law, the 56 higher education institutions (HEIs) throughout the country (Terenciano & Natha, 2016; Higher Education Institutions in Mozambique, 2021), Mozambique's higher education landscape is characterised by a greater presence of male than female students and by gender inequalities among students, teaching and administrative staff (CNAQ, 2015: 5; Mateus, 2017: 17). Added to this, studies carried out by António and Hunguana (2013: 6) and the UEM-Academic Quality Office (2014: 14) note that in Mozambique inequalities range from a reduced number of women in fields of study traditionally connoted masculine (e.g. Engineering), to unequal numbers of women and men among teaching staff and those in leadership and/or management positions.

Although research has been conducted on implementing gender policies in education in both inter/national and regional contexts (Moja, 2007; Bennett, 2009; Morley, 2010; Rarieya, Sanger & Moolman, 2014; Johnson, 2014; Verge, Ferrer-Fons & Gonzalez 2018), limited research has been conducted pertaining to policy implementation in the Mozambican higher education context. Studies conducted in different African countries have shown that factors identified as barriers to implementing gender policies in higher education include a lack of commitment from policy planners, a lack of knowledge concerning gender mainstreaming, or a combination of both (Meena, 2007), inadequate information about sexual harassment policy procedures (Bennett, 2009), insufficient financial resources (Johnson, 2014), reduced commitment to incorporating gender into the curriculum (Loots & Walker, 2015), and the inadequate supervision of implementing gender mainstreaming initiatives by evaluation agencies (Verge at al., 2018). This study explores if inequalities in Mozambique's higher education context reflect similar problems pertaining to the implementation of gender policies, and identifies what barriers and challenges UEM has. The aim and objectives of the study are addressed in the next section.

1.2 Research Objectives

The aim of this study analyses the impact of the gender policy implementation at the University of Eduardo Mondlane (UEM). It is guided by the following specific objectives:

- To investigate what UEM has been done to implement the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy across faculties and higher schools.
- To explore the UEM gender unit's contribution to initiating a greater presence of women at UEM.
- To explore which changes the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy has created for women and men at UEM.

1.3 Research Questions

To achieve the above objectives this study was guided by the following research questions:

- How has UEM organized itself to implement the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy?
- Which activities has the UEM gender unit undertaken to implement the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy at UEM?
- Which changes for women and men at UEM as a consequence of the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy implementation can be seen?

1.4 Significance of the Study

More than half of the Mozambican population (53%) is illiterate (INE, 2017). Implementing gender policies properly in this country would contribute to empowering women, which leads to poverty reduction and provides an opportunity for a sustainable and economically productive society in Mozambique. Since limited information about the implementation of gender policies in higher education in Mozambique is available, this study will fill this gap. It will furthermore explore the tension between policy intentions and their actual implementation. This study will also assist policymakers, university leaders, participants of this study, and gender activists at national levels to make informed policy decisions to improve gender equality in HEIs in general, but with an emphasis on UEM.

1.5 Definition of Key Terms

For the purpose of this study the key terms that will be used are: gender, gender inequality, gender stereotype, gender mainstreaming, gender roles and gender discrimination. Table 1.1 provides definitions for the key terms that are used in this study. These definitions draw on a range of relevant literature.

Table 1.1 Definition of key terms.

Key terms	**Definitions**
Gender	Alade (2012: 33) defines gender as "a social construction that is produced by different societies. It is determined culturally based on the traditions of a given society, and is referred to us, as the characteristics and functions that society attributes to women and men".
Gender inequality	Silva (2006: 30) defines gender inequality as "unequal status, power, and prestige between women and men".
Gender stereotype	Arnania-Kepuladze (2019: 86) defines gender stereotypes as "a significant institutional mechanism that forces women and men into divergent life strategies and paths and prescribes oppositional roles to them in the family, at the workplace, and in society".
Gender mainstreaming	Syed and Ali (2019: 7) define gender mainstreaming as "a process to promote gender equality and to make policies more effective by exposing the gendered nature of assumptions, processes, and outcomes".
Gender roles	Blackstone (2003: 3) defines gender roles as "the roles that women and men are expected to engage in based on their sex".
Gender discrimination	Newman (2014: 26) defines gender discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion, or restriction perpetrated against women/men, based on socially constructed gender roles and norms that prevent a person from enjoying their human rights".

Source: the author.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

Following on from this first chapter which addressed the problem statement, objectives, and the significance of the study, the second chapter deals with the policy context and my theoretical frames. Chapter three provides the literature review. The research design and the methodology adopted in this study are explained in chapter four. Chapters five, six, and seven discuss the findings of the study, focussing on the results from the survey, focus group discussions and individual interviews respectively. The last chapter addresses the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 2. CONTEXT AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the context of the study and theories applied to help interpret and explain the data. The chapter starts by exploring policies on gender equality in certain African countries more generally. This is followed by policies on gender equality in Mozambique. Thereafter, the chapter addresses the origins and background of the object of this study, UEM, as well as a brief description of the UEM Gender Unit, the unit responsible for implementing gender-based policies across faculties and higher schools at UEM. The chapter concludes with a discussion of three theoretical frames used to interpret my data namely, intersectionality, postcolonial theory, and critical theory.

2.1 Gender Policies in African Higher Education

According to Licumba, Dzator, and Zhang (2015: 349) in the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) the issue of promoting gender equality by implementing gender policies is a critical component of promoting development and meeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) across Sub-Saharan Africa. In 1998 SADC created a Gender Unit to assure the implementation of gender-based policies across the region, and in 2008 the SADC created the Protocol on Gender and Development aimed to eliminate gender disparity (Licumba et al., 2015: 449).

Recognizing the importance of promoting gender equality, a number of African countries including Algeria, Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Central African Republic, Côte d'Ivoire, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Morocco, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Tanzania and Zimbabwe made both international and national commitments to eliminating gender inequalities in education by becoming signatories to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Johnson, 2014: 836; Givá & Santos, 2020: 82). In order to promote gender equality in HEIs, some African countries including Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Ghana, Nigeria, and South Africa also developed and implemented affirmative action policies (Sarakinsky, 1993: 6; Long & Kavazanjian, 2012: 2; Frisancho & Krishna, 2016: 619).

Affirmative action refers to policies and procedures designed by a company or a government organization to eliminate discrimination against marginalized groups including ethnic minorities, and women, by increasing educational and employment opportunities (Long & Kavazanjian, 2012: 2;

Mzangwa, 2019: 6). Its objective is to enhance previously disadvantaged groups' opportunities because its final purpose is to address social inequalities (Long & Kavazanjian, 2012: 2; Akala, 2019: 7; Mzangwa, 2019: 6). Affirmative action emerged in America where it was used in an attempt to eliminate discriminatory employment practices against minority groups such as African Americans, Hispanic Americans and others (Sarakinsky, 1993: 6). Sarakinsky (1993) indicates how affirmative action was later also applied to women and others groups who were disadvantaged (see also Howell, 2010: 120; Frisancho & Krishna, 2016: 619).

Affirmative action can also be used in HEIs. Writing in a South African context, Sarakinsky (1993: 10) recommends that the first problem that needs to be addressed in an affirmative action program is the issue of university admissions criteria. South Africa is an African country that for a long time exercised a clearly discriminatory policy against part of its population (Long & Kavazanjian, 2012: 4). From 1948 to 1994, this country functioned under apartheid, which limited the rights of black people in favour of the white minority. Affirmative action policies came with the end of apartheid, when most South African universities proclaimed themselves to be non-discriminatory employers (Long & Kavazanjian, 2012: 21; Archibong & Adejumo, 2013: 15).

Other African countries adopted other strategies. In 1998 the Ethiopian government created reforms to ensure equality, access, and responsiveness to the demands of the Ethiopian people. The strategy used by this government to increase females' access to HEIs for example, was to accept women entering HEIs with a relatively lower average than males. In other words, women were allowed to access HEIs with a 0,2-grade point lower grade average than their male counterparts (Egne, 2014: 3). Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda also sought to respond to gender inequalities in HEIs by increasing the number of female students through affirmative action policies (Onsongo, 2009: 79). In Onsongo's (2009) words,

> in Kenya, after the adoption of affirmative action policies the Ministry of Education launched a gender policy in 2007 and between 2006 and 2007 nine campuses and university colleges were established. In Tanzania the University of Dar es Salaam admitted female direct entrants with lower cut-off points (at 1.0 or 1.5 points) from 1997-1998. The percentage admitted without affirmative action was 15% (in 2000-2001) while with affirmative action the percentage increased to 27%. Concerning to Uganda, Makerere University introduced a policy that women could enter the university with a lower average (1.5 points low) compared with their male counterparts. The 1.5 points-lower scheme has been associated with an increase in

> the enrolment of female students at Makerere University from 23.9% in 1989-1990 to 45.8% in 2003-2004 (Onsongo, 2009: 79).

Although UEM is a male-dominated HEI (CNAQ, 2015: 8; Givá & Santos, 2020: 82), female and male students enter the university with equal scores. There is no grade average reduction in favour of female students. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that when there is a vacancy, and a female student gets an equal score compared to that of a male, the vacancy is given to the female student. In 2007, Morley carried out a study in Nigeria (University of Ibadan), South Africa (South Africa University), Tanzania (University of Dar es Salaan), and Uganda (Makerere University) which explored how affirmative action policies were promoted and embedded in universities, and how the university curricula and individual disciplines were gendered. Findings from this study show that gender mainstreaming (GM) activities were uneven across the countries since some countries were more receptive to them than others. In Nigeria, for example, only the Faculty of Agriculture set up a GM commitment to review the curriculum, while in Tanzania and Uganda, almost every faculties included a gender component as part of the courses offered. In South Africa, there was an intense political commitment to gender equality (Morley, 2007: 611). At UEM which is the object of this study, seemingly there is also a political commitment to gender equality. In 2008 UEM created a gender unit, and each faculty and higher school has a gender focal point (GFP) who is supposed to work directly with this gender unit.

Morley's research (2015: 71) at the Universities of Ghana and Dar es Salaam in Tanzania showed that their gender policies were working in that there had been an increase in the number of students, mainly female students, in these HEIs. The same study also showed that both in Ghana and in Tanzania, poor students were still absent from many HEIs. Contrary to Morley's (2015) findings, at UEM there is an inclusion system. The Mozambican government has a subsidized system for students who cannot afford their HEIs fees. If a student with a low family income is qualified to access an HEI but cannot afford the fees, this student is allowed to study at UEM under a subsidy system provided by the Mozambican government.

More than ten years before Morley's study, Mama (2003) had already observed that the number of women in HEIs was increasing but slowly (Mama, 2003: 102). Some studies recommend that in order to establish if progress is being made toward the policy objective of gender equality, in addition to the number of female students enrolled in HEIs, monitoring and the creation of measures that consider the multiple dimensions of social exclusion in HEIs are also needed (Gaye et al., 2010: 15; Zapata &

Ramirez, 2015: 323). Following these recommendations, my study explores areas traditionally connoted as masculine that nowadays also include female staff. I also discuss the number of females who publish articles and the number of female faculty deans from 2015 to 2020, the period between the launch of the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy (the Gender Policy) and when the fieldwork for this PhD was conducted.

In tackling the issue of widening women's access to HEIs, two principal ways have often been used by HEIs. One approach is to provide financial aid to students from families of low economic status (the Mozambican case). The second approach is to create opportunities for women to access HEIs through affirmative action (as was the case in Tanzania, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Ghana, South Africa, and Nigeria). As Mzangwa (2019) states: "Although affirmative action programs are rather contentious, they seem to work well in contexts where they are used to put an end to legislated inequalities" (Mzangwa, 2019: 3). For instance, while the milestone of affirmative action policies in South Africa was the end of a discriminatory system with regard to the selection and treatment of students in HEIs (Sarakinsky, 1993: 5; Long & Kavazanjian, 2012: 21; Archibong & Adejumo, 2013: 14), in Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda (as black race-dominated countries) affirmative action policies inclined more to gender than to race equality. In these African countries, affirmative action policies led to positive changes in terms of the number of women gaining access to university education. I shall now address policies on gender equality in Mozambique.

Mozambique is a signatory to all regional and international initiatives aimed at promoting equal rights for women and men (Givá & Santos, 2020: 82). A study by Tvedten (2012) indicated that in 2000 the Mozambican government established Gender Focal Points and Gender Units to promote gender equality in most public institutions. Meanwhile, civil society and non-profit or non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have also been important for promoting gender equality. The Women's Forum, Women and Law in Southern Africa, and Women's Law and Development are examples of NGOs in Mozambique that work for gender equality (Tvedten, 2012: 7). In Mozambique, the governmental institution responsible for promoting gender equality is the Ministry of Women and Social Action (MMAS[1]) (Bergh-Collier, 2007: 16). With the support of this governmental body (MMAS) at national level, Mozambique developed policies and strategies in favour of gender equality.

[1] MMAS is the Portuguese abbreviation for "Ministry of Women and Social Action".

Some of the key Mozambican documents dealing with gender issues are: (i) the Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique; (ii) the Mozambican government's five-year program (2020-2024); (iii) the Strategy for Gender Equity in the Education Sector, EEGSE[2] (2004-2008); (iv) the Gender Policy and Strategy for its Implementation (2018); and (v) the Gender and Equality in Higher Education Policy (2015-2025). These documents were developed to affirm Mozambique's commitment to redressing gender issues, and those in higher education in particular. Below I provide a brief description of these documents.

1. The Constitutions of the Republic of Mozambique of 1975, 1990, and 2004 uphold the principle of gender equality and prohibit discrimination based on sex (Bergh-Collier, 2007: 63). The Constitution of the Republic of Mozambique (2004) in article 36 states that "all Mozambicans have equality of rights in all areas of cultural, social, economic, and political life". In article 88, the same law states that "all Mozambican citizens should benefit from the education provided by the Mozambican state". Lastly, in article 114, the law refers to higher education. It states that "access to public HEIs will guarantee equal and equitable opportunities and the democratization of education".

2. The Government's Five-Year Program (2020-2024) aims to improve the well-being and quality of life of Mozambican families, reducing social inequalities and poverty, and creating an environment of peace and tranquility, with a strong stimulus for job creation. In its fourth strategic objective, the program states that it "promote[s] gender equality and equity, social inclusion, and protection of the most vulnerable segments of the population".

3. The Strategy for Gender Equity in the Education Sector (2004-2008) aims to ensure that children living in poverty and other vulnerable situations, particularly girls, can study without discrimination. The strategy for gender equality in the education sector aims to strengthen the quality of education and provide an appropriate learning environment not only for girls but also for boys. It is also meant to ensure that students who leave secondary school have gender equality awareness. At the political level, it states that "inadequate legislation and a lack of policies to support girls to stay in school remains a serious problem".

[2] EEGSE is the Portuguese abbreviation for "Gender Equity Strategy for the Education Sector".

4. The Gender Policy and Strategy for its Implementation (2018) aims to guide, in an integrated way, the main lines of action for the promotion of gender equality and respect for human rights. The policy was approved by the Mozambican government through Resolution 19/2007, of May 15, of the Council of Ministers. It establishes guidelines to enable decision-making and identification of actions to enhance the status of women and gender equality.
5. The Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy (2015-2025) mission's is to contribute to the reduction of gender inequalities in higher education, promoting gradual changes in the mentality of different actors involved in processes of evaluation and quality assurance. Its objectives are: (i) To establish specific policy measures to enable the equal participation of women and men in higher education; (ii) To define strategies in order to promote the gender approach in higher education; (iii) To establish coordination mechanisms in the implementation of this policy; and (iv) To establish mechanisms for financing and monitoring the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy.

Although the general literature mentions some constraints in eradicating the gender gap in HEIs, not only at the European Union level (Gerber, 2010; Kosaretssky, Grunicheva & Goshin, 2016) but also in Africa (Johnson, 2014; Dlamini & Adams, 2014; Loots & Walker, 2015; Verge et al., 2018), the Mozambican government like many other governments has issued policies aimed at eradicating the gender gap in education in general and in higher education in particular. One might therefore argue that all the necessary policies are in place. Since this study was conducted at UEM, in the next section I provide an overview of this Mozambican HEI including a brief description of its gender unit.

2.2 Origins and Background of the University Eduardo Mondlane

The first HEI in Mozambique was established in 1962 (Langa, 2014: 62). As Estudos Gerais Universitários (EGU) it offered academic programs in Education, Medicine, Agronomy, Veterinary Sciences, and Chemical Engineering. In 1968 EGU was named the University of Lourenço Marques[3] and extended its academic programs to include Applied Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology, as well as Roman Philosophy, History, Geography, Economics, and Metallurgical Engineering (Langa, 2014: 62). At that time, the university was mainly reserved for Portuguese students, and only a small number of indigenous Mozambicans gained access to the university

[3] *Lourenço Marques* is the previous name of the capital of Mozambique, Maputo.

(Bailey, Cloete & Pillay, 2011: 20). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, only about 40 black Mozambican students (less than 2% of the total student body) had entered the University of Lourenço Marques (Mário, Fry, Levey & Chilundo, 2003: 22).

The reason for the low number of indigenous students in higher education in the colonial area was the discriminatory character of the colonial education system. Only "assimilated" citizens could pursue an official education. Assimilated was the social status attributed to black Mozambicans who renounced their tradition, and identity, and who used names of Portuguese origin (Espada, 2018: 30). Meanwhile, the colonialists' conception of education was that education was the preserve of men. This was handed down to African universities and ensured that for many decades women were kept outside of institutions of higher learning (Boateng, 2018: 25; Moodly & Toni, 2019: 185). The colonial phase of higher education in Mozambique started in 1962 and ended with the independence of the country in 1975. When the country gained independence, Lourenço Marques was renamed Maputo and a year later (1976) the university was renamed Eduardo Mondlane in honour of the first president of Frelimo. Since the 1990s, with the emergence of other HEIs in Mozambique, access to higher education has improved. In 2021, Mozambique had 56 HEIs, comprised of 22 public and 34 private universities. These include universities, higher schools, higher institutes, and academies (Higher Education Institutions in Mozambique, 2021).

The University Eduardo Mondlane (UEM) is led by a Rector and two Deputy-Vice-chancellors (Bailey, Cloete & Pillay, 2011: 25; Langa, 2014: 62). It has eleven faculties and six higher schools located in different cities in the country, namely Maputo, Gaza, Inhambane, and Quelimane. Aimed to reduce gender inequalities in public and private HEIs, the National Council for Assessment and Quality in Higher Education (CNAQ)[4] launched the gender policy for HEIs known as the "Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy (2015-2025)" in 2015. Despite these policies certain gender inequalities at UEM are very visible. For instance, research on gender inequalities at UEM shows that such inequalities range from a reduced number of female students to inequalities among teaching staff and leadership positions (António & Hunguana, 2014: 6; GQA, 2014: 14). Table 2.1 below shows the percentage of students enrolled at UEM after the launch of the Gender Policy (hereafter gender policy).

Table 2. 1 Percentage of students enrolled at UEM.

[4] CNAQ is the Portuguese abbreviation for the "National Council for Assessment and Quality in Higher Education".

Year	Female enrolled	Male enrolled
2016	35,21%	64,79%
2017	37,64%	62,36%
2018	38,14%	61.86%

Source: adapted from the UEM Annual Report (2019).

As indicated above the percentage of female students enrolled after the launch of the gender policy was low compared to that of male students. This means that despite the existence of the gender policy in Mozambique, higher education continues to be dominated by men (Miguel, Tambe & da Costa, 2021: 425). Nonetheless, it is the case that the percentage of female students has very gradually increased (Table 2.1).

Looking at the Mozambican economic situation, one of the reasons for the gender inequalities that exist in this country is related to the levels of poverty in Mozambique. The National Statistical Institute in Mozambique states that the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2021 was 39 billion United States Dollars (USD) and the population size in the same year was 31,25 million inhabitants. By comparison, in the same year (2021) the GDP in Ghana was 77,59 billion USD and the population size was 31,07. The GDP is the value of all final goods and services produced within a nation in a year. It is the measure that economists use when looking at per-capita well-being and comparing living conditions or resource use across countries (Cloete, Bailey & Pillay, 2011: 12). The fact that Mozambique has many fewer economic resources than Ghana, for example, means among other things that Mozambican citizens have less to spend on higher education. This impacts negatively on literacy levels and exacerbates gender inequalities. In other words, families with a low income who constitute the majority of Mozambican citizens, struggle to support their children into higher education.

To mitigate certain inequalities UEM set up a Gender Unit through resolution number 5/University Council (CUN)[5] /2008 of 9th May 2008. The UEM Gender Unit's mission is (i) coordinating the development of multidisciplinary activities and studies that include a gender perspective at UEM; (ii) ensuring the implementation of gender policies within UEM; (iii) developing training courses on relevant themes; and (iv) promoting and carrying out studies and scientific research in the field of

[5] CUN is the Portuguese abbreviation for "University Council".

gender and women's empowerment. This unit cannot, of course, deal with the general issue of poverty or how this affects women disproportionately within the patriarchal culture that dominates Mozambique except through targeted positive action.

The UEM Gender Unit effectively has three areas of activity, namely: (i) training, (ii) gender research, and (iii) services. In relation to training, the UEM Gender Unit promotes and conducts courses and seminars to build the capacity of the university community on gender issues, including the dissemination of national documents and international conventions on gender issues, women's economic empowerment, gender planning, budgeting, and life skills. In relation to gender research, the UEM Gender Unit has focused on developing studies that include topics such as violence against women, women's economic empowerment, and gender-sensitive pedagogical practices. The third area of activity is making services available to the university community. These services include psychosocial counseling for university lecturers, administrative staff, students, and managers who are experiencing problems (UEM-Gender Unit, 2009).

My research took place in a context where, as the first part of this chapter showed, gender policies have been put in place and subscribed to by many African countries including Mozambique and where, at a more local level, UEM has also put in place such policies. As I discussed in the second part of this chapter, UEM has a gender unit in place which is responsible for implementing gender policies. The existence of such a gender unit is an indication of a certain commitment that this HEI has regarding gender inequalities across faculties and higher schools. Given this context, I shall now briefly discuss the theoretical frames I use in this thesis.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Broadly speaking, this study utilizes a pragmatic approach to understand the impact that the national gender policy implementation has on women's and men's lives at UEM. Using a pragmatic approach draws on insights from Lauri (2011: 2) who recommends the use of different theories and perspectives to help interpret and explain the data. Following Lauri, this study draws on intersectionality, postcolonial, and feminist critical theory. I commence by talking about intersectionality theory, followed by a discussion of postcolonial theory, and finally feminist critical theory.

2.3.1 *Intersectionality Theory*

The first theory that underpins this study is intersectionality. In the context of anti-discrimination and social movement theory (Cho, Crenshaw & McCall, 2013: 14), Kimberlé Crenshaw was the person

who publicized the term intersectionality back in the 1980s, (Nogueira, 2017; Perry, 2017; Hancock, 2019). The term intersectionality became the key analytic framework through which feminist researchers in various fields talk about structural identities of race, class, gender, poverty, religion, age, and sexuality (Cooper, 2016: 1). These structural identities are social categories that intersectionality attempts to analyze in their inter-relation (Mulinari, Wemrell, Rönnerstrand, Subramanian & Merlo, 2018: 177).

Nogueira (2017: 142), suggests that social categories do not act independently of each other. On the contrary, they are interrelated creating a system of oppression that reflects the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination (Nogueira, 2017: 142). Nogueira's statement is important for my study because it enables me to explore different social categories that are interrelated and create a system of oppression. Intersectionality calls for understanding how different social categories work together to prevent minority groups at UEM from getting ahead.

Intersectionality theory according to Perry (2017: 146) seeks to understand how different power structures interact in the lives of minorities or disadvantaged people. From this perspective, this theory helps to comprehend how the reproduction of the social hierarchy that exists at UEM influences minority groups' lives. By bringing together the complexities of historical background, social location, and experiences, intersectionality theory seeks to address multi-dimensional inequalities (Afzali, 2017: 84). The use of the theory of intersectionality in my thesis allows an understanding of how gender/racialization processes within an organisation can contribute to the marginalization, devaluation, and victimization of women.

Nogueira (2017: 150) suggests that an intersectional analysis captures different levels of differences, revealing for example how forms of intersectional discrimination and oppression create opportunities for social and material benefits for those who enjoy normative or non-marginalized status. Scheuermann and Zürn (2019: 26) also argue that "intersectionality leads to a multi-layered analysis, which helps to ensure that neither category is overlooked or emphasised since the aim is to show the interwoven nature of the discriminatory structures such as sexism and racism". Based on the above comments, I consider that intersectionality is an appropriate theory for this study.

2.3.2 *Postcolonial Feminist Theory*

The second theory applied in this study is postcolonial feminist theory. The term postcolonialism refers to the representation of race, ethnicity, culture, and human identity in the modern era, mainly after most colonized countries got their independence (Thamarana, 2015: 537). In the 1960s, Ali Mazrui was considered the founder of postcolonial theory when in 1963 he published "We are All Africans" (Mazrui, 1963). Adem (2014: 3) mentions that the former United Nations (UN) Secretary General Kofi Annan once described Ali Mazrui as Africa's gift to the world due to the fact that Mazrui's article which focuses on culture and identity formation in postcolonial Africa led to pushing Africa's agenda on the world stage. Mazrui's contribution is relevant to my study because it allows me to explore how culture and identity impact on women and men when running for certain positions of power.

For Adem (2014: 3), the analysis of the impacts of colonial oppression, the political strategies of anti-colonial movements, and the nature of the post-colonial state, are the three common themes of post-colonialism. This is useful for my study as it provides a ground for investigating how colonialism's legacy impacts women and men at UEM. Postcolonial theory is among other things concerned with the representation of women in previously colonized countries (Tyagi, 2014: 45). As a theoretical tool, it enables me to comprehend the legacies that influence female employees in top positions at UEM. Hamadi (2014: 1) argues that in many ex-colonies, the consequences of colonialism still persist in the form of chaos, corruption, civil wars, and bloodshed. In Mozambique and at UEM in particular, the reproduction of the colonial system can be observed through the unequal access of female students to higher education. This is partly explained by the colonialists' conception of education, that education is the preserve of men (Espada, 2018: 30).

In addition to being a colonised country, Mozambique has a patriarchal structure (Mateus, 2017: 13). Colonisation and patriarchalism are two very powerful systems that impact negatively on opportunities for women. Postcolonial feminists point out how women continue to be stereotyped and marginalized, ironically sometimes by postcolonial authors who might claim to be challenging cultures of oppression (Gunjate & Mahavidyalaya, 2012: 1). As Kayira (2015) asserts, historically, the process of colonial education annihilated people's beliefs in their names, languages, environment, heritage of struggle, unity, capacities and ultimately themselves (Kayira, 2015: 112). Postcolonial feminists challenge ideologies that have belittled the status of women, and they seek to eradicate stereotypes that define women as subordinate (Navarro, 2013: 3).

A postcolonial feminist perspective draws attention to the forces that maintain, sustain, and encourage unequal relations of power (Darroch & Giles, 2014: 29). It offers important insights into the western bias and assumptions that permeate social theory and social institutions, thereby constraining perceived solutions (Brisolara, 2014: 10). Postcolonial theory in this research helps to explain how Mozambique's colonial legacy contributes to maintaining unequal power relations among women and men at UEM. It is therefore a theory that helps to explain the apparently low impact that the gender policy has on women's and men's UEM employees' lives.

2.3.3 *Feminist Critical Theory*

The last theory applied in this study is feminist critical theory. A product of the 1970s (Conyers, 2020: 34), this theory was developed by a group of sociologists at the University of Frankfurt in Germany who are referred to as "The Frankfurt School" (Crossman, 2019: 1). While other theories (example: intersectionality and postcolonial theory) focus on understanding or explaining society (Crossman, 2019: 1), crucial to critical theory is the idea of transformative action that leads to social change (Martin, O. 2013: 5; Wang & Torrisi-Steele, 2015: 20). One distinctive characteristic of critical theory according to Wang and Torrisi-Steele (2015: 20) is "its concern to provide people with knowledge and understandings intended to free them from oppression". In line with this theory, my study intends to provide UEM employees with knowledge and understandings intended to sensitize them to gender issues in order to free them and those they engage with from that oppression.

In addition to providing directions for positive change, this theory offers the opportunity to explore approaches that give deeper insight into problems in the workplace (Wang & Torrisi-Steele, 2015: 22). According to Martin (2013: 12), the six change strategies that have been thought to contribute to positive changes in organizations are: (1) fixing individual women; (2) valuing the feminine; (3) adding women and stirring; (4) making small, deep cultural changes; (5) creating new organizational structures; and (6) transforming gendered society. Below, each change strategy is briefly addressed.

1. *Fixing individual women*. This equality change strategy "is the primary approach of many organizations that seek to hire and retain more women employees, especially in previously male-dominated positions. This builds on a deficit model that women do not measure up to the masculinized career standards and demands in academia" (Martin, O. 2013:12). Contrary to Martins' opinion, Burkinshaw and White (2017: 9) suggest that the solution for positive change in an organization is to "fix the system". These scholars recommend universities stop trying to fix women

and instead try to improve the working conditions and career opportunities for women. They believe that fixing the university leadership culture could help address women's disengagement and disempowerment. In fact, instead of forcing women to become outsiders in the masculinist HE culture or forcing women to learn throughout their careers to navigate and negotiate the gendered and gendering leadership culture, a gender mainstreaming approach should be applied, where both genders are involved in changing the organizational culture, as the only way to fix the system and create a culture that would be more welcoming to women (Burkinshaw & White, 2017: 10).

2.Valuing the feminine. This change strategy "seeks to revalue characteristics that are traditionally seen as feminine such as being empathetic, sympathetic, nurturing, non-competitive, deferential, and having good listening skills, as equal or even superior to traditionally masculine characteristics, such as competitiveness, aggressiveness" (Martin, O. 2013: 12). Differing from Martin's (2013) work, Pullen and Vachhani (2021: 3) consider that notions of the feminine in the workplace perpetuate inequalities simply because the workplace in general tends to devalue characteristics associated with the feminine hence, forms of discrimination are likely to be reproduced when the leader is a woman (Pullen & Vachhani, 2021: 3). Likewise, Burkinshaw and White (2017: 5) also consider that notions of the feminine in the workplace can intensify the gendered organizational culture since the high price women pay to become successful leaders includes behaving differently in order to fit in, in other words, to become or be seen as, for example, aggressive in meetings with other senior managers. Although Pullen and Vachhani (2021), and Burkinshaw and White (2017) consider that notions of the feminine in the workplace perpetuate inequalities, I agree with Martin (2013) that it is important to value the feminine as equal to traditionally masculine characteristics. It is not fair to force women to behave differently just because they are interested to be in a certain position.

3. *Adding women and stirring.* This change strategy "alters a few rules, practices, and structures, so that women are allowed to enter positions previously closed to them improving the status of women" (Martin, 2013: 12). This change strategy seems to be the one applied at UEM. Including the current UEM Vice-Chancellor (in 2023) in total, this HEI has already had four women Vice-Chancellors. Focusing on female Vice-Chancellors is an important step in overcoming gender bias in research on women and power positions (Eichler, 2017: 4). For Eichler (2017), gender matters and the consideration of gender needs to go beyond "adding women and stirring" to examine the role of gender norms and gender hierarchies.

4. *Making small - deep cultural changes***.** This change strategy "intends to improve the organizational efficiency by means of small wins such as designing family-friendly policies benefiting all concerned" (Martin, 2013: 12). For Garg and Agrawal (2020: 1), some advantages of having family-friend policies in organizations include (i) health services at workplace, (ii) childcare facility, (iii) flexible scheduling of the job and transportation facility—that can help the employees to balance their work responsibilities and family responsibilities in a more successful manner. Above all, these advantages help to reduce the level of employees' stress, and increase job satisfaction. They also contribute to improving individuals' and family health (Garg & Agrawal, 2020: 1). Although UEM is located not only in Maputo but also in Quelimane, Gaza and Inhambane, the fact that the main campus in Maputo has a university hospital seems to be a positive initiative. Thus, in Maputo UEM has a health service which benefits not only students but also the UEM academic staff in general and the population around the university.

5. *Creating new organizational structures*. The fifth change strategy "involves the planned introduction of major structural changes that minimize inequalities of all forms, including gender inequities. In these feminist organizational structures, hierarchy and division of labour are dramatically reduced, for example, by rotating all jobs, including leadership positions, and by relying on consensual decision-making practices" (Martin, O. 2013: 12). According to Kampkötter, Harbring, and Sliwka (2018: 3), job rotation can be beneficial for several reasons: (i) it can be used as a means to develop employees, (ii) it motivates employees as it keeps work interesting, and (iii) it helps organizations to learn more about their employees' abilities and improve the match quality of employees to jobs. Although job rotation is also applied at the university in certain jobs (Majeed, 2018: 7), UEM largely does not have this practice and implementing job rotation at UEM would be challenging.

6. *Transforming gendered society*. This sixth feminist change strategy "focuses on transforming the gendered aspects of society, rather than attempting to alter individuals or single organizational contexts, paying particular attention to class-based sources of inequality" (Martin, O. 2013: 12). Redefining fatherhood to more fully embrace nurturing is essential to feminist gender equality and liberating women from primary responsibility for childcare and household labor, along with encouraging men's domestic contributions, were goals of many second wave feminists (Medved, 2016: 2). Although changes in everyday micro-discourses of fathering can contribute to macrostructural transformations in gender relations, some men maintain a sense of identity attached

to masculine ideals of paid work (Medved, 2016: 9), and they fear being stigmatized as homosexual, a consistent theme in studies of men in "female jobs" (Whittock, 2002: 483). Although the Constitutions of the Republic of Mozambique 1975, 1990, and 2004 uphold the principle of gender equality and prohibit discrimination based on sex (Bergh-Collier, 2007: 63), the fact that the Mozambican constitution excludes same-sex relationship by defining marriage in heterosexual terms, applying this change strategy in Mozambique will demand a lot of effort.

In addition to providing change strategies to improve lives, critical theory problematizes what is taken for granted in culture (Wang & Torrisi-Steele, 2015: 21). For instance, in many patriarchal cultures it is taken for granted that only men can be leaders and managers. Adopting a critical theory perspective in this study is crucial since it has the potential to empower UEM employees to re-examine their roles, beliefs, and assumptions and ultimately help to implement the national gender policy to benefit not only the academic community but Mozambican society as a whole. Thus, my study seeks to encourage participants to re-consider their philosophy of gender norms and gender roles from the perspective of critical theory (Wang & Torrisi-Steele, 2015: 19). According to Wang and Torrisi-Steele (2015: 21), critical thinking "is about individuals disengaging from the tacit assumptions of discursive practices and power relations in order to exert more conscious control over their everyday lives". Critical theory thus "opens up possibilities for analysis of power, discourse, and historical understandings" (Harney, 2015: 1). Therefore, this approach provides a foundation to understanding, and critiquing existing gender roles and possible invisible prohibitions for women to have access to, and to succeed at the UEM.

As people discuss the power of critical theory for encouraging participants to re-examine the way they perceive gender norms and gender roles at UEM, it must be emphasized that critical theory is being used to provoke transformative learning, and transformative learning is not realized unless the transformation leads to "some kind of action" (Wang & Torrisi-Steele, 2015: 23). But the presence of a gender policy alone does not guarantee significant change. To change practice, and move beyond mere replication of traditional strategies in the current contexts, the UEM employees need to redefine their beliefs and attitudes about gender and gender roles. For this to be accomplished, academics first need to reflect upon and make the connection between new knowledge and their existing practice.
The transformative learning needed to change practice is then initiated through a process of critical reflection, in the light of new knowledge, on existing values, assumptions, and beliefs (Wang & Torrisi-Steele, 2015: 21). In order to accomplish a positive transformation, Wang and Torrisi-Steele

recommend the need to change (a) the way people see themselves, (b) the way people see others, and (c) the way people see the situation (Wang & Torrisi-Steele, 2015: 23). In this sense, adopting a critical theory perspective requires UEM employees to examine their beliefs in terms of their roles as UEM's employees rather than uncritically accepting the status quo about traditional approaches to gender roles. By engaging my participants about issues of gender during my research I hope to contribute to helping them with this critical reflection. Traditional viewpoints tend to consider that women should not work in the public sphere. In an environment where the majority of employees are men, it is more likely that people in positions of power have traditional views of women's roles. Therefore, the way people see themselves as well as the way people see others must be changed through critical reflection.

In this chapter I have addressed gender policies with a particular focus on African countries. Thereafter I introduced the object of this study (UEM) as well as the UEM gender unit. Furthermore, I briefly outlined three different theories that I shall draw on to understand the same problem (the persistence of gender inequalities at UEM). The theories discussed in this chapter are intersectionality, postcolonial theory, and critical theory. Intersectionality was used as a starting point to identify social categories and their impact on women's and men's daily lives at UEM. The second theory discussed was postcolonial feminist theory. Colonialism and patriarchalism are very closely aligned and they are alive in many African countries. They are two very poweful systems that impact on what is considered normal in terms of gender roles and expectations. Since Mozambique emerged from a colonial system this theory helps to explain the under-representation of women in power positions. UEM is an HEI where most of the employees are men and traditional viewpoints prevail. Critical theory, the third theory engaged with here, encourages action to transform existing unequal relations. In my thesis I examine what the impact of implementing the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy has been on women and men at UEM. Some scholars highlight that "while gender policies are important in promoting the rights of women, real progress has to be measured by the outcomes – by the real improvements in women's lives" (Abbott & Malunda, 2016: 11). Before going on to explore this, I shall, in the next chapter, discuss the existing body of literature concerning the implementation of gender policies in higher education in Africa.

CHAPTER 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of the existing body of knowledge regarding gender policy implementation in higher education (HE). I shall discuss some core themes that emerged in the literature when it comes to the implementation of gender policies in HE, namely: measures, requirements, and challenges to implementing gender policies. When one searches for literature on this topic in Africa there are quite a few studies (Jansen & Sayed, 2001; Bennett, Gouws, Kritzinger, et al., 2007; Gouws & Kritzinger, 2007). Some focus on Africa in general (Mama, 2003; Pence, Amponsah, Chalamanda, et al., 2004; Chauraya, 2012) which is somewhat problematic since Africa consists of many countries with very diverse conditions (compare, for example, Algeria and Mozambique). There are also a number of studies focussed on specific African countries. So, for example, there is a significant body of literature that deals with the implementation of gender policies in South Africa (Jansen & Sayed, 2001; Bennett et al., 2007; Gouws & Kritzinger, 2007). Of those South African studies several (Bennett, 2009; Loots & Walter, 2015; Mzangwa, 2019) focus on the challenges faced throughout the implementation process.

Regarding gender policy implementation in HE, there is no work specifically conducted in Mozambique. Instead much of the research on Mozambique and gender policies centres on issues around HIV/AIDS (Tengler, 2015; Van Cranenburgh, Greene, Bryant et al., 2017; Ha, Van Lith, Mallalieu, et al., 2019), gender and climate change (Ribeiro & Chaúque, 2010; Morgado, Bacelar-Nicolau, Von Osten, et al., 2017; Sanginga, 2018), and issues around domestic violence (Biza, Jille-Traas, Colomar, et al., 2015; Jethá, Keygnaert, Seedat, et al., 2021). Below, I shall discuss this literature in terms of the three themes already mentioned, namely how the related measures are discussed, what the conditions are that are required to make implementation a success, and what the literature says about the challenges.

3.1 Measures to Implement Gender Policies

A gender measure is any specific action that organizational policymakers or governmental adopts and implements in order to fight gender inequality (Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019: 2). According to some studies (for instance, Chauraya & Manyike, 2014: 2; Crusmac, 2019: 3; Kaspar, 2021: 1; Beloshitzkaya, 2021: 9) equal treatment, affirmative (or positive) actions, gender quotas, and gender mainstreaming are the most common measures used to implement gender policies and programs in higher education institutions (HEIs).

Equal treatment. Equal treatment is a precondition for gender equality in higher education (HE). According to Chauraya and Manyike (2014), equal treatment "implies that no individual should have fewer human rights or opportunities than any other, and its application in HEIs context has taken the form of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948)". The relation between equal treatment and human rights has been an issue during the 20th century (Islam, 2016: 1). The concept of international human rights, emerging from the International Bill of Human Rights, states that "rights are universal, inalienable and interdependent" (Dolinger, 2016: 178). Since rights are universal (Dolinger, 2016: 178), and as Gilchrist (2018: 2) argues, HE is a human right, worldwide HE should be available to everyone who can benefit from it. However, since many African countries including Mozambique are structured by gender inequalities and not only in accessing HEI, this means that HE is clearly not treated as a human right or with equality in mind.

According to Pocar (2015: 40) the Universal Declaration of Human Rights represents an international consensus on the common rights to be recognized and observed by all people and nations, and an important feature of human rights is that "they exist independent of whether or not an individual agrees with a specific right". In line with this, Gilchrist (2018: 2) talks about the need to change the dialogue about HE so that all people and nations comprehend that HE should be available to everybody regardless of their economic situation. Acknowledging HE as a human right and providing free access to everybody can help countries to improve their economies and quality of life (Onebunne & Ezeaka, 2020: 36).

Affirmative action. According to Crusmac (2019: 4), affirmative (or positive) action is a public or private program designed to make equal the opportunities for employment or admission for minority groups by considering even those characteristics that have been used to deny them equal treatment. In Crusmac's (2019) words,

> affirmative action was first adopted in the United States through the Executive Order 10925 issued by President John Kennedy in 1961. This Executive Order demanded that government contractors take affirmative action to ensure that applicants were employed, and employees could be treated during employment without taking into account race, colour, religion, or national origin. Initially, the Executive Order did not provide quotas or methods, but stressed that those who have been discriminated in the past should not undergo the same treatment in the future. Women were included in the target group of affirmative action policies only in

1967 through the Executive Order 11375 issued by President Lyndon Johnson, through the prohibition on discrimination based on sex.

Affirmative action is often used as a tool to promote equality in different areas such as employment, admissions to HEI, governmental contracts or to improve the disadvantaged position of a marginalized social group that traditionally suffered systemic discrimination in a particular society (Kaspar, 2021: 3). In order to overcome unequal starting positions in a patriarchal society, affirmative action policies involve the adoption of particular actions, for instance on behalf of women (Kaspar, 2021: 3). Affirmative action may also take the form of positive discrimination, which seeks to increase the participation of women (or other minority groups) (Chauraya & Manyike, 2014: 2).

Since the 1980s, the European Union (hereafter EU) has advocated the use of affirmative action as a mechanism to advance women's equality in employment (Kaspar, 2021: 2). However, in the EU, Austria, and the United States affirmative action measures, especially regarding the admission to HEIs, have been controversial (Kaspar, 2021: 1). While some argue that affirmative action is the most effective way to overcome the under-representation of minority groups, others fear that affirmative action policies will (i) provide unfair advantages to minority groups, (ii) result in lower organisational performance, and (iii) cause further stigmatization of those benefitting from such policies (Morgenroth & Ryan, 2018: 2).

The lens offered by Morgenroth and Ryan (2018) can be interpreted as suggesting that the presence of minority groups in institutions only prejudices the organization's performance. However, it is discrimination that lowers the performance of institutions because they do not use all the talent they have. Becoming more inclusive makes institutions more competitive and more productive. Morgenroth and Ryan (2018) do not consider that women and men experience the world of work quite differently due to their unequal positions (Staudt, 2017: 40), and that the workload that women have at home as well as outside the home contributes to women performing differently than men (Williams, L. 2017: 103). The foregoing Morgenroth's and Ryan's (2018) passage concerning stigmatization of those benefitting from affirmative action policies suggests that they think that stigmatization can happen beyond what already exists. Further, it is important to note that institutions in general treat women and men quite differently. While senior management positions are congested with men, women in general dominate the lower academic levels (Moodly & Toni, 2019: 178). In Mozambique for instance, on the one hand, because of patriarchal ideas many families prioritize male education since they consider men as the head of the family. Because of this unfair view of women

and men (since women in Mozambique in fact also have to work for wages and contribute significantly to the household income), it is more likely for men to be given a job in a better position than women. On the other hand, many well qualified women in HE are overloaded with teaching and administrative tasks so that they do not have enough time for research, and hence cannot advance their careers as easily as men. Consequently, they get stuck in lower academic positions (Nota, 2022: 48).

Drawing on Staudt's (2017) and on Williams' (2017) contributions, in order to overcome unequal starting positions, one thing institutions could do is implement family-friend policies (FFP). There is evidence that FFPs such as childcare facilities can help employees balance their work responsibilities and family responsibilities in a more appropriate manner (Garg & Agrawal, 2020: 1).

Back in 2000, Teigen identified three strategies to break with the controversy regarding affirmative action policies. The first strategy is replacing the focus from non-discrimination to a right to be treated as equal; the second is changing the focus from discrimination to the benefits of including women in male-dominated environments; and the third one is the replacement of the dialogue on "why women" with "why not women" (Teigen, 2000: 2). The first of Teigen's strategy is in line with the idea of equal treatment and human rights of Chauraya & Manyike (2014) and Pocar (2015). However, given persisting inequalities in HE, it is unclear how successful this strategy can be.

Regarding the second and third strategies, scholars frequently discuss the participation of women in HEIs as part of their concerns regarding the under-representation of women in tertiary education (Egne, 2014; Panigrahi, 2014; Okorafor, Obidile & Uduanochie, 2015; Semela, 2017; Akala, 2019). In that sense, numerous studies agree with Teigen's (2000) point of view. I see Teigen's (2000) strategies as inclusive measures for gender equality. Since Mozambique is a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Givá & Santos, 2020: 82), the country needs to show its commitment to gender equality not only on paper but also in practice.

Mozambique also relies extensively on external aid, including in relation to research. Donors often require gender equality measures as part of their commitment to provide aid and it is therefore important for the Mozambican government to use inclusive measures for gender equality to satisfy donor requirements.

Affirmative action programs can be implemented through gender quotas (Crusmac, 2019: 17; Kaspar, 2021: 19). Gender quotas are a gender equality measure adopted by European universities to foster

gender equality (Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019: 1). Gender quotas require that women (or men) make up a minimum share of some group, list, or institution (Hughes, Dwivedi, Misra, Rana, Raghavan & Akella, 2019: 2). Quotas go beyond goals, targets, or objectives to specify a threshold number or percentage of women (or men) that must be selected or nominated (Hughes et al., 2019: 2). Hughes et al. (2019: 7) argue that an effective quota is one that contains either (i) a candidate quota with strong placement mandates and/or strong sanctions, (ii) a strong reserved seat quota that specifies a mechanism for filling reserved seats, or (iii) involves looking at the share of women in the legislature or the percent change in representation before and after the quota was adopted. The quota system is not currently practised in Mozambique.

Although gender quotas are effective measures, Morgenroth and Ryan (2018: 5) state that one of the arguments frequently made against quotas is that they unintentionally lead to the perception that their beneficiaries are less competent, an outcome termed the "stigma of incompetence". This stigma is mobilized in Mozambique. Because of the unequal social division of work which prevents women from focusing on and developing their professional activities, and because some men do not agree with the idea of women performing non-domestic work, in general when women succeed, they are regarded with suspicion by their peers, often creating an uncomfortable work environment.

Back in 2006, Crosby and Sincharoen analysed the "stigma of incompetence". In their work entitled "Understanding affirmative action", they indicated that critics of affirmative action maintain that they undermine their intended beneficiaries, by suggesting that those who benefit from affirmative action policies are unable to succeed in their own right. In the same year, Holzer and Neumark argued that affirmative action is grossly unfair not only to employers, but also to the underrepresented groups, since the supposed beneficiaries can find themselves in positions in which they ultimately fail (Holzer & Neumark, 2006: 5). Holzer's and Neumark's (2006) positions simply reinforce the status quo by suggesting that inequalities reflect 'real' differences and hierarchies rather than structural problems and social prejudice. From a feminist perspective Crosby and Sincharoen's as well as Holzer and Neumark's arguments are simply untenable but indicate positions that favour inequality rather than seeking to eradicate it. However, these views also reveal why minority groups such as women in Mozambican academe often feel uncomfortable in those work environments: in a male-environment where your peers do not trust you, minority groups are forced to double their effort in order to succeed. To avoid the stigma of incompetence it is crucial that minority groups have high self-esteem. There is evidence that high self-esteem is critical to success in workplaces (Orth & Robins, 2014:1), and in

general men have higher self-esteem than women and can become over-confident, while women often have very low self-esteem becoming under-confident (Martin & Phillips, 2017: 28). The lens offered by Orth and Robins (2014: 1) and by Martin and Phillips (2017: 28) suggests that the absence of high self-esteem in minority groups living in a patriarchal society like Mozambique, and working in a male-dominated institution like UEM, inhibits them from doing things such as applying for managerial positions. This might be one of the issues why some qualified women at UEM do not apply for such positions. Martin and Bernard (2013) argue that the psychological barriers that inhibit women from applying for male-dominated positions and occupations are also related to women own stereotypical gender role expectations. These include stereotypical ideas about women's competence and gender-role ideologies that lead to them feeling inadequate and having low self-confidence (Martin & Barnard, 2013: 4). This is not surprising, given that women often work in environments that are unsupportive of them and reproduce gender inequalities in their treatment of women.

A study by Voorspoels and Bleijenbergh on "Implementing gender quotas in academia" suggests that the incompetence stigma of beneficiaries seems to have gradually disappeared (Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019: 1). They argue that this is due to the increasing presence of equal representation measures at universities which have led to a break with the "think manager, think male" paradigm, and allowed women to be explicitly considered as potential and qualified candidate managers. In the same study, Voorspoels and Bleijenbergh (2019: 7) analyse three practices utilized by university actors when implementing gender quotas at a Belgian university:

i. *The first practice is gender-specific calls:* "actors issue gender-specific calls among each other or toward potential candidates. With gender-specific calls, actors approach women as a group, and individual interaction is rather passive. In order to reach a sufficient number of women (candidate) members, actors emphasize the gender quota rule in their communication on the composition process" (Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019: 7).
ii. *The second practice is scouting*. Scouting happens "when organizational actors either directly or indirectly interact with women candidates one-on-one, and address the particular candidate's professional profile. With direct scouting, actors invite individual women (or men) to become a (candidate) member of a decision-making body" (Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019: 7).

The problem with the first two practices in big organizations like UEM for instance, is that only already well-established, well-connected, and well-integrated people are invited. In other words,

marginal people will remain marginal. These practices therefore are only useful for those who are already well connected.

iii. *The third practice is called "playing around*". This practice means that "actors work to fit a profile into a specific composition puzzle. Because compliance with gender quotas is assessed on the basis of the number of effective voting members, actors make this count work by changing the number of effective voting members until at least one-third of them are women. In practice, this means that actors play around with the composition rules" (Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019: 7).

This practice seems to be somewhat problematic. Playing with the composition rules may demotivate people to vote in future rounds because rules are not respected but simply circumvented, and whilst it may be possible to use changing rules for good, this can also as easily be manipulated to further marginalize people.

These practices are in line with Holzer's and Neumark's (2006) study which states that institutions engaging in affirmative action policies: (i) recruit their candidates using various recruitment methods; (ii) pay less attention to measures that can stigmatize candidates such as limited work experiences or welfare resiliency; (iii) after hiring the institution provides training, and; (iv) assesses hired workers frequently (Holzer & Neumark, 2006: 12). Using different ways to recruit candidates allows minorities to occupy positions previously denied to them (Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019: 7). These practices can in theory reduce gender inequalities. However, although Mozambique is known as a democratic country, most people who are invited to occupy certain positions need to be affiliated to the dominant political party (Frelimo). In general, if they do not belong to that party, they are disadvantaged. Preferentialism based on criteria other than competence is therefore a kind of norm in the current HE system. To address this is a complex issue. So far, I have addressed equal treatment, affirmative actions, gender quotas, and practices utilized when implementing gender quotas in HEIs. In the following paragraphs, I shall discuss the last measure the literature on implementing gender policies in HE deals with: gender mainstreaming.

Gender Mainstreaming (hereafter GM) first emerged as an official program in 1995, when it was presented during the 4th women's international conference in Beijing (Crusmac, 2019: 17). The worldwide adoption of GM was established as a global strategy for the promotion of gender equality (Verloo, 2005: 12). Chauraya and Manyike (2014: 2), and Syed and Ali (2019: 7) note that GM is a process to promote gender equality and to make policies more effective by exposing the gendered

nature of assumptions, processes, and outcomes. GM is accompanied by strategic objectives and actions focusing on the government, including recommendations made by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), political parties, and international institutions (Kabeer, 2005: 3).

The role of GM in any organization working with gender like HEIs is to provide an opportunity to systematically evaluate all aspects of the institution through a gender lens (Paladan & Churk, 2015: 1). In Mozambique, for instance, due to the commitment that this government has to gender equality, HEIs are encouraged to produce sex-disaggregated data. This enables the Mozambican government to see how far Mozambican HEIs have developed in relation to gender equality. According to Syed and Ali (2019: 8), GM seeks to institutionalize gender equality and empowerment reforms by restructuring all processes, programs, and organizations. GM aims at establishing transformative processes and practices to benefit both women and men equally by systematically integrating policies and programs addressing gender into all aspects of an organization's work (Chauraya & Manyike, 2014: 1).

Affirmative action and GM can be subjected to the same criticism: both address solely inequalities between women and men encountered in the public sphere, without paying too much attention to the origin of these inequalities (Crusmac, 2019: 18). GM relies on "incorporating the gender perspective into all economic problems, sharing the same interest with affirmative action in discrimination on the labour market. A key difference between the two (GM and affirmative action) is given by the fact that while affirmative action is meant to be a short-term process, gm does not have time constraints for implementation" (Crusmac, 2019: 18). The fact that affirmative action is a short-term process can be a disadvantage. For instance, as indicated by Morgenroth and Ryan (2018: 3), a study conducted in the United States regarding the importance of affirmative action showed that the cessation of affirmative action policies decreased the membership of minority groups in HE, not least in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM) courses. Overall, the literature reviewed here, indicates that equal treatment, affirmative actions, gender quotas, and GM are the most common gender measures applied to fight gender inequalities. I shall now move on to address what the literature says concerning requirements for the successful implementation of gender policies.

3.2 Requirements for the Successful Implementation of Gender Policies

This section discusses the literature on the requirements for a successful gender policy implementation. The existing body of literature on HEIs highlights that before implementing a gender

policy, there are requirements that need to be fulfilled to make the implementation a success, such as gender training; a gender action plan (GAP); monitoring and evaluation (Ochieng, 2014: 5; Abbott & Malunda, 2016: 11); and financial resources as well as a political commitment to gender mainstreaming (Abbott & Malunda, 2016; Staudt, 2017; Chitsamatanga, Rembe, and Rembe, 2020; Verge, 2020; Oppi, Cavicchi & Vagnoni, 2021). Chauraya and Manyike (2014: 3) in Zimbabwe suggest that to achieve the successful implementation of a gender policy the following four principles should be followed:

(i) A situational analysis of the university's gender terrains.

(ii) A re-orientation of the implementers' mindsets to gender change. "Winning of the minds and hearts" of the implementers is required to motivate all those affected by the program, especially the program implementers.

(iii) To monitor the implementation process, evaluate it formatively and summatively, and review it to adjust it as the need arises.

(iv) Detailed information about the policy (such as what the gender programs are to do, who actually is to do it, how it is to be done, and for whom it is to be done) is needed.

Similar to Chauraya's and Manyike's (2014) first principle, at UEM before the designing of the UEM Gender Strategy (an institutional document created to implement the gender policy), the UEM Gender Unit conducted a survey aimed to assess priority areas regarding the gender situation (EGUEM, 2019: 9). In line with Chauraya's and Manyike's (2014) third principle, a study conducted in Zimbabwe by Chitsamatanga, Rembe, and Rembe (2020: 4), also agrees that monitoring and evaluation are two important requirements for a successful gender policy implementation. These scholars argue that the power to monitor and evaluation systems lies in the decisions that are taken by universities to gauge the impact of the implemented gender equality policies in relation to promoting a critical mass of females into positions of leadership (Chitsamatanga et al., 2020: 4). To achieve palpable results, monitoring and evaluation are important for the effective implementation of gender equality policies, and for any gender program and project that universities may use to enhance female leadership in universities (Chitsamatanga et al., 2020: 5). Contrary to Chitsamatanga et al.'s (2020) suggestion the UEM Gender Strategy, a document designed to implement the gender policy, does not mention procedures for monitoring and evaluation, endangering the effectiveness of the implementation process.

GENDER TRAINING: Caparini (2020: 153) recommends gender training for all implementers of gender policies. In Germany, Staudt (2017: 13) suggested several types of gender training approaches that should be taught to staff with responsibility for implementing gender policies. These approaches

include: (i) the *Gender Roles Framework*, where trainees learn about the gendered division of labour; (ii) the *Gender Planning Approach*, where trainees learn about the productive, reproductive, and community demands on women's time and labour burdens, and; (iii) The *Social Relations Framework*, where trainees learn about power relations between women and men. This gender training seems to be of utmost importance and should be implemented not only in Mozambique but also in all patriarchal societies where what is considered an appropriate activity for women and men results in a strong unequal division of work which prevents women from succeeding in their professional careers.

Caparini (2020: 153) observes that although gender training seeks to raise awareness of the importance of a gender perspective, gender training efforts vary considerably despite the provision of standardized guidance and the encouragement of a standardized approach by the United Nations, for instance. For example, Van Houweling et al. (2015: 36) provide a useful example of the importance of gender training at Makerere University in Uganda. At Makerere University hundreds of women and men were trained in gender awareness and the students formed a Gender Students Association with gender peer trainers. The program was well accepted and raised consciousness about good gender practices among the academic community. Contrary to this, the Mozambican gender policy as well as the UEM Gender Strategy do not mention anything regarding gender training, and a recent paper written by Mangheni et al. (2021: 6) on the "Performance of gender focal person structures in Rwanda and Uganda" reports that due to a lack of or insufficient gender training in many public institutions, some employees perceive gender mainstreaming simply as a women's issue. This situation is not exclusive to Rwanda. In my study, for example, the fact that from the total of seven gender focal points attending focus group discussions, only one was a man, might be an indication that in this public institution (UEM) employees also perceive GM as a women's issue. However, perceiving GM as a women's issue can prejudice the implementation process of gender policy since from a feminist perspective a successful gender policy implementation relies on the involvement of both genders.

GENDER ACTION PLAN (GAP): GAP is the roadmap for gender activities that the gender policy implementers should adopt (Verge, 2020: 238). A GAP includes a range of strategies, activities, resources, gender capacity-building initiatives, targets, and indicators for ensuring that women, along with men, participate in and benefit from all aspects of the project or program (Hunt, Lateef & Thomas, 2007: 6). Hunt et al. (2007: 7) state that the implementation of a GAP is prepared during the

implementation phase of the policy. It details and refines strategies, activities, and targets and ensures that responsibilities and resources are allocated for implementing and monitoring all GAP elements. In order to deliver gender equality results, a study conducted in India by Mehra and Gupta (2006:13) recommended six components to include in a GAP: (i) structured training opportunities for project team members and other stakeholders to promote ownership and commitment to the cause; (ii) a participatory approach to ensure all team members understand why resources are allocated to specific measures to ensure women benefit; (iii) realistic targets that can be achieved through step-by-step progress closely linked to project objectives; (iv) step-by-step actions spelled out to accomplish each gender-related target and flexible implementation and a learn-as-you-go approach to address unanticipated constraints; (v) leadership to overcome challenges and resistance during implementation; and; (vi) consistent monitoring of indicators suitable to assess progress across all gender activities. Since GAPs are an effective tool for gender mainstreaming, my study engages with the question if gender focal points (GFPs) have a GAP to guide their daily activities.

FINANCIAL RESOURCES: Gender-responsive budgeting (hereafter GRB) refers to a systemic approach that involves various instruments, techniques, and procedures to integrate the gender perspective into the overall budget process from planning to reporting **(**Oppi et al., 2021: 3). Since the mid-1980s, GRB has gained increasing traction in multiple contexts and in public sector organizations including at HEIs. GRB is rooted in GM, understood as a strategy for promoting equal opportunity and disseminating the gender perspective in political choices by rethinking traditional decision-making processes.

Gender budgeting makes the budget's impact on gender visible **(**Oppi et al., 2021: 3). However, there continue to be limitations to exploiting its full potential such as how the gender perspective is integrated into budgets and gender-based performance indicators in public budgets **(**Oppi et al., 2021: 3). Staudt (2017: 22) recognises that one obstacle to GM results from limited resources. Resources are also an issue at UEM as I shall discuss in later chapters.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)[6] has emphasized the importance of GRB in the achievement of the Goal 5 (Gender Equality) of the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Agenda. According to Oppi et al. (2021: 1), this goal can be achieved by giving women equal access to economic resources, empowering them through technology, and

[6] The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is a forum where the governments of 37 democracies with market-based economies collaborate to develop policy standards to promote sustainable economic growth (Oppi, Cavicchi & Vagnoni, 2021:1).

reinforcing government interventions in terms of policy and legislation to ensure gender equality (GE). This requires, in Oppi et al.'s (2021) words:

> mainstreaming gender visibility throughout the budget cycle from formulation to monitoring and reporting ensures accountability for policy commitments to GE. GRB is consistent with the need to rethink the budgeting approach and revise its structure by including gender perspective as a performance strategy to meet the goals of effectiveness, efficiency, and transparency. GRB makes it possible to manage resources and assess the effectiveness and efficiency of interventions in light of GE, thereby deepening the processes implemented in the organization that contributes to delivering equal opportunities for the genders (Oppi et al., 2021: 4).

Anyoni (2008: 18) argues that senior management can demonstrate commitment by: (i) allocating sufficient resources, financial and human, for the promotion of GM; (ii) participating in discussions on gender issues, and; (iii) providing moral support. A sad example of poor allocation of financial resources was found in Nigeria. In 2015 Aina, Ogunlade, and Ilesanmi reported that in Nigeria the Akwa Ibom State University established a gender unit (the Centre for Gender and Development Studies) for institutionalising gender education, and treating gender as a cross-cutting issue in both academic and administrative engagements of the university. However, translating GM into all sectors of the university (academics, management, curriculum, employment, students' enrolments, ICT, health, religion, and security) was inhibited by lack of funds (Aina et al., 2015: 20; Mangheni, Musiimenta, Boonabaana & Tufan, 2021: 10). The absence of GRB makes difficult to manage resources and assess the effectiveness and efficiency of interventions in light of GE. In short, since financial resources remain a major concern in most African countries, more research is needed to respond to the problem of GRB.

A POLITICAL COMMITMENT TO GENDER MAINSTREAMING: In order to avoid incomplete policy implementations, Psacharopoulos (1990) recommends that policy statements should be concrete and feasible in terms of objectives, including a timetable, source of financing of its implementation, and institution responsible (Psacharopoulos, 1990: 31). Mehra and Gupta (2006: 26) in "Gender mainstreaming: making it happen" identify four factors as essential for effective gender policy implementation, namely:

(i) *Political will*: it should start at the very top of the organization. The leadership should make a public commitment to GM;

(ii) *Technical capacity*: Organizations should conduct gender audits to assess the current level of gender awareness and, based on that work, they should enhance gender expertise;

(iii) *Organizational culture*: It is important to change the values and views on gender that prevail within organizations. These changes can be achieved for instance through approaches such as ensuring gender balance on technical and administrative teams, involving men as partners not as obstacles to GM, and;

(iv) *Accountability*: Accountability measures should be put in place. They may include requiring gender indicators for monitoring and evaluating project processes and outcomes and ensuring that gender is integrated throughout annual plans and reports.

Of these, the first might, at least theoretically, be the easiest to establish. At UEM there has been a political commitment to GM since 2008 when the UEM Gender Unit (the Centre for Coordination of Gender Issues) was created. As reported by Van Houweling, Christie, and Abdel-Rahim (2015:32), since the establishment of the UEM gender unit, the HEI has created gender focal points (GFPs) in each faculty and higher schools to be responsible for gender awareness among their colleagues in their unit (Van Houweling et al., 2015:32). In 2021, UEM introduced a Master's degree in Gender and Development, funded by the Swedish Government, and GFPs were given priority access to this degree (EGUEM, 2019: 8). Still, concerning political commitment, it has been noted by Crosby et al. (2006: 10) for example that a clear and persuasive communication about the policy goals, and the communication in both directions, are the most important determinant of successful gender policy implementation (Crosby et al., 2006: 10).

At the same time, the support and commitment from top managers, like rectors and deans, as well as sanctions, are crucial for ensuring that actors deliver on implementation (Crosby et al., 2006: 10; Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019: 3). In sum, although the literature (Holland, 1997; Morley, 2007; Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019; Roos, Mampaey, Huisman et al, 2020) acknowledges that institutional commitment is required to guarantee that the gender policy will not be marginalised, Mazey (2002: 8) highlights that the under-representation of women in decision-making bodies constitutes a significant barrier to gender mainstreaming. Drawing on Mazey's (2002) point of view, one might say that in male-dominated institutions like UEM, the probability of an unsuccessful gender policy implementation is very high.

In the words of Beloshitzkaya (2021: 9) “the adoption of the affirmative action policies is only the first step toward substantive gender equality. A big part of the solution to the gender inequality problem rests on the effective implementation of these policies”. In the next section, the focus will be on the challenges facing gender policy implementation.

3.3 Challenges to the Gender Policy Implementation

Psacharopoulos (1990: 4) and Roos et al. (2020: 2) among others argue that the process of gender policy implementation is not always successful. Abbott and Malunda (2016: 7) suggest that top-down GM has generally failed to deliver gender transformation, because of its focus on changing women and girls, and paying too little attention to changing gender relations and structural inequalities. So, it is crucial to learn from these failures in order to overcome obstacles in future policy implementations. Psacharopoulos (1990) analyzed the educational policies in four African countries (Tanzania, Ethiopia, Zambia, and Kenya) and found that the implementation was inadequate because the policy content, e.g. how the quality of education should be improved, was vague (Psacharopoulos, 1990: 8).

A study for the Forum for African Women Educationalists (FAWE) conducted by Meena in 2007 noted that there are specific inconsistencies and discrepancies between policy commitments and plans to redress gender inequalities in education. Meena argues that such discrepancies result from a lack of commitment from policy planners or a lack of knowledge on how to mainstream gender issues into policy programs, or a combination of both (Meena, 2007: 81). The same study also indicates a lack of human and financial resources available to implement these policies and programs (Meena, 2007: 81). Such resource issues also apply to the UEM gender unit where no additional financial resources were provided by the state to implement the Mozambican gender policy (Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy).

In 1994 affirmative action policies contributed to bringing about the end of apartheid in South Africa (Archibong & Adejumo, 2013: 15). With the end of this discriminatory system, access to HEIs for disadvantaged people was supposed to increase (Long & Kavazanjian, 2012: 21). Studies of the impact of the affirmative action policies to improve access to HEIs conducted by Mzangwa (2019) show that rich people continued to afford and gain access to HE, while the poor majority, consisting mainly of black people, seemed not to benefit from the introduction of policies aimed at transforming HE in South Africa (Mzangwa, 2019: 3). Apart from social differences, the language of instruction was also one of the challenges in South Africa. Mzangwa (2019: 8) suggests that despite the fact that

English is a common language widely used by black and white citizens, Afrikaans, the language of a minority of white Afrikaners, which is used as a medium of instruction in some South African HEIs, makes it difficult for those South Africans who do not speak that language.

In order to understand the progress regarding the incorporation of gender into the curriculum and how these strategies relate to national policies, the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) in South Africa carried out an investigation in 2007 in all of the nine South African provinces' educational governing bodies. This investigation showed that a lack of commitment to implement gender-related goals was present at the national and provincial levels (Loots & Walker, 2015: 633). Related to gender equality policies, a study by Bennett (2009) carried out at the University of the Western Cape, University of KwaZulu-Natal, and the University of Stellenbosch in South Africa, showed that sexual harassment policies at these institutions were not considered a central issue or part of the universities' institutional frameworks (Bennett, 2009: 13). The same study also showed that a wide range of people from these different universities were ignorant about the gender policy. In line with Bennett's (2009) findings, one might argue that the lack of legal instruments against sexual harassment at UEM over the past 60 years of its emergence indicates that sexual harassment in this HEI was not considered a central issue (EGUEM, 2019:13).

Morley (2007) examined impediments to gender equality in HE in South Africa, Nigeria, Uganda and Tanzania. Her results were similar to those of Psacharopoulos (1990): a lack of clarity endangered the implementation of GM strategies. Morley's study also analysed other factors that contribute to the failure of GM implementation including: i) a lack of gender sensitization; ii) a lack of understanding of strategy, process and objectives; iii) inadequate budgeting for the gender components of projects; and; iv) a general lack of political commitment within the organization and at country level. For Chauraya and Manyike (2014: 7); Ochieng (2014: 5); Verge et al. (2018); Roos et al. (2020: 3); and Hede (2021: 726), most of the literature on HE in African countries reports challenges throughout the process of gender policy implementation. This has to do with the fact that GM is a non-priority within universities, as well as the fact that gender units are usually understaffed and under-budgeted (Verge et al., 2018: 92).

Staudt (2017) and a recent report by Mhlanga et al. (2022) also indicate that limited financial resources constitute an obstacle to GM. In Staudt's words, "whatever the gender unit and wherever it is located, gender units should be provided with financial resources in order to accomplish their plan to create and leverage changes" (Staudt, 2017: 22). In the meantime, Mhlanga et al. (2022: 17) on

"Barriers to the implementation of agenda 2030 united nations global goals in the Zimbabwean higher education context" argue that the country is suffering from inadequate monetary resources. Among the reasons for inadequate financial resources in most African universities, Teferra and Altbachl (2004: 8) cite:

(i) "The pressures of expansion and massification that have added large numbers of students to most African academic institutions and systems" (Teferra & Altbachl, 2004: 8);

(ii) "The economic problems facing many African countries that make it difficult, if not impossible, to provide increased funding for HE" (Teferra & Altbachl, 2004: 8);

(iii) "The inability of students to afford the tuition rates necessary for fiscal stability and in some cases an inability to impose tuition fees due to political or other pressure" (Teferra & Altbachl, 2004: 8); and

(iv) "Misallocation and poor prioritization of available financial resources, such as the tradition of providing free or highly subsidized accommodations and food to students and maintaining a large and cumbersome non-academic personnel and infrastructure" (Teferra & Altbachl, 2004: 8).

All four reasons for inadequate financial resources cited by Teferra and Altbachl, (2004) are also the case in Mozambique. Overall, the studies conducted by Chauraya and Manyike (2014), Ochieng (2014), Verge et al. (2018), Roos et al. (2020) and Hede (2021) also show that challenges in implementing gender policies are linked to the fact that commitments are made without being associated with action plans or budgetary allocations, as well as a lack of gender specialists (Hede, 2021: 726). Other factors include:

(i) "a lack of gender awareness training to provide implementers with appropriate understandings of GM" (Chauraya & Manyike, 2014: 7);

(ii) "the fact that gender focal points (GFPs) were not involved in the development, review, change and/or evaluation of the gender policy documents" (Ochieng, 2014: 5), and;

(iii) "resistance to or unwillingness to support equality initiatives involving quotas or affirmative action, as well as the lack of supervision of the implementation of GM by evaluation agencies" (Roos et al., 2020: 3).

To conclude, there are many reasons why the implementation of a gender policy is difficult. Since the Mozambican gender policy is in its implementation phase, it will require revision, maintenance, and update to function well (Hughes et al., 2019: 4). When one searches for challenges to the gender policy implementation some research (for example, Paladan & Churk, 2015; Danowitz, 2016;

Williams, L. 2017; Crusmac, 2019) has shown evidence that gender stereotypes contribute to preventing the effective implementation of gender policies. The next section also outlines what the literature tells us about impediments to effective gender policy implementation.

3.3.1 *The role of Gender Stereotypes in Maintaining Gender Inequalities in HE*

Despite the effort to establish policies for equal education opportunities (Paladan & Churk, 2015: 6; Crusmac, 2019: 20), worldwide gender inequalities persist not only in STEM areas (Winchester & Browning 2015; Mycklebust, 2019; Dicke, Safavian & Eccles, 2019), but also among academic staff more generally (António & Hunguana, 2013; Dlamini & Adams, 2014; Myklebust, 2019), with unequal opportunities in career progression (Callaghan, 2015; Williams, L. 2017; Moalusi & Jones, 2019) and gendered organisational structures (Acker, 2012; Stamarski & Son Hing, 2015; Danowitz, 2016).

Scholars suggest that gender inequalities in HEIs can partly be explained as a result of the strong influence of gender stereotypes (Alade, 2012: 36; Oliveira & Rodrigues, 2018: 16**)**. Stereotypes associating science and knowledge production with men exist in almost all cultures (Miller, Eagly & Linn, 2015: 631). Miller et al. (2015), writing about "Women's representation in science predicts national gender-science stereotypes", found that participants across 66 nations strongly associated science with men, and this includes nations where women are approximately half of the nation's science majors and employed researchers (Miller et al., 2015: 640). For Syed and Ali (2019), gender stereotypes are therefore deeply established. In their study on "The relational perspective of gender equality and mainstreaming", Syed and Ali comment that gender stereotypes have a negative influence on women. They note that stereotypes restrict the roles assigned to women in the public sphere with the result that they are underpaid and prevented from achieving upward mobility (Syed & Ali, 2019: 5; Kohlrausch & Weber, 2021: 20).

CNAQ (2015: 6) states that "the distribution of students by sex and course at the South African Development Community (SADC) level, shows that there is a greater presence of female students in Education, Health Sciences, Humanities, and Social Sciences courses, while male students have sought more courses in the areas of Agriculture, Science, Engineering, and Technology" (CNAQ, 2015: 8). This difference in choice has a direct relationship with labor market patterns, consequently a negative impact on achieving a gender balance in that context too. In fact, a study carried out by Vincent (2013: 5) has shown that, in general, women tend to find work in professions that deal with the traditional stereotype of femininity and care (e.g., Education and Nursing). This implies the

emergence of a sexual division of occupations on the one hand, on the other it also points to a division in choice as far as HE qualification choices are concerned. Mozambique's constitutional aspiration to equality is thus not matched by what happens in its HE. Newman (2014: 25), and Rarieya, Sanger, and Moolman (2014: 5), in their studies, emphasize that gender stereotypes are directly related to gender discrimination, where gender discrimination is defined as "any distinction, exclusion, or restriction perpetrated against women/men, based on socially constructed gender roles and norms that prevent a person from enjoying their human rights" (Newman, 2014: 26). Discrimination manifests itself in the unequal provision of benefits where women in the workplace have dual responsibilities as workers and family carers, but are simultaneously prevented from attending childcare, for example (Higgs, 2007: 135).

A study by Alade (2012) entitled "Gender stereotyping and empowerment in Nigeria[n] society: Implications for women repositioning in curriculum delivery", indicates that as a result of gender stereotyping, few female students pursue science-focused careers (Alade, 2012: 30). Furthermore, the same scholar also states that there is generally a low level of female admissions in Science and Technology-based courses, compared with admission to Arts and Social Sciences programs. Female students tend to be guided towards areas of studies regarded as feminine and thus moved away from science and technology fields (Alade, 2012: 36; Vincent, 2013: 5). A similar situation prevails at UEM, where the annual report published by the Academic Quality Directorate (UEM-GQA, 2014: 15) showed that at UEM very few women are found in Sciences and Engineering courses.

Boateng (2018) from Ghana commented that "as a result of gender stereotypes, studies indicate that women who journey into male-dominated fields are often rejected, and they are not seen with friendly eyes by their fellow women as well as men. These kind of negative experiences women have in male-dominated organisations, are not different from that of academia" (Boateng, 2018: 23). Boateng argues that women in academia consistently have to fight for space, as they constantly face gender stereotypes. These stereotypes create an environment where women who succeed in academia are made to believe that they are an exception to the norm, and in cases where they fail, they are portrayed as failing to be sufficiently aggressive or viewed as incompetent (Boateng, 2018: 26). Lastly, the same author concludes that:

> Workspaces in organisations which were expected to be gender-neutral are so gendered that it is believed that being a woman is a disadvantage to pursuing a career in many fields, including

> academia. Gender stereotypes are often used as forms of social control to maintain male-dominated workspaces (Boateng, 2018: 29).

Boateng's (2018) conclusion is similar to that of Givá and Santos (2020: 82) who concluded that UEM is a gendered institution where women struggle to pursue a career in many fields.

To conclude, one might say that gender stereotypes contribute to preventing the successful implementation of gender policies. In this chapter I have discussed some of the literature on the implementation of gender policies in HE, with a particular focus on findings from African countries. They all make rather similar points about the various impediments to successfully implementing such a policy. The implication is that a more comprehensive approach to the implementation of the gender policy at UEM would provide to the academic community with a better understanding, evaluation tools, and better control of the implementation process of the gender policy.

With this in mind, the next chapter outlines the research design and methodology of the study. The empirical methods that were employed to gather information will be explained, the data collection strategies, and the way the data were analysed. I shall also discuss the ethical issues pertaining to my research.

CHAPTER 4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the research methodology used in this study. The methodological aspects discussed here include the research design, ethical approval from UEM, and the choice of methods for the data collection as well as how and why participants were selected, and how the data were analysed. I then outline the procedures I used for my pilot study and my research position in the field. Finally, ethical considerations are discussed.

4.2. Research Design

This research utilizes a case study approach. The case study method enables one to closely examine data within a specific context, in this case the University Eduardo Mondlane. The focus in this case study is on implementing the Gender Policy at UEM. This HEI is investigated because it is the oldest university in Mozambique and it is the only university in this country to date that has a Gender Unit. One advantage of using a case study is that it enables me to explore certain real-life situations. Since case studies usually involve a small number of study participants, the results of this type of study cannot be generalized (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 239). For this reason, although the Gender Policy under investigation has been designed to be implemented in all HEIs in Mozambique, the case study offers a particular insight. In the following paragraphs, I share some approval procedures I had to follow before conducting my fieldwork at UEM.

4.3 The Ethical Approval Process

In order to conduct research in a public-sector organization in Mozambique, one needs approval from its head. This has to be seen in a context where there is no national or regional body granting ethical approval for a social science project. Before conducting my fieldwork, I therefore submitted a letter to the Rector of UEM asking for permission to conduct my fieldwork in that HEI. After receiving the approval letter from the Rector, it was recommended that I approach the UEM Scientific Directorate for a letter introducing me and my study to the UEM academic community. Hence participants in my study were made aware of the nature of the research through a letter written by the Scientific Directorate of the UEM (Appendix 3). This letter was a necessary prerequisite to being able to conduct the research. In this letter, the Scientific Directorate explained the goal of the study, and asked for collaboration. It was UEM's way of approving the study. As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, UEM is composed of eleven faculties and six higher schools. All faculties and two of

higher schools are in Maputo, the other four higher schools are distributed among three provinces of Mozambique (Gaza, Inhambane, and Quelimane). Due to COVID-19, my study was limited to the faculties and schools in Maputo. Therefore, I submitted the letter from the Scientific Directorate only to the faculties and higher schools located in Maputo. Below I discuss the methods I used to collect my data namely, document analysis, a questionnaire, focus group discussion, and interviews.

4.4 Choice of Methods for Data Collection

Methods are procedures employed to gather data (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2000: 116; Mathison, 2014: 46). In this study, I used multiple methods for my data collection. I also applied the feminist principle of reflexivity which calls upon researchers to reflect on their research relationships as a way of decreasing possible bias in the study **(**Bondi, 2009: 3). I collected data through four different methods: document analysis, a questionnaire, focus group discussions, and semi-structured interviews. Employing a diversity of data sources guarantees that the problem is not investigated just through one lens, but rather a variety of lenses that allow for several facets of the phenomenon to be examined (Baxter & Jack, 2008: 544). Using different data collection methods increases the study's trustworthiness through the triangulation principle.

My data collection methods allowed me to gather in-depth information about the process of implementing the Gender Policy at UEM, and to assess the relationship between what is stated in the documents and what participants said in the questionnaire, focus groups discussions, and semi-structured interviews. In the fieldwork after my document analysis, I administrated a questionnaire (Appendix 5) to a selected group from the academic community (postgraduate students, lecturers, and administrative staff), to find out if they had noticed any change in the gender practices as well as the gender norms at the UEM from 2015 to 2020 (since the implementation of the Gender Policy). Following on from the questionnaire, I held focus group discussions with the Gender Unit employees to understand the role of these employees during the process of implementing the Gender Policy at UEM. Focus group discussions were also held with the Gender Focal Points (hereafter GFPs) to explore their work experiences as GFPs. Besides the document analysis, questionnaires and focus group discussions, I also conducted interviews with University Council members. Interviews enable one to access the participant's articulated ideas, thoughts, and reconstructed memories (in their own words) of the steps taken to mainstream gender among academic and administrative staff at UEM. In the following paragraphs, I explain in detail how I gathered my data. The explanation commences with the document analysis. I will detail the list of official documents analyzed for this study.

4.4.1 *Document Analysis*

The review of official documents was crucial for establishing the official point of view about the issue of gender equality at UEM. This process provided me with the big picture regarding the commitment UEM has on paper regarding gender issues. The UEM Strategic Plan is an official document which encompasses a detailed institutional plan. In analysing this document, I intended to explore how the UEM Strategic Plan responds to the Gender Policy objectives. The UEM Gender Strategy is a UEM document designed specially to implement the Gender Policy. In this document, I intended to figure out which specific actions are advocated to achieve the Gender Policy objectives.

The following three official documents were analysed:

(i) The Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy (2015-2025) (hereafter: Gender Policy);

(ii) UEM's Strategic Plan (2018 – 2028); and

(iii) The UEM Gender Strategy (2020-2030).

Below I briefly discuss these documents.

In 2015, the National Council for the Evaluation of Quality in Higher Education (CNAQ) launched the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy. This policy was to be applied to all public and private HEIs in Mozambique. It was aligned with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (1993), the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) (1995), and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development (1997). The essence of this document is to advocate that government programs introduce a gender perspective into their development plans and policies, seeking to eliminate factors that constrain women's access to education, resources, and the full enjoyment of their rights.

The Gender Policy states:

> The Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy emerged in Mozambique in a context in which access to HEIs has improved significantly in recent times, since in almost all provinces there is at least one university, public or private, and the number of graduates has been increasing over time. However, despite the trend of increasing female students in HEIs, higher education is still dominated by male students and when compared to men, the presence of

women in teaching and research at HEIs corresponds to an annual average of 24.8% (CNAQ, 2015: 4).

The same document highlights that its mission is "to contribute to the reduction of gender inequalities in higher education and to promote gradual changes in the mentality of different actors involved in processes of evaluation and quality assurance" (CNAQ, 2015: 7).

Furthermore, the document contains four objectives, quoted *verbatim* here:

(i) To establish specific policy measures that allow for the equal participation of women and men in higher education;

(ii) To define strategies to promote the gender approach in higher education;

(iii) To establish coordination mechanisms in the implementation of this policy; and

(iv) To establish mechanisms for financing and monitoring the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy (CNAQ, 2015: 7).

At UEM each faculty and higher school has a gender focal point (GFP). UEM adopted this specific action to fight gender inequality (Voorspoels & Bleijenbergh, 2019: 2). This gender measure seems to respond to the first and third objective of the Gender Policy. Through creating GFPs, UEM intended to ensure gender mainstreaming across faculties and higher schools. Gender mainstreaming is one of the most common measures used to implement gender policies and programs in HEIs (Crusmac, 2019: 3; Kaspar, 2021: 1; Beloshitzkaya, 2021: 9).

The second document analysed was UEM's Strategic Plan (2018-2028). The Strategic Plan is an institutional document that describes the key priorities of the institution. This document is composed of key strategic issues, strategic objectives, and strategic actions. The analysis of this document explores to what extent gender issues are part of UEM's Strategic Plan. The final document analysed was the UEM Gender Strategy (2020-2030). This document was elaborated by the UEM Gender Unit and approved by the UEM University Council in December 2019. The production of this document was based on the Gender Policy. The purpose of the UEM Gender Strategy is to implement the Gender Policy at UEM. The main objective in analysing the UEM Gender Strategy was to determine how and to what extent UEM was planning to achieve the objectives of Gender Policy. During the document analysis, the focus was on the steps planned by the institution to respond to the objectives of the Gender Policy. Therefore, the study considered if the UEM institutional documents included in their plans concrete actions to respond to gender-related issues. By analysing the above-mentioned documents, I examine what the institutional priorities are in relation to gender equality and which concrete activities were planned. I make comparisons between the goals for input indicators and the

goals for output indicators, and comment on the resources made available to implement the Gender Policy. In analyzing these official documents I intended to explore if they address issues related to gender mainstreaming. The document analysis assisted me in planning for the focus groups discussions and the individual interviews as information gathered from the documents was used to probe for in-depth information about how the Gender Policy works at UEM. The document analysis also contributed to identifying some challenges that UEM is facing regarding the implementation of the Gender Policy. In later chapters I compare what the documents say concerning gender mainstreaming at UEM and what is happening on the ground according to my study participants. There is therefore not a separate chapter on the documents but rather, the analysis of their content is interwoven with that of the other research methods. I now discuss the questionnaire I administered.

4.4.2 *The Questionnaire*

As previously mentioned in 4.3, I sent the letter from the Scientific Directorate to 11 faculties and two higher schools in Maputo. For each faculty and higher school, I wrote a letter to the Dean (Appendix 4) explaining the purpose of my study and asking her/him for five participants (two lecturers, two administrative staff, and one post-graduate student) to answer the questionnaires. After receiving my request, each Dean provided a list of people to be part of this study, including the name and email of each participant. Then I sent an individual email to each participant recommended by each Dean, asking them to be part of the study. The letter from the Scientific Directorate and the questionnaire were sent in the same email.

Regarding emailing questionnaires, Afzali (2017: 138) argues that the principal obstacle to an emailed questionnaire is that you have no command over the number of people who will complete it. Similarly, Williams (2003: 248) and Popping (2015: 28) emphasize concerns regarding the completeness of responses as well as the possibility of finding problems linked to unclear phrases or responses that do not adequately address the question originally posed. These concer (ns were also identified in the present study in that the desired number of respondents failed to respond to all questions and in some instances I identified problems with unclear phrases. In order to deal with these unclear phrases, incomplete responses and no responses, I created a category called *missing data* which includes no responses, unclear phrases and/or responses that do not clearly respond to the question.

The questionnaire I sent to the selected academic community members consisted of three parts. The first part briefly presented the purpose of the study, the second asked for the bio- and demographical data of the participants (gender, academic status, and name of their unit), and the third part of the questionnaire consisted of four open-ended questions. Open-ended questions were utilized to allow

participants to provide detailed information, and to have the independence to communicate their views in their own terms (Williams, J. 2003: 249; Marks & Salazar, 2021: 169). Apart from asking participants if they were familiar with the Gender Policy, other questions focused on: (i) areas traditionally considered masculine that are currently occupied by female employees; (ii) women's opportunity to assume leadership positions; and (iii) how women and men relate to one another in the workplace. The aim of administering a questionnaire to the selected academic community was to get a broader grasp of changes that had been occurring in faculties and higher schools across UEM because of the implementation of the Gender Policy. Table 4.1 below addresses the questionnaire distribution and response rate.

Table 4. 1 Questionnaire distribution and response rate.

Academic community	Distributed Questionnaires	Returned Questionnaires	Unreturned Questionnaires	Return Rate Per Staff Category (in percentages)
Post-graduate student	13	5	8	38%
Administrative staff	26	10	16	38%
Lecturers	26	12	14	46%

Source: the author.

Although a letter from the UEM Scientific Directorate was sent to the above-mentioned 11 faculties and two higher schools in August 2020, the majority of the respondents failed to respond to the questionnaires. Table 4.1 shows that out of a total of 65 questionnaires distributed, 27 were returned. I followed Williams' (2003: 250.) recommendation that reminders should be sent out to those who did not respond. Because I could not force people to be part of my study, I sent only one reminder. This resulted in a marginal increase in response rate from 25 to 27. Since Yang (2022: 7) considers that employees rarely dare to say no to their boss, it is likely that the overall percentage of questionnaire returned (41.5%) which was reasonably high was influenced by having these gatekeepers[7], i.e. the Deans who provided the introduction to the study and identified the participants.

Using gatekeepers in my study was important in helping me to achieve a reasonable return rate regarding the questionnaire, but it may also have introduced certain biases since the participants reflected the Dean's preferences as well as particular functional categories. However, I had no choice but to act in this way since I needed the approval of the Deans to be able to conduct the study. The respondents to the questionnaire were composed of five postgraduate students (three females and

[7] Gatekeepers are defined as any person who is instrumental in allowing the researcher access to participants for their research (Spacey, Harvey & Casey, 2021: 2).

two males); 10 administrative staff (four females and six males); and 12 lecturers (eight females and four males). Table 4.2 below presents the gender breakdown of the respondents.

Table 4. 2 Gender distribution of questionnaire respondents.

Participants	**Gender**		**Total**
	Female	Male	
Postgraduate student	3	2	5
Administrative staff	4	6	10
Lecturers	8	4	12
Total	15	12	27

Source: the author.

Table 4.2 indicates the questionnaire respondents disaggregated by sex. The 27 participants represented all 11 faculties and two higher schools from UEM. Table 4.2 shows that there were fewer male respondents (12) than female respondents. Although in a male-dominated institution there are more male lecturers than female lecturers, more women than men agreed to be part of my study. This could be because women may be more inclined to be supportive (of other women) than men but also perhaps because women may have a greater interest in gender issues than men. After the administration of the questionnaires I conducted focus group discussions with the Gender Unit employees and gender focal points. I outline these below.

4.4.3 *Focus Group Discussions*

While I was waiting for the return of the questionnaires, I organized focus group discussions (hereafter FGDs). A focus group is any group in a conversation where the investigator or a moderator is encouraging group communication (Maree, 2007: 90; Barbour, 2008: 2). Using FGDs in this study was important because (i) FGDs provide information through group interaction; (ii) it is a valuable method for exploring what people say, how they say it, and why they talk the way they do about a certain matter in a group situation; and (iii) since I communicated directly with respondents, I could easily elucidate some aspects of the questions directed at the respondents as well as raise concerns about gender equality and HE (Meirinhos & Osório, 2010: 30; Liamputtong, 2011: 35 4). Thornhill (2006) refers to some disadvantages of FGDs, stating that "in comparison to individual interviews, FGDs can hinder participants' responses. Some respondents have no chance to communicate their feelings openly because they are daunted by the presence of other respondents in the group" (Thornhill, 2006: 204). Despite the disadvantages associated with FGDs, I noted that during the FGDs

all participants seemed to talk freely about their experiences. But, as discussed below, it was also the case that one person dominated one group, at least in one situation.

I conducted the FGDs with both the UEM Gender Unit employees and the GFPs. As an UEM employee, I knew that the Gender Unit encourages each faculty and higher school to have a GFP. For this reason, the list of GFPs and the list of the UEM Gender Unit employees were requested from the Gender Unit's dean. As soon as both lists were provided, with emails and phone numbers, I sent individual emails to each GFP and Gender Unit employee, asking them to be part of this study. To each email the letter written by the Scientific Directorate of the UEM (Appendix 3) was attached. All eight Gender Unit employees agreed to attend FGDs without asking any questions. Conversely, several GFPs called me asking different questions. Given that the FGDs took place during the COVID-19 period (2020), some of the questions unsurprisingly were (i) if I had face masks to offer them; (ii) if I had hand sanitizer to be used during FGDs; (iii) if I could organise online FGDs to avoid contamination; and (iv) if I could postpone my fieldwork to a safer time (after COVID-19). This has to be seen in a context where public health care is very limited and hence the possibility of death from covid-9 infection was correspondingly. Significantly, all GFPs who called me to ask questions then did not attend the FGDs. There are many possible reasons why this was the case. One possibility is that they remained too afraid of COVID-19. Another could be that despite being GFPs, they were not really interested in the topic. I say this because the appointment of GFPs was not necessarily based on their prior knowledge of or interest in gender issues, and it came as an additional unremunerated task which therefore did not make it an obvious priority for them.

In order to obtain rich data, Krueger and Casey (2002: 2) and Rabiee (2004: 3) recommend the use of a homogenous group with FGDs. With this recommendation in mind, I first had a conversation with employees who are employed at the Gender Unit for more than five years[8]. I also scheduled meetings with Gender Unit employees who were employed at the same centre for less than five years. Although the employees with less than five years in the Gender Unit were probably not involved in the launch of the gender policy, I assumed that they might have been involved in other activities related to the implementation of the policy. This is the reason why Gender Unit employees with less than five years of employment at the centre were invited to be part of the FGDs. Table 4.3 shows the schedule for the FGDs with GFPs and Gender Unit employees.

Table 4. 3 Schedule for focus group discussions

[8] The fieldwork of this study took place five years after the launch of the Gender Policy.

Group	Number of Participants	Date	Time	Venue
The Gender Unit employees	4	18.09.2020	10:00 am	The Gender Unit meeting room
The Gender Unit employees	4	22.09.2020	10:00am	The Gender Unit meeting room
Group	**Number of Participants**	**Date**	**Time**	**Venue**
Gender Focal Points (GFPs)	5	24.09.2020	10 am	Garden of the Faculty of Arts and Social Science
GFPs	2	29.09.2020	10 am	Garden of the Faculty of Arts and Social Science

Source: the author.

In this study, the focus groups were based on semi-structured questions to enable a "conversation with a purpose" (Burgess, 1984: 102). The FGDs with the Gender Unit employees took place in the Gender Unit meeting room, while FGDs with GFPs took place in an open space (garden of the Faculty of Arts and Social Science). I organized four FGDs. Two were composed only of Gender Unit employees and two only of GFPs. The FGDs were held between the 18th September 2020 and the 29th September 2020.

Regarding the FGDs' size, I planned to work with groups of 6-8 participants. I had chosen this size because I agree with Liamputtong (2011: 352) that working in small groups gives space for all participants to talk. However, in contrast to what had been planned, I was forced to reduce the number of participants in each FGD due to COVID-19. Thus, the FGDs were composed of up to five participants. The focus groups consisted of both women and men. Semi-structured questions were used to allow the participants to respond from a variety of perspectives. With the GFPs I was planning to hold discussions to understand:

i) If they had been given any training for the Gender Policy implementation;
ii) To what extent they felt empowered to disseminate information about the Gender Policy in their units; and
iii) If they had an activity plan to guide their daily activities.

Since at UEM each faculty and higher school has a GFP, with this information gathered from the GFPs, I intended to develop a comprehensive picture of how embedded the policy is across faculties and higher schools. For ensuring that all participants in FGDs could attend the sessions, I used the three-step strategy for recruitment suggested by De Vos, Delport, Fouché, and Strydom (2011: 304). This three-step strategy involved the following: first step: two weeks before the meeting I sent an e-

mail to participants inviting them to be part of a focus group. In the same email, I included a table suggesting the composition of each group as well as the letter from the Scientific Directorate. Second step: a week before the meeting, I asked participants to confirm their attendance. Some confirmed, others refused, saying that they were afraid to attend a gathering due to COVID-19. To accommodate those who were afraid to attend the meeting due to the pandemic, I sent another email to all of them, reducing (from eight to five) the number of participants in each group and encouraging open-space meetings. For those who confirmed their willingness to attend the meeting, I sent the focus group question schedule so that the participants could prepare to give in-depth information about what they had done to implement the Gender Policy at UEM as well as describe their role in the process. Third step: a day before the meeting I called all participants to remind them of the meeting on the following day. The following paragraphs provide an outline of the steps that were followed during the FGDs. During the FGDs, I was responsible for moderating the discussion. I asked questions and allowed participants to respond and discuss their own views. While participants discussed, I took notes to facilitate the summary (Krueger, 2002: 11).

4.4.4 *Conducting the Focus Group Discussions*

In the beginning, after the signing of the consent form by the participants, I held a short conversation with them. This brief talk was intended to create a warm and friendly environment and to put the participants at ease (De Vos et al., 2011: 310). I positioned myself as a colleague (insider), and explained that during the discussions my role would be that of a facilitator. I clarified that this role (facilitator) did not mean that I knew the answers to the questions or that I was an expert on the discussion but only an ordinary researcher. Moreover, I explained that I would not be expecting any specific responses to the questions during the discussion. By doing this, I hoped that the participants would relax and feel that they could share and narrate their stories and experiences without feeling judged.

I presented some rules, saying for instance, that only one person could speak at a time. Then I introduced the topic to the participants, “The Impact of the Gender Policy in a Higher Education Institution in Mozambique: A Case Study of the University Eduardo Mondlane”, as well as the importance of the study not only for the UEM but also for Mozambican academic staff in general. At the beginning of the discussion, each participant was invited to introduce her-/himself. This is common practice in Mozambique for all meetings, even with colleagues. As the FGDs progressed, I applied the guiding principles for conducting FGDs suggested by De Vos et al. (2011: 309). They include being:

(i) involved with the participants and showing positive respect,

(ii) a promoter, not a participant, and

(iii) ready to hear diverse views.

Apart from this, to encourage participants to say more or provide clarifications, I used supporting gestures, for instance, nodding of the head or phrases such as "I understand" and "mm-hmm" (De Shong, 2013: 13). To guide the discussion, I used a focus group guide (Appendixes 7 and 8 respectively). Because I conducted four FGDs with two different categories of personnel, there are two different focus group guides. However, during the focus groups I did not follow the focus group schedule in chronological order. The schedule was only to ensure that all topics would be treated. I noted that in the first FGD with the Gender Unit employees one participant was more talkative than the others. Even so, I tried not to interrupt the flow of her talking, mainly because the information she was providing was important for my study. I only interrupted when I noticed that a new space had opened up in our discussion. The participant who was talking quite a lot had been working at the Gender Unit since the setting up of the unit. Because of her background she was able to discuss the UEM employees' mind-sets since the time of the setting up of the Gender Unit. She enthusiastically recognised that there had been a discernible improvement in UEM employees' mind-set regarding gender. I also noted that while other participants' responses were straight to the point most of the time, the talkative participant provided much more elaborated responses. Thus, before making a response, she provided the big picture about the issue we were discussing from the beginning of the Gender Unit until the time of the FGD. In other words, her responses were more extensive and much more detailed. Although one participant in the first FGD with Gender Unit employees knew much about the Gender Unit, other participants did not feel reticent to give their opinions. After the talkative person finished her discourse, I asked other participants if they had something else to say or add regarding the same matter or if we could move on. In general, all talked at least to some extent. To conclude the FGDs, I summarised briefly the main points of view discussed and expressed gratitude for the participation. The discussions lasted around 60 minutes.

In general, inviting Gender Unit employees to be part of FGDs was much easier than inviting GFPs. The former did not raise any questions, possibly because they were delighted to know that inside UEM there were people who were interested in conducting gender studies, which means that their work was valued. Through my study more people would learn about the UEM Gender Unit and the work they do. Hence, more people might pay attention to gender issues. Regarding the GFPs, I have

to say that the recruitment process was quite challenging. Until the meeting day I was uncertain if they would come. I was deeply worried about their attendance mainly because a GFP from the Faculty of Medicine had sent an email to me explaining the risk of conducting FGDs at the time of the pandemic and he copied all other GFPs into that email. I then followed up by explaining that the COVID-19 protocol would be observed (masks, social distance, outdoors interviews, and hand sanitizer) during the meetings. Nonetheless, I thought that that GFP's email might induce all other GFPs to refuse to attend FGDs. Fortunately, this did not exactly happen. Of the total of 13 GFPs, seven attended FGDs.

Focus groups are frequently used together with another qualitative method, such as individual interviews or questionnaires (Smithson, 2008: 359). In the following section I discuss the interviews I conducted. The interviews questions were intended to invite respondents to talk at length about their knowledge of the Gender Policy and their experiences regarding what they had done to promote gender mainstreaming among UEM's academic and administrative staff. The interviews therefore enabled the respondents to consider issues that might be rarely addressed at this precise institution (Gaskell, 2000: 44).

4.4.5 *The Semi-Structured Interviews*

After finishing the FGDs, I started with the individual interviews. I had started with the FGDs because it was my intention to first listen to group points of view and then explore in detail individual points of views. I used semi-structured interviews to collect the data from the University Council members. Hence people in managerial positions were left to the end. My conversation with ordinary UEM employees gave me a standpoint from which I could investigate gender and power issues during my interviews. Conducting the interviews allowed me to learn about the challenges UEM faces in implementing the Gender Policy.

Semi-structured interviews are a data collection method in which the researcher raises questions to stimulate self-reports of opinions, attitudes, values, beliefs, or behaviours (Mathers, Fox & Hunn, 1998: 6). The use of interviews in this study was based on the argument that they are the most powerful instrument for getting an understanding of human beings' reported views (Carter, Bryant-Lukosius, DiCenso, Blythe & Neville, 2014: 545), and specifically to optimise the opportunity to understand the diverse positions taken by members of a specific organization (Gaskell, 2000: 44). The rationale for the semi-structured interviews was to understand the University Council members' experiences, opinions, and beliefs regarding the process of promoting gender mainstreaming among

UEM's academic and administrative staff over the period 2015-2020. Moreover, this method was also used to find out about University Council members' perceptions regarding gender norms and gender roles. The University Council is the executive council of the UEM's governance system. For this reason, interviewing University Council members provided a good opportunity to hear from people who have decision-making responsibilities.

For the interviews, I asked the secretary of the University Council for a list of University Council members. I then sent emails to each of them (with the letter from the Scientific Directorate attached) inviting them to be part of the study. I sent the consent form (Appendix 6) as well as the interview guide (Appendix 9) with this email. Some of the questions included in the individual interviews with the University Council members were:

- Have you ever heard of the Gender Policy (Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy)?
- Which activities have been carried out by UEM in order to contribute to the implementation of that policy?
- What kind of coordinated effort has been placed to implement the policy?

When the University Council members responded to my request, I created a table to schedule the meetings. The interviews took place on different dates and at different times according to participants' convenience. All interviews were held during working days and during normal working hours (see Table 4.4).

Table 4. 4 Schedule for the individual interviews with University Council members.

University Council Members by pseudonym	**Description**	**Date**	**Time**	**Venue**
João	Student representative	01.10.2020	2 pm	Agriculture Faculty refectory
José	Student representative	02.10.2020	2 pm	Agriculture Faculty refectory
Juvêncio	Representative of administrative staff	06.10.2020	10 am	Master's meeting room at the Agriculture Faculty
Jorge	Representative of deans	07.10.2020	2 pm	Medical Faculty meeting room
Georgina	Representative of Professors	13.10.2020	10 am	Faculty of Arts and Social Science refectory
Gomes	Representative of lecturers	19.10.2020	10 am	Pedagogical Complex
Julião	Representative of professors	19.10.2020	2 pm	Doctoral meeting room at the Faculty of Education
Bruno	Representative of Higher Schools	19.10.2020	4 pm	Online (Skype meeting)
Juliana	Representative of deans	20.10.2020	10 am	Natural History Museum

Carlota	Representative of professors	23.10.2020	10 am	Exam admission's meeting room
Gusmão	Representative of lecturers	27.10.2020	2 pm	Faculty of Arts and Social Science's meeting room
Lissungo	Representative of administrative staff (surrogate/substitute)	05.11.2020	11am	Elvis' bar

Source: the author.

Apart from the University Council members mentioned above, the University Council also has representatives from civil society and the Mozambican government. But for this study, only the 13 University Council members who are UEM employees were purposively selected, because I intended to listen to their experiences in promoting gender mainstreaming among UEM's academic and administrative staff. The following paragraphs explain how the interviews were conducted.

4.4.6 Conducting the Interviews

Since I am an ordinary UEM employee, I wrongly thought that interviewing University Council members could be challenging because University Council members are very busy people in superior positions to myself and I had quite a few questions. Contrary to what I expected, the interviewing was unproblematic. Like the Gender Unit employees, all University Council members also agreed to be part of my study. Probably they behaved in that manner because of their role at UEM. Since they are in managerial positions, and research is encouraged, they could both afford to agree to an interview and may have wanted to support my research. One University Council member was interested enough in supporting my research that he suggested to do it online because he was away from Maputo for long time. Unfortunately, my internet connection was not good (a persistent problem in Mozambique) and our communication suffered from some disruptions. Apart from this interview all other interviews were conducted face-to-face and without such problems. Since Portuguese is the official language of Mozambique, all interviews were conducted in Portuguese. Before commencing the interview, each participant read the information sheet and signed the consent form (Appendix 6). All participants agreed to switch off their telephones in order to avoid interruptions. One participant (Gusmão) arrived a bit late because of a traffic jam, but all other participants arrived on time. I explained why the respondents had been selected. I also explained that the study was intended to analyse the impact of the Gender Policy at UEM. As the interviews progressed, I established rapport by listening attentively and showing interest, understanding, and respect for what the participants said. As recommended by Giles, de Lacey, and Muir-Cochrane (2016: 31) I did not ask questions

from my interview guide (Appendix 9) in linear fashion but followed the conversation as it developed during the interview.

To help participants to relax and encourage them to open up, the first question in the interview was something that interviewees would be able to respond to without difficulty (Mathers et al., 1998: 14). I asked how long the participants had worked at UEM as well as on the University Council. Then I moved to more specific questions, such as "Can you tell me about your experience or thoughts in promoting gender mainstreaming among UEM's academic and administrative staff?"

My focus in interviewing University Council members was on their attitudes, beliefs, experiences, and actions regarding gender mainstreaming at UEM. To encourage participants to provide more information I used probes (linking up the participant's comment with the information which I wanted to know). Additionally, I used nods (e.g. "mm-mm, yes, I see") as well as reflective summaries (summarise thing participant's ideas, thoughts, and feelings). Probing, nodding, and reflective summaries are examples of communication techniques applied during interviews (De Vos et al., 2011: 289). Different from what I had expected, my interviewees responded to all questions I asked and in a very polite manner. I think this was partly because I did not set out to antagonize them and acted in ways that are expected of a junior woman academic. I ended the interviews by asking if the participants had anything more to add. This kind of question is beneficial in helping to get as much information as possible (Mathers et al., 1998: 6). However, most participants then started to talk in general terms about the university and their situation, rather than staying on topic. So, I thanked the participants for their willingness to be part of my study.

4.4.7 *Additional Individual Interviews*

During an interview with one particular University Council member (Gomes), I was informed that a Master's degree in Gender and Development had been created at UEM as a result of the implementation of the Gender Policy. Gomes shared with me that the coordinator of the Master's in Gender and Development was his colleague, and he gave me his colleague's phone number as well as her email. I then invited her for a short interview. She agreed and signed a consent form. The intention of the added interview was basically to make sure that the Master's in Gender and Development had been created as a result of the implementation of the Gender Policy.

During the interviews with the University Council members, I was informed by many of them that the UEM Gender Strategy had been approved by the University Council in the previous year (2019). They told me that the UEM Gender Strategy was designed based on the Gender Policy aimed to facilitate the implementation process of the Gender Policy. They mentioned the name of the person who dealt with the UEM Gender Policy at the University Council. Thereafter, I sent an email to that person, asking for an interview and including the letter from the Scientific Directorate. She also agreed to the interview and signed a consent form. Thus, two additional individual interviews were administered. Similar to the University Council members, these two interviewees were easy to access. Both of them arrived at the meeting place on time, and responded to what I asked in a polite manner. Each added interview lasted no more than 25 minutes since both were simply intended to clarify some issues raised during the fieldwork. The questions asked of the coordinator of the Master's degree in Gender and Development included:

1. How did the Master's degree in Gender and Development arise?
2. Who was involved in designing the Master's curriculum?

The questions for the member of the commission designing the UEM's gender strategy included:

1. What if any link is there between the Gender and Women Department and the Gender Unit?

2. How did the UEM Gender Strategy emerge?

All interviews were recorded with the permission of the interviewees to capture the participants' words and to facilitate their transcription. After conducting each interview, I did the transcription. After finishing the transcriptions, I started doing the translation from Portuguese to English. I then analysed the data in relation to the original research questions, i.e., (1) the way UEM organized itself to implement the Gender Policy; (2) the activities the UEM Gender Unit undertook to implement the Gender Policy at UEM; and (3) changes for women and men at UEM as a consequence of the Gender Policy implementation. I shall now move on from discussing the data collection to the way I analysed my data.

4.5 Data Analysis

Lauri (2011: 2) highlights that triangulation not only refers to the use of several methods of data collection but also the use of different methods of data analysis. Using more than one type of analysis can increase the rigor and credibility of the findings (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007: 597). My research combined document analysis with the textual and content analysis with discourse analysis of open-ended questionnaire data and the focus group and interview material. In this study the analysis of the institutional documents consisted of exploring how gender emerges in these documents and what

institutional documents tell us about gender mainstreaming as relevant to implementing Gender Policy. Institutional documents were used to get a broad insight concerning the activities, intentions, and ideas of the organization.

Concerning the questionnaire, Kitchenham and Pfleeger (2003: 27) recommend that prior to undertaking any exhaustive analysis, the answers should be evaluated for uniformity and totality. Additionally, the same scholars encourage researchers to reject incomplete questionnaires if most respondents answered all questions. In this study, incomplete questionnaires were not rejected because most study participants had omitted to answer at least one specific question. An analysis of the data shows that there was not one specific question that was not responded to by all the participants. Consequently, incomplete questionnaires were not rejected. The strategy applied to questions without an answer was the creation of a category called *missing data*. As previously mentioned in 4.4.2, my questionnaire was composed of open-ended questions. Concerning the analysis of open-ended questions, Züll (2016: 3) recommends textual analysis because it can be employed to describe, explain, interpret and understand texts. Popping (2015:26) observes that textual analysis is part of a broader class of methodologies called content analysis, that is a generic term for the analysis of certain kinds of qualitative data. Content analysis is the classical method of analysing responses to open-ended questions (Züll, 2016:7). Content analysis helped me to identify the themes that emerged in the data and which might be most significant for the study participants (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007: 578). Popping (2015: 30) distinguished three types of textual analysis: "(i) thematic textual analysis (where one looks for the occurrence of themes), (ii) semantic textual analysis (where one uses the subject-verb-object relations found in sentences or parts-of sentences that contain an inflected verb, an optional subject and/or object), and (iii) network textual analysis (where the subject-verb-object relations are even combined into networks)". In this study, thematic textual analysis was applied. The answers from the questionnaire were categorized by grouping together similar responses to a particular question.

The section that follows briefly discusses the method of data analysis employed in this investigation, i.e. thematic analysis, the Krueger (1994) approach[9], as well as constant comparison analysis.

[9] The Krueger (1994) approach is a qualitative framework for analysing focus group data (Onwuegbuzie, Dickinson, Leech & Zoran, 2009:1). Richard Krueger is an internationally recognized authority on the use of focus group interviewing within the public environment.

4.5.1 *Discourse and Thematic Analysis*

In this study, information from FGDs and individual interviews were audio-recorded. Individual interviews and FGDs from the UEM case study were transcribed by me as interviewer, so the analysis started at that point. Initial readings of the transcripts began to provide a sense of the impact of the implementation of the Gender Policy on women and men at UEM. After becoming familiar with the transcripts I used discourse analysis and thematic analysis. In the following paragraphs, I briefly discuss these methods.

Discourse analysis as a feminist resource is suitable for examining power, negotiations, and dialogue as these are executed in speech (DeShong, 2013: 18). Patall and Cooper (2008: 431) explain that discourse refers to what people say or write. The analysis of textual features such as "grammar, wording, and narrative voice provides perceptions into how texts treat events and social relations and thereby construct a specific version of social relations" (Griffin, 2013: 95). Discourse analysis was used in this study to understand the gender practices and norms that govern the language used at UEM. For this reason, and regarding the University Council members, I posed questions such as: (1) "What are your thoughts about having women in management positions?" and (2) "How free are women at the University Council to give their opinion?" The responses to these questions provided me with insights into the nature of the gender structures at UEM.

In addition to discourse analysis, thematic analysis was applied to identify major themes that emerged after conducting the interviews. Thematic analysis is a procedure for identifying and critiquing themes (patterns) within data (Clarke & Braun, 2018: 4). Thematic analysis was applied in this study to identify the major themes that emerged after conducting group interviews. After reading all transcripts, I conducted their analysis using an inductive approach, meaning that the themes were derived from the data (Elo et al., 2014: 109). I examined the transcripts by looking at how and why the respondents differed in their expressed views, and to what extent they resembled each other (Mathers et al., 1998: 21). Thus, the procedure of identifying themes was conducted by examining similarities as well as differences (Harding, 2018: 195). After identifying common issues arising from participants' responses, these were grouped into themes. Some of these themes were (i) policy acknowledgement, (ii) management positions, (iii) short-term gender courses, (iv) institutional commitment to gender mainstreaming, (v) the weakness of the implementation process, (vi) freedom to express gender issues, and (vii) the gender action plan.

In my thematic analysis I also used Krueger's (1994) approach. Doody et al. (2013: 6) suggest the use of Krueger's (1994) approach since it provides a clear series of steps, which can help researchers manage large amounts of qualitative data more easily. This approach provides seven criteria for interpreting coded data: i) language; ii) background; iii) internal integrity; iv) prevalence and extensiveness of remarks; v) particularity of comments; vi) severity of observations and; vii) important ideas (Rabiee, 2004: 667). A distinctive aspect of Krueger's (1994) approach as described by Rabiee (2004: 669) is that although it utilizes a thematic approach, it enables themes to be identified both from the research topics and from the accounts of research participants.

In this study, Constant Comparison Analysis[10] was also used to analyse data from different group discussions. Since the focus group data was analysed based on one focus group at a time, I used the different groups to evaluate whether the themes that emerged from one, also arose in the other groups (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009: 6; Doody et al., 2013: 2).

As the focus of my study was to explore the impact of the Gender Policy implementation on women's and men's working lives, at the beginning of our conversation I asked participants if they were familiar with the Gender Policy. Table 4.5 below is an example of the emergence of the theme "policy acknowledgment".

Table 4. 5 Data extracts, with codes applied and theme found.

Data extracts	**Data extracts coded for**	**Theme**
I heard about this Gender Policy. I heard about it when we were working out the UEM gender strategy. At the time, it seemed that the Gender Policy was still being designed.	Heard about Gender Policy	Policy acknowledgment
I confess that when I received the interview guiding questions, I became confused. For a while, I thought you were asking about gender strategy, not Gender Policy.	Unfamiliar with the Gender Policy	Policy acknowledgment
I remember that the Ministry of Higher Education was designing a Gender Policy to address gender practices for HEIs. The Ministry of Higher Education was responsible to produce a Gender Policy and we [HEIs] would work on producing a gender strategy based on the Gender Policy.	The emergence of the Gender Policy	Policy acknowledgment

[10] Constant comparison analysis was developed by Glaser and Strauss (Glaser, 1978, 1992; Glaser & Strauss, 1967, Strauss, 1987). This method is was first used in grounded theory research. Yet, as Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2007, 2008) have discussed, constant comparison analysis can also be used to analyse many types of data, including focus group data (Onwuegbuzie et al., 2009: 5).

I remember having attended one or two meetings held by the National Research Fund in which one point was the discussion for the enrichment of the Gender Policy proposal. After that, I heard about a Gender Policy that was being produced by the Ministry of Higher Education: the gender strategy for higher education.	Enrichment of the Gender Policy.	Policy acknowledgment
I have never heard about the Gender Policy. I know about the UEM Gender Strategy.	Unfamiliar with Gender Policy	Policy acknowledgment

Source: the author.

Before conducting my research, I did a pilot study discussed below.

4.6 The Pilot Study

A pilot study or feasibility study is a small-scale methodological test carried out to get ready for the principal study and to ensure that the selected methods work in practice (Kim, 2011: 2; Kinchin, Ismail & Edwards, 2018: 1). Kim (2011: 2) argues that it is crucial to conduct a pilot study because it enables the researcher to make adaptations and modifications in the main study, as well as identify or polish a research problem, and to discover which methods work (Kinchin, Ismail & Edwards, 2018: 1). In my pilot study I tested three of my instruments namely the questionnaire, the interview guide and the focus group guide. The pilot study took place at the Department of Geology and seven participants were involved. Because of COVID-19, all of us wore masks. At the Geology's meeting room, we kept our social distance. A week before the meeting I sent the guiding questions to the Head of Department. He shared these with the pilot study participants. In addition to the questions, I also sent an information sheet about the study and a consent form for those who agreed to participate. Sending the consent form in advance gave participants time to read, reflect, and make a decision after understanding what exactly was required of them.

A day before the pilot study, I had a short meeting with the participants. This meeting enabled me to introduce myself to these participants and to explain the purpose of the study. In the same meeting, the participants were informed that I was an employee at UEM. I briefly talked about myself (how long I had been working at UEM as a lecturer as well as administrative staff). I talked about the informed consent form which covers issues such as confidentiality and the right to withdraw from the study. Doing this, I intended to provide participants with enough time to reflect on whether or not they consented to participating. At the beginning of the pilot study, I explained to the participants that I intended to ensure that my questions would be understood by the participants. Also, I intended to

detect possible shortcomings in the measurement procedures, e.g., ambiguous instructions; unclearly formulated items; to examine, refine, and to align the questions with the goal of the research; and to adjust the sequence and the fitness of the questions (Thornhill, 2006: 148). After that, I asked them to sign the consent form. The first component of the pilot study was testing the interview guide. The second component was testing the focus group guide. The third and last component was testing the questionnaire to minimize the chances of non-response. Table 4.6 below shows the schedule for the pilot study.

Table 4. 6 Schedule for the pilot study.

Pilot Study				
Instrument	**Number of participants**	**Date**	**Time**	**Venue**
Interview guide - University Council members	1 male administrative staff	08.09.2020	9:00 am	Department of Geology's meeting room
	1 female administrative staff	08.09.2020	10:00 am	
Interview guide – the gender unit employees	3 (2 female administrative staff 1 male lecturer)	09.09.2020	9:00 am	
Interview guide - GFPs				
Questionnaire - Academic community	2 lecturers (1 female, 1 male)	10.09.2020	9:00 am	

Source: the author.

As depicted above, the first pilot study day was reserved for testing the interview guide. This meeting was attended by two administrative staff (a woman and a man) that had been working at the UEM for more than 25 years. On the second day, the two FGD guides were tested, the one for the Gender Unit employees and the other for the GFPs. Three participants (two female administrative staff and a male lecturer) were involved. Since they had never worked before as GFPs or as Gender Unit employees, we agreed to focus on the questions, if they were understandable or not, and the sequence. On the last day, the questionnaire that would be applied to the academic community (lecturers, post-graduate students, and administrative staff) was tested. For this exercise, two lecturers attended the meeting: a woman and a man. Table 4.7 below shows some changes I made after conducting pilot study.

Table 4. 7 Example of changes from pilot study.

Questions before the pilot study	**Questions after the pilot study**
1. Have you heard about the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy?	1. Have you heard about the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy? 1.1 Where did you hear about this policy, at UEM or elsewhere?
2. Do you think women are free to occupy power positions inside UEM?	2. Do you think women are free to occupy power positions inside UEM? 2.1 Explain your answer**.**

3. Tell me about gender relations at UEM.	3. How do women and men relate to one another at UEM?

Source: the author.

The suggestions I received from the pilot study were useful, since they made questions more understandable, and I made some changes to the instruments. I shall now move from the pilot study to discuss my role as researcher.

4.7 My Role as Researcher

Since this is a qualitative study, it is important to talk about my role as researcher. This is crucial to provide the reader with a general idea about how my positionality impacted on the research. One important dimension of qualitative research is its acknowledgment of the role of subjectivity in research. This subjectivity involves, among other things, my role during the data collection. Harding (1995: 333) defines objectivity as "methods or procedures that are just: statistical, or experimental, or repeated procedures [that rely on] optimis[ing] standardization, impersonality, or some other quality supposed to contribute to justice". Against this notion which denies that all knowledge is partial, contextual and situated, including knowledge derived from statistics and experimentation, feminist standpoint theory asserts the importance of acknowledging the role of subjectivity and one's standpoint in research rather than denying it. It does this by invoking the feminist principle of reflexivity. Hesse-Biber (2007: 118) recommends to feminist researchers to apply reflexivity across the research process. She defines reflexivity as "a process through which a researcher recognizes, examines, and understands how her or his social background and suppositions can affect the research process" (Hesse-Biber, 2007: 118). She also emphasizes that reflexivity "is a crucial device that allows investigators to be aware of their positionalities, gender, race, ethnicity, class, and any other component that might be significant to the research process" (Hesse-Biber, 2007: 144). The following paragraphs therefore provide some critical reflections on my background.

I have been an employee at UEM since 2007. From 2007 to 2018 I was employed at the Faculty of Science as a Chemistry lecturer. In addition to this, from 2013 to date, I have been working at the Academic Quality Office[11] for the same university as an administrative staff member. Thus, I occupy two different roles, one being academic and the other administrative, at the same university. The role as a member of the Academic Quality Office is to assist faculties and higher schools in the process

[11] The Academic Quality Office is a non-academic unit responsible, among others, for the assessment of courses at UEM (GQA, 2014: 5).

of the assessment of courses (providing instruments, guiding them, attending meetings at faculties, and higher schools). Before working at the Academic Quality Office, I was not aware that UEM was concerned about gender equality issues. Only after I joined this office, did I realise that the university had started to monitor the numbers of female students who gained access to UEM and the numbers of female students who were studying on different courses. My first introduction to gender concerns at UEM was thus related to my position as an administrative staff member at the Academic Quality Office. While working at the Academic Quality Office, it became clear to me that gender issues are little or not at all discussed in the faculties compared to the non-academic units. The disconnect between the two, therefore, motivated me as a PhD student to investigate the awareness or lack of awareness on the part of the academic community regarding the Gender Policy, and to investigate if the establishment of the gender unit had effected any change in the academic community's lives and the impact of the Gender Policy on women and men in this HEI.

In terms of my position as a researcher, I regard myself as both an insider and an outsider[12]. On the one hand, I was an insider because I am a UEM employee and therefore I can identify with the needs and aspirations of the group that I interviewed and held FGDs with. I have an insider's perspective regarding the institution's policies and the working environment for female employees at UEM. Being an insider constituted an advantage for my study because it enabled me to find my study participants easily as well as have access to UEM official documents. I also consider it an advantage because I have both academic and administrative experience. Thus, I understand some of the challenges and barriers to career progression for women on both the administrative and academic levels.

On the other hand, I was also an outsider in this study. I am a woman and therefore an outsider in an institution where most of the institutional plans are formulated and implemented by men. I have to operate in a male-dominated culture. My outsider position makes me more conscious of the inequalities that manifest at UEM. On top of that, it is worth noting that I do not have much professional contact with some of the participants, except for the colleagues from the Department of Chemistry and the Academic Quality Office. Thus I was positioned partially as an outsider (woman, PhD student, and researcher). Being an outsider perhaps allowed my study participants to provide detailed information about their experiences (Unluer, 2012: 65). When my study participants talked about their experiences I did not challenge them. Probably because of this, my group and individual

[12] An insider is a researcher who belongs to the group to which their participants also belong (based on characteristics such as ethnicity, sexual identity, and gender), while an outsider is not a member of that same group (Unluer, 2012: 58; Hayfield & Huxley, 2015: 94).

interviews were conducted in a polite and easy-going manner. Apart from not challenging my study participants, there may be three reasons why the interviews were easy. First, the fact that I was recording the interviews. This meant that people, particularly those in power, were 'on record' and therefore had to be clear-minded about what they were saying. Second, the fact that all participants were interested in feedback about the policy implementation. Third, the fact that I respected the hierarchy and acted as women are expected to act within it. In general, when people feel respected by others, they are more likely to respond positively. I shall now discuss the main ethical issues I had to be aware of throughout my study.

4.8 Ethical Issues

In this section I discuss the ethical issues associated with this study. Regarding social research, ethics refers to the responsibility of the investigator throughout the research process at the very least to inflict no harm (Edwards & Mauthner, 2012: 1; Babbie, 2015: 32). Since this research involved documents but also a questionnaire, FGDs and interviews, the first step in the research process was to gain ethical approval from the University of the Free State (Appendix 1) as well as to obtain permission from the campus manager at UEM to conduct the empirical research there (Appendix 2). Below I focus on those issues which were crucial to this study. These include ethical issues in dealing with the interviewees, the recruitment process of my participants, safeguarding the data (informed consent, voluntary participation), the pseudonymization of the data, their storage, and access to the data. Each of these issues is discussed in turn.

4.8.1. *Ethical Issues in Dealing with the Interviewees*

At UEM before conducting fieldwork it is mandatory to ask for an approval letter from the Rector of the university. This constitutes the only form of ethics approval required. After this approval letter, the Scientific Directorate introduces the researcher and the study to the academic community. When I began my fieldwork, with the support of the approval letter and the Scientific Directorate, I contacted the deans (11 deans from faculties and two from higher schools) to ask them for study participants. After two weeks I had all the responses from the deans. After receiving the list of potential participants, I made the respective calls.

Although UEM is a male dominated environment, and the vast majority of deans are male, I had no barriers to getting the list of contacts of my study participants. On the one hand, I assume that was because I followed the rules of the UEM (asking the Rector for an approval letter and the Scientific Directorate letter) which made it easy to access my study participants. On the other hand, because my

research was not on a sensitive topic and because the UEM academic community is also interested in knowing about the impact of the Gender Policy, most study participants took part without hesitation. The approval letters paid a significant role in my participants' recruitment since letters from 'on high' create a certain pressure to respond.

Before the interviews started, I explained the study and its aims clearly to the participants. I also provided a consent form, and explained to participants their right to anonymity, and their right to withdraw from the interview process without explanation. To avoid misunderstandings related to power relations, I shared my biography with the participants. The idea of sharing identities and stories is thought to create reciprocity in the interview process, thus breaking down notions of power and authority in the role of the researcher (Hesse-Biber, 2007: 128). However, the idea of researcher power is also in some respects a fantasy. The researcher, in wanting data from the participants, is in a position of petitioner to them, and hence they also have power, for instance to refuse information. Additionally, I was interviewing within a hierarchy where I occupied a less powerful position than quite a few of my interviewees. Those above me in the hierarchy could graciously consent to be interviewed, those of my own status or below could refuse or agree from a different position.

4.8.2 My Participants' Recruitment

My fieldwork took place in 2020, the year that COVID-19 changed people's ways of living forcing many aspects of society put into 'lockdown' to minimize the viral spread (Law & Ashworth, 2022: 2). I confess that at the beginning of my fieldwork, I was uncertain about the success of the recruitment process. But when I finished it, I noticed that gatekeepers played a significant role in the successful recruitment of my study participants. Although Negrin, Slaughter, Dahlke and Olson (2022: 9) argue that successful recruitment relies on how interested a person is in the topic, in my case because of the global pandemic (COVID-19) I believe that the influence of gatekeepers contributed to the successful recruitment. For instance, the Scientific Directorate was really supportive. They assisted me in preparing a detailed recruitment plan, they offered me advice and guidance on the process and procedures to interact with participants. They asked me to explain with whom I was interested to work with. After my explanation they wrote an official letter introducing me and my research to my potential study participants and asking for collaboration. Probably the Scientific Directorate behaved in that manner because "ensuring that students complete their PhD in a timely manner is of great importance to universities, as their work represents a large proportion of

research output in higher education, and their studies are a source of new knowledge in their respective fields" (Spacey, Harvey & Casey, 2021: 2).

Since I am working in a hierarchical institution, I was supposed to follow the institutional rules before conducting fieldwork. For instance, despite the Reitor of UEM provides me with the approval letter to conduct research, I should not conduct a survey in a faculty without the dean's acknowledgment. Likewise, I should not ask the UCM for an interview without a letter from the Scientific Directorate. Therefore, all the deans (deans of faculties, higher schools, and the dean of the Gender Unit) as well as the Scientific Directorate played a very crucial role as gatekeepers. Having gatekeepers was helpful because although I am a UEM employee, the university is big and I do not know all faculty members. Not knowing all faculty members might have been a barrier to recruitment because I do not know faculty members' areas of interest in studying. Since the deans have an idea about their staff members who are familiar with the topic I was studying, they helped me to overcome this potential obstacle by providing me with contact details of their staff members who were capable to provide answers to my study.

Spacey et al. (2021: 2) acknowledge the existence of challenges faced by researchers when seeking access to participants that can affect the timely completion of studies. Undertaking research at UEM was quite challenging because people do not answer emails. For example, from the 65 potential selected academic communities only 27 responded to my email. Another challenge I had was accessing GFPs. It is important to highlight that the gatekeepers as such did not incentivise all study participants. Some potential study participants refused to attend FGDs fearing COVID-19, or at least citing this as their reason for not participating. This has to be seen in a context where protection against COVID-19 was hard to come by, as was treatment. Although all GFPS answered my email, some asked questions (for example, why I intended to conduct FGDs during the Covid-19? If a had masks and hand sanitizer to offer them.) that at a certain time I doubt if I would have any GFPs attending FGDs. The recruitment process of GFPs was frustrating. In similar situations, while other PhD seek support from their supervisors, peers, and utilize professional social networks and social media to address challenges (Spacey et al., 2021: 8), I sought family support (husband and two children).

When I was planning my recruitment process I thought that accessing the UCM should be the most stressful process. Nonetheless, in general, during my fieldwork recruiting the UCM and the Gender Unit employees was very easy. But as already mentioned, contrary to this, recruiting GFPs was quite challenging. Generally speaking, conducting fieldwork during the pandemic period was challenging.

I predicted that my potential study participants could fear COVID-19. Due to this, I created all conditions to conduct FGDs and individual interviews in a safe manner (The COVID- 19 protocol was observed: masks, social distancing, FGDs in an open space, and hand sanitizer).

4.8.3 *Pseudonymization of the Data*

When gathering data through the questionnaire, the FGDs, and the individual interviews, no participants' names were recorded. In transcribing the data and analysing them, pseudonyms were assigned to all participants so that their inputs remained confidential. Any events and experiences that could potentially identify participants were de-identified. The data captured on the audio recorder were used only for the study and by myself. I asked my study participants not to share information given to me with other colleagues to protect themselves against potential harm. I also did not use significant demographic information in my study to guarantee confidentiality.

4.8.4 *Storage and Access to Data*

Scholars suggest that there is a need to collect and store personal data safely to safeguard the data (Whitcomb & Boyle, 2016: 348). All information and data gathered from the participants were kept on a password-protected university computer and only I had access to these. Additionally, pseudonymized hard copies of each transcript were made and kept in a locked university drawer.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter centred on the methodology underlying this study. The case study approach adopted was explained as was the choice of participants. The chapter also covered the research methods used (document analysis, questionnaires, FGDs, and individual interviews). It concluded with a brief discussion of the ethical aspects that I needed to be aware of during the research process. In the following three chapters (Chapters five, six, and seven) the results of this study are presented. These analysis chapters are organized by data collection method used: I commence by analysing the findings from the data collected in the questionnaire, then the findings from the group interviews and finally those from the individual interviews. Throughout these three analysis chapters, I will also discuss what I found in the written institutional documents and how my study participants interpreted that information.

CHAPTER 5. PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGES IN GENDER NORMS AND ROLES AMONG UEM STAFF

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the data from the questionnaire I used in my study. Marks and Salazar (2021:169) explain that questionnaires are "a research method directed to gather information about the characteristics, behaviours, and/or attitudes of a population, by administering a standardized set of questionnaires to a sample of individuals". In this study, questionnaires were administered to selected members from the UEM academic community to explore their perceptions of changes in gender norms, gender roles, as well as the distribution of women at different levels, resulting from the implementation of the Gender Policy. I discuss the findings by exploring the interactions between UEM's academic communities and their environment; who makes decisions; how decisions are made; and perceived gendered behavioural/attitudinal changes among academic community members as a result of the implementation of the national Gender Policy within UEM.

Marks and Salazar (2021:168) recommend that questionnaire respondents should be chosen according to their experience related to the research subject. Following this recommendation, and as already discussed in the Methodology chapter, the distribution of questionnaires was coordinated with the managers of each UEM unit to assure that the questionnaires would be sent to people capable of providing useful information in terms of areas traditionally considered masculine, the gendered patterns of leadership positions, and gender relationships at UEM. The lecturers and administrative staff were therefore purposively selected according to their knowledge regarding the implementation of the Gender Policy in higher education. However, the postgraduate students were selected based on their leadership position among postgraduate students at the institution. At UEM, each class has a student representative. They are usually invited to attend student meetings. Student representatives take part in a variety of university meetings and are therefore particularly useful for providing information regarding gender-related issues across UEM. In August 2020 I sent 65 questionnaires via email to this selected academic community. By December 2020, 27 questionnaires had been returned, also by email.

In this study all participants (selected academic community members, GFPs, Gender Unit employees and University Council members) were asked if they were familiar with the Gender Policy. Beyond that, the questions in the questionnaire related to (i) women's opportunities to assume leadership positions, (ii) women's representation in areas previously closed to them, as well as (iii) how women

and men relate to one another at UEM. The questionnaire was done to gather information in relation to the third specific objective of the study (to explore which changes the Gender Policy had generated for women and men at UEM). Below I discuss the responses from the selected academic community members.

5.2. Responses from the Questionnaire Respondents

5.2.1 *Knowledge of the Gender Policy*

My starting point with the questionnaire respondents was to establish whether they knew about the Gender Policy (Table 5.1) and where/how they had heard about it. This question gave an insight into the extent to which the Gender Policy had been disseminated among the university community.

Table 5. 1 Knowledge about the Gender Policy within UEM

Questionnaire respondents by category	Number of people who participated in this study	Questionnaire respondents who knew about the existence of the Gender Policy	Questionnaire respondents who were unfamiliar with the Gender Policy
Postgraduate students	5	5	0
Administrative staff	10	10	0
Lecturers	12	9	3
Total	27	24	3

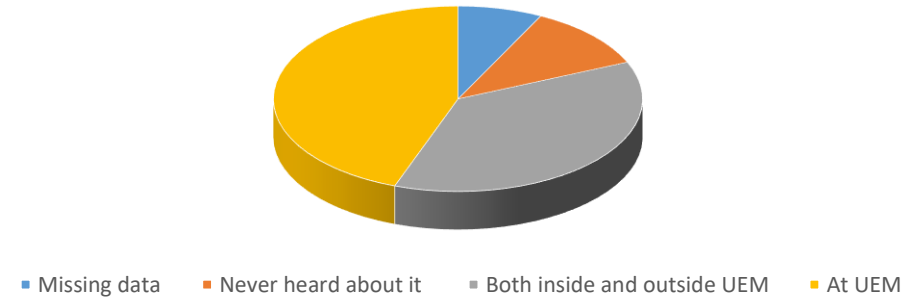
Source: the author.

Table 5.1 shows that of the total of 27 staff who responded to the questionnaire most (24) declared that they were familiar with the Gender Policy, and a minority (three) of the questionnaire respondents were unfamiliar with it. The fact that the vast majority of questionnaire respondents knew about the Gender Policy suggests that this policy was widely disseminated. In contrast and surprisingly, as the next Chapter on the focus group discussions will show, the vast majority of gender focal points (GFPs) and Gender Unit employees, who are people elected to deal with gender-related issues, professed to be unfamiliar with the Gender Policy. This unexpected situation made me wonder whether or not the questionnaire respondents really did know about this policy. Maybe they confused it with another one, and thought that I was asking about the UEM Gender Strategy, for example. Or maybe they did not want to lose face and show that they did not know it. Or maybe they answered what they thought I wanted to hear. In any event, it is striking that the vast majority professed to know the policy when this is not matched by what emerged in the later interviews with other participants.

The respondents also mentioned where they had heard about the policy. This yielded four categories of classification: (i) missing data, (ii) never heard about it, (iii) inside UEM, and (iv) both inside and

outside UEM. Figure 5.1 below illustrates where questionnaire respondents had heard about the Gender Policy.

Figure 5.1 Questionnaire respondents' answers regarding where they heard about the Gender Policy.



Source: the author.

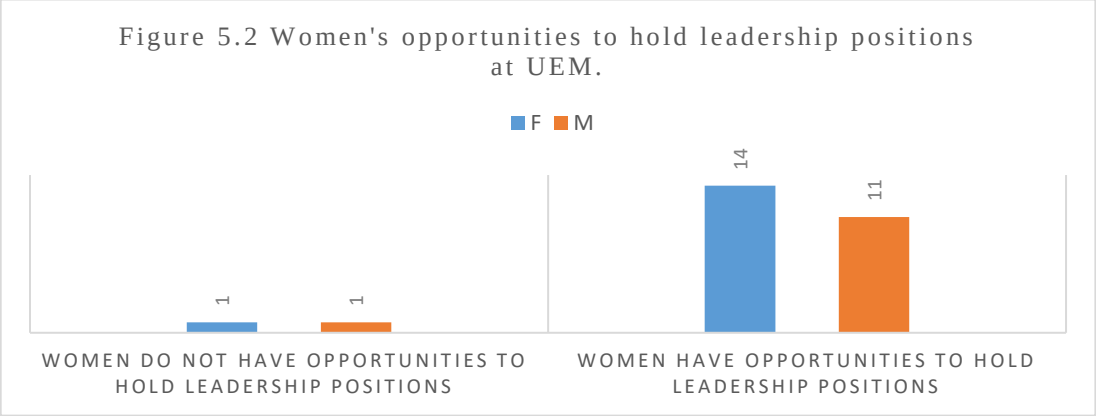
Figure 5.1: Source of information about the Gender Policy according to the questionnaire responses.

It should be noted that the Gender Policy is a national policy. It was designed not only to be implemented at UEM but also in other public and private Mozambican HEIs. If 10 respondents affirmed that they had heard about this instrument not only at UEM but also elsewhere, it is likely that the policy was not only disseminated within but also outside UEM. However, where outside of UEM they had heard about the policy is not clear. To summarise, the overwhelming majority (22) of questionnaire respondents said they were familiar with the Gender Policy. The next section takes a look at the respondents' views of women's opportunities to run for high positions.

5.2.2 *Understandings of Women's Opportunities to Take Up Leadership Positions*

The second question sought to understand whether the questionnaire respondents considered that women had opportunities to assume leadership positions at UEM. Women's leadership has been a subject of investigation for a long time (Akram, Murugiah & Arfan, 2017: 3). However, globally as well as in African countries such as Mozambique and South Africa, the higher education context remains a masculine environment where many women fight to achieve senior positions (Moodly & Toni, 2019: 176**)**. Although Kiamba acknowledges that both women and men can be managers, he argues that there is still distrust when women lead (Kiamba, 2009: 2). Sadly, women are often not considered for senior positions due to past management practices, gender stereotyping, unsatisfactory career development and diverse approaches to negotiation, despite being well-qualified for the job (Akram et al., 2017: 2). I sought to explore women's opportunities to assume leadership positions at

UEM because past research has confirmed that not much work has been done regarding the introduction of women into areas normally deemed the domain of men (Spinelli-De-Sa, Lemos & Cavazotte, 2017: 4). Therefore, I intended to explore whether the questionnaire respondents had noticed any impediments or challenges for women to assume positions of leadership at UEM. Figure 5.2 shows the questionnaire respondents' answers regarding women's opportunities to assume leadership positions at UEM.



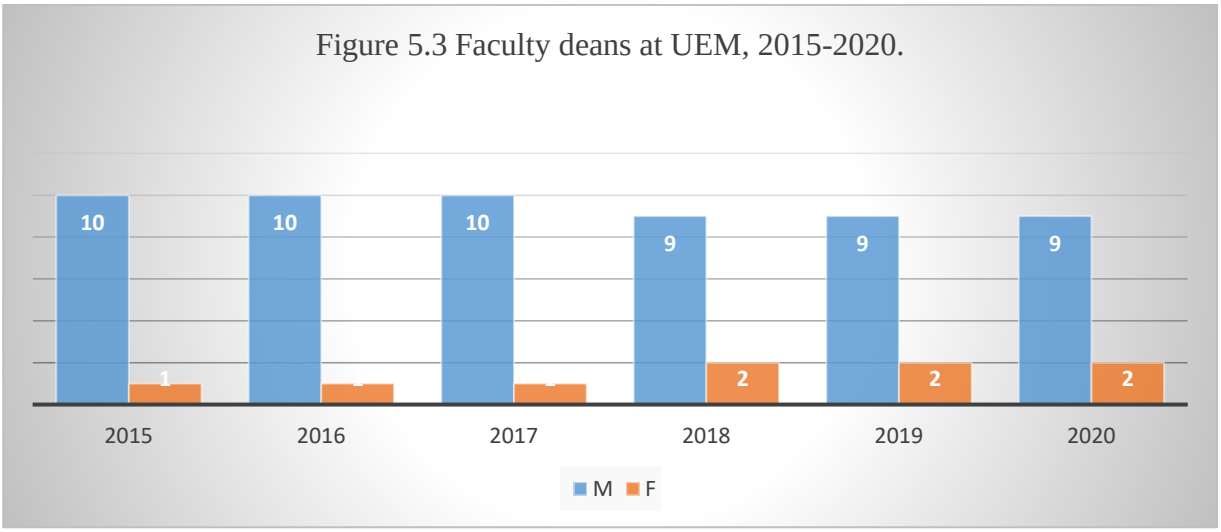
Source: the author.

Figure 5.2: Questionnaire respondents' answers regarding women's opportunities to assume leadership positions at UEM.

Figure 5.2 illustrates that slightly more female (14) than male respondents (11) thought that women at UEM have opportunities to assume senior positions. Only one female and one male participant did not agree with this view. Overall, more women than men thought this. The fact that fewer men thought this does not tell us why they had this view. They may have been more realistic about what women's opportunities actually are. Or it may be evidence that men have a gendered notion of leadership positions, that these should be assumed by men, or that men are better decision-makers in the workplace. This point resembles the findings by O'Conner (2019: 30) who observed that stereotypes such as "think manager, think male" make it difficult for women to access and hold manager positions.

The result that the overwhelming majority of the respondents (25) agreed that at UEM women have opportunities to hold leadership positions could be related to the fact that to date (2023) UEM has

already had three female Vice-Chancellors[13] and a number of female deans of faculty. This means that there have been a number of women leaders at the institution. Figure 5.3 below illustrates the gender distribution of faculty deans at UEM over the period 2015-2020.



Source: Email communication from UEM Human Resources (April, 2021).

Figure 5.3: Gender distribution of faculty deans at UEM, 2015 - 2020.

Figure 5.3 makes clear that senior levels are crowded with men while women are minimally represented there (see also Moodly & Toni, 2019: 178). Such under-representation is not unusual (Boateng, 2018: 24; Syed & Ali, 2019: 5). Amondi (2011: 57) suggests that there are disadvantages associated with having a weak presence of women in executive and educational management positions such as the negative impact on creating appropriate education policies and on curriculum design.

Some of the causes for these gender inequalities, including at UEM, that are cited in the relevant literature, include: (i) An absence of mentors at the beginning of women's professions, a heavy teaching load, and a male-dominated culture (Williams, L. 2017: 103). (ii) Cultural disapprobation. A lack of parental support can be a huge factor in keeping women down in male-dominated societies (Gaines, 2017: 1). (iii) Conscious and unconscious prejudices and gender stereotypes playing a substantial role in blocking women's entrance to leading positions (Chisholm-Burns, Spivey, Hagemann & Josephson, 2017: 315). (iv) Women avoiding applying for leading positions because of the negative influence of gender expectations and gender stereotypes (Mabokela & Mlambo, 2015:

[13] The three female vice- chancellors were/are: Professor Lídia Brito, Professor Ana Monjane, Professor Amália Uamusse.

16). (v) In many African universities, women do not assume higher positions due to organizational cultures that are marked by heritages of colonialism (Boateng, 2018: 26).

A recent Mozambican study conducted by Tomm-Bonde, Schreiber, and MacDonald (2021: 4) entitled "Putting on and taking off the capulana: A grounded theory of how Mozambican women manage gender oppression*"* shows how patriarchies create attitudes, values, and beliefs that are embodied in language, analyses of truth, and claims to knowledge which then affect women's situation negatively (Tomm-Bonde et al., 2021: 4). Thus although in certain African cultures the percentage of women in executive positions has increased, this increase is only marginal (Akram et al., 2017: 6) as is the case at UEM. Kiamba (2009), like Akram et al. (2017), thinks that the small proportion of women executives in the majority of African countries is the result of traditional beliefs and the culture of patriarchy concerning the function and position of women in society (Kiamba, 2009: 6). Other factors, also associated with patriarchy, play a role too. For example, although the vast majority (92%) of questionnaire respondents in this study suggested that women have opportunities to assume management positions, my fieldwork (Chapter Seven) in 2020 showed that the vast majority of women at UEM are not suitably qualified to meet executive position requirements. This is because they do not have the same opportunities to gain higher academic qualifications as men (see Nota, 2022: 132). Further, they also have more family responsibilities which hinder their career advancement. And many husbands of very able women feel threatened by this fact and do not allow their wives to go ahead in their careers. The challenges these women face are well documented in the literature. In 2017, Spinelli-De-Sa et al. conducted a study entitled "Making a career in a male-dominated field*"*. They (2017: 3) observed that the difficulties confronted by women range from an embarrassed sense of being perceived as less rational, excessively sensitive, and less capable of performing certain activities, to the incapacity of reconciling work with motherhood. In the same year, Gaines (2017: 1) also reported challenges faced by women in male-dominated environments. They included lack of support, lower incomes, perceptions of incompetence, mistreatment, and an overall lack of voice. Recently, findings from Lekchiri's and Kamm's (2020: 2) study on "Navigating barriers faced by women in leadership positions*"* documented the following challenges faced by women: unfavourable understandings of women demonstrated through hostility; a tense work environment that does not encourage a good work-life balance; and a lack of role models that influence women's career development. In my own work I found that among the challenges UEM women leaders face at the beginning of their career was a lack of trust from their male colleagues.

Almost two decades ago Acker (2006: 448) already reported that the gendered organization of work is the principal reason for women finding it challenging to join male domains. Acker (2006: 448) highlighted that the gendered organization of work is responsible for maintaining gender disparities in organizations and, thus, the uneven representation of women and men in organizational hierarchies. The gendered organization of work generates an invisible barrier that prevents women from advancing to the top levels of an organization. According to Chisholm-Burns et al. (2017: 312),

> women in academia are beset by an almost intransigent obstacle to their leadership aspirations. The accepted term commonly used to describe this plight of women in the workforce is glass ceiling, which refers to the invisible barrier that many women face as they advance through the ranks of their chosen professions but are able to progress only so far before being stymied in their efforts to reach the upper echelons.

Chisholm-Burns et al. (2017: 9) suggest some strategies to overcome barriers on the path to the upper echelons. At the institutional level Chisholm-Burns et al. (2017: 9) recommend:

> (i) setting goals for advancing women in executive positions (for example, having a goal that 50% of executive positions will be filled by women); (ii) tracing leadership metrics (e.g., the number of women versus men in leadership roles relative to the entire workforce); and studying and appropriately rectifying detected injustices; (iii) naming and improving potential women in power early in their careers; (iv) sharing the success stories of women executives to motivate others; and (v) severe punishment for sexual harassment.

At the individual level, the same scholars recommend to:

> (i) be appropriately confident in encouraging yourself; (ii) construct a network by making yourself known to people internal and external to your company, especially those with links to industry leaders, and (iii) finding supporters and defenders (i.e., sponsors and mentors) who are ready to share knowledge and support on your behalf (Chisholm-Burns et al., 2017: 9).

These are useful starting points for trying to achieve change regarding women's position in male-dominated organizations.

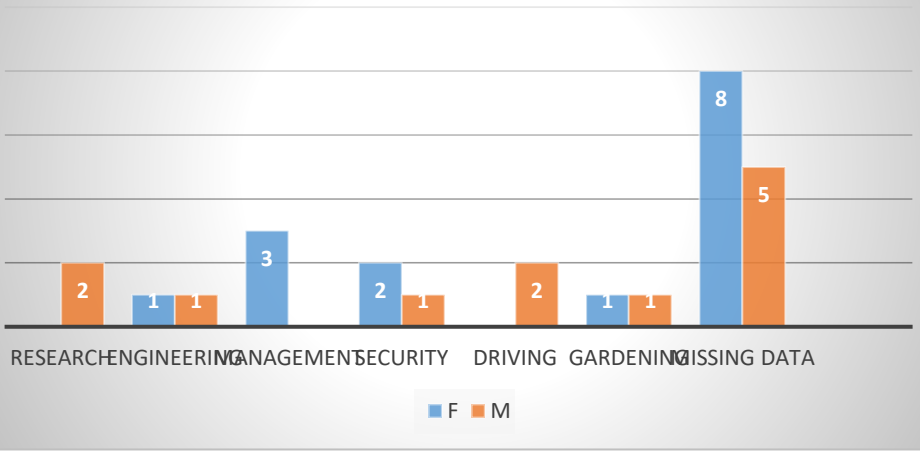
To summarise, when the questionnaire respondents were asked whether women at UEM have opportunities to hold leadership positions, the overwhelming majority of respondents answered positively. On the one hand in view of these positive responses, it seems quite surprising that at UEM there are no constraints for women to assume management posts. However, given the low percentage of women in managerial positions, it can be assumed that at UEM there are invisible factors (traditional beliefs, gender stereotypes as well as cultural attitudes regarding the role and status of

women in society) that prevent women from assuming managerial positions. It may also be that respondents wanted to present the institution in a gender-positive light, and/or that they did not want to think that there were such obstacles as this might impact on them. In the section that follows, I shall discuss the questionnaire responses regarding traditional gender roles.

5.2.3 *Women's Representation in Areas Previously Closed to Them*

The third area of investigation in the questionnaire concerned the activities of women and men and gender roles at UEM. This was to gain insight into the extent to which the implementation of the Gender Policy had resulted in positive changes among the UEM employees. Research has shown that at work females and males are often expected to execute different and distinct roles based on their gender (Blackstone, 2003: 4; Silva, 2006: 33; Kiamba, 2009: 8; Alade, 2012: 36). A study by Dicke, Safavian and Eccles (2019: 2) states that "individuals holding traditional gender role beliefs support women's role as the caretaker at home and in the family and men's role is to provide financial support as the breadwinner of the family". Figure 5.4 concerns the respondents' perception regarding women's representation in areas previously closed to them. These areas cover both academic domains and other jobs and roles in the university.

Figure 5.4 Participants' perceptions regarding women's representation in traditional gender roles.



Source: the author.

Figure 5.4: Women's representation in areas previously closed to them.

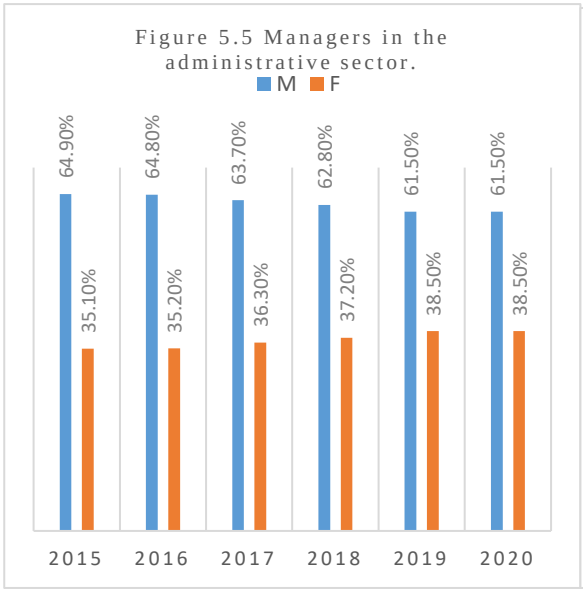
Figure 5.4 shows that 14 questionnaire respondents indicated Management, Engineering, Gardening, Driving, Security, and Research as areas traditionally known as masculine that women are currently

represented in. The fact that only a few male respondents gave their thoughts regarding women's representation in research is telling; women (and men) respondents did not think that research was an option for women. This may be related to the fact that research occupies a less prestigious position in academic work at UEM than teaching due to lack of funding, for example (see Nota, 2022: 132), and that women need to have secure and predictable employment. It also, as will be discussed in Chapter Seven, relates to women's research productivity which, unsurprisingly in this instance, is lower than men's. Since very few women are involved in research, it also suggests that my female respondents were not aware of women's participation in this area. It may be also evidence that because of the many and different responsibilities that women have, my female questionnaire respondents had a gendered notion of the research role, assuming that this position is the preserve of men.

Figure 5.4 also indicates that only a couple of male questionnaire respondents suggested that there were women in Driving. This could mean that although there are women drivers they are so few that not everybody sees them. It is in any event a rare phenomenon. The fact that only female respondents answered in relation to women in management might be related to the fact that male respondents underestimate the presence of women among managers. It may also be evidence that traditional beliefs, and gender stereotypes prevented men from thinking that there are women managers.

Although some questionnaire respondents (14) answered regarding women's representation in areas previously closed to them, Figure 5.4 shows that many (13) did not answer this question. The missing data here included both male (five) and female (eight) respondents. While Züll (2016: 6) considers that the level of missing data can be explained by the respondents' lack of interest in the topic, Emmanuel et al. (2021: 1) simply comment that a "higher percentage of missing data is found because there are some questions that respondents refuse to answer". In such situations, the silence (missing data) itself becomes powerful data and creates opportunities for different interpretations from the researcher's perspective (Singh & Richards, 2003). In this particular case, it is worth noting that in the category "missing data" I included unclear phrases, no responses, incomplete responses, and responses that did not clearly respond to the question. The 13 questionnaire respondents who did not answer may include participants who did not understand the question, participants who were not interested to see women in top positions, or respondents who thought that at UEM women still do not have space in areas traditionally considered masculine. One might argue that the institution is pretending that women have the opportunity to advance to senior positions, but it is also maintaining a gendered hierarchy, hence reproducing gender inequalities (Ashbolt, O'Flynn & Wright, 2018: 6).

Nonetheless, it is important to note that at UEM women can be found in traditionally masculine areas including in management positions. The following graphs show the gender distribution among managers in two distinct sectors within the university over a 5-year period: the administrative and the academic sectors.



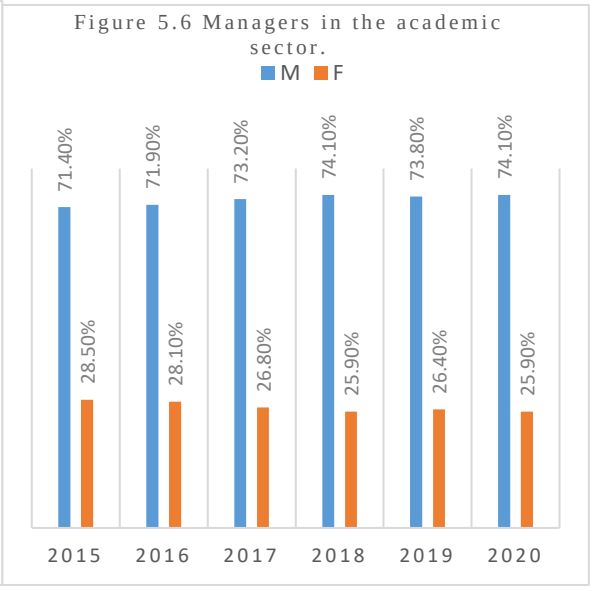


Figure 5.5 Figure 5.6

Source: Email communication from UEM Human Resources (April, 2021).

Figure 5.5 Percentage of managers in the administrative sector by gender.

Figure 5.6 Percentage of managers in the academic sector by gender.

When analysing Figures 5.5 and 5.6 it is evident that both genders are represented in manager positions. The graphs also show that there are significantly more male than female managers. This situation is not specific to Mozambique. The same situation can be found both locally and globally. By way of illustration, studies conducted in the United States and Europe by O'Connor (2019), in Brazil by Moschkovich and Almeida (2015), and in Africa by Dlamini and Adams (2014), also found that upper echelons in many HEIs are occupied by men. All these studies agree that the gender disparity in power positions is because of the unequal insertion of women and men into academic careers and consequently in the progression of their careers. However, beyond that it is noticeable that while the number of women in administrative management positions rose slightly over the 5-year period, it fell in the academic context. This is concerning, given that the numbers in higher education overall have also been expanding. It tells us that progress around gender equality is not a given.

Canham (2014) observes that while much has been discussed about what constrains women's professional progress, limited information is available concerning the causes that have promoted those women who successfully pass through the glass ceiling to achieve executive positions (Canham, 2014: 5). As Chapter Seven will show, women who have passed through the glass ceiling at UEM are well-qualified, confident, and have internal support from their co-workers. However, being well-qualified and confident by itself is not enough. Internal support from co-workers (mostly men) plays a big role in women achieving executive positions. If male co-workers do not create a friendly environment for their female colleagues, even well-qualified and confident women will give up or not apply for higher positions. In addition to qualifications (degree), confidence, and internal support from co-workers, another factor that also plays a big role in women achieving executive positions is the sponsor's support (Oya & Sender, 2009).

In 2009, Oya and Sender conducted a study entitled "Divorced, separated, and widowed women workers in rural Mozambique". This study aimed to understand factors influencing women's career success in three Mozambican provinces: Nampula, Zambezia and Manica. The findings showed that the level of education (being educated) and marital status (being divorced, separated, or widowed) had a beneficial impact on career success (Oya & Sender, 2009: 10). Women who had relatively more years of formal education were able to choose to refuse male domination (Oya & Sender, 2009: 11). Furthermore, the same scholars observed that one reason why so many married women fail in their occupations is the fact that men (husbands) do not provide women with enough support, fearing that their wives will have better opportunities and end up with another partner (Oya & Sender, 2009: 12; Doubell & Struwig, 2014).

A study by Doubell and Struwig (2014) entitled "Perceptions of factors influencing career success of professional and business women in South Africa" found that external and internal support affects women's career success (Doubell & Struwig, 2014: 531). In the same year (2014) in Botswana, Canham presented some factors that may facilitate women's success. These factors included the necessity for authority, a self-serving accomplishment style, kindness, friendliness, capability, and directiveness (Canham, 2014: 4). Foli (2018: 2) argues that women can use individual branding as an instrument to help them advance faster in the workplace and improve their career success. The same study points out that many female leaders market themselves online through media such as Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter, websites, and blogs (Foli, 2018: 2). Foli (2018: 2), suggests that it is likely that women promote themselves because in their institution there is no policy aimed at encouraging women to apply for managerial positions. Women's self-promotion can serve as an incentive and

strategy for other women to apply for similar positions. However, it is unclear how easy or effective this self-promotion is in low-income countries and countries with limited internet access such as Mozambique.

Akram et al. (2017: 2) also found that there are women who refuse to accept and/or apply for management positions. Their findings correlate with some findings in my study (Chapter Seven). As a subsequent chapter will show, several voices in individual interviews pointed to the existence of well-qualified women at UEM who refuse to apply for power positions for different reasons, including family life and gender role expectations, just to name a few. Syed and Ali (2019) noted that many African women are not expected to work in the public sphere (Syed & Ali, 2019: 5). Drawing on findings from my study as well as on Syed's and Ali's (2019) research one can affirm that sadly some well-qualified women[14] at UEM are contributing to their own subordination by not applying for senior positions. However, given the context in which they work this is perhaps not surprising and they are certainly not to blame.

In addition to gender norms and gender expectations which contribute to gender inequalities, Acker (2006: 443) emphasizes "that all companies have inequality regimes, defined as loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and keep class, gender, and racial inequalities within particular organizations." According to Acker (2006: 441), inequality regimes are the connected practices and processes that result in ongoing gender disparities in all work organizations. When focusing on UEM, the two interlocking practices that contribute to inequality regimes are occupational gender segregation and patriarchal attitudes. Patriarchal attitudes prevent women from applying for positions traditionally considered masculine due to gendered expectations where women are expected to perform in the private sphere (domestic chores) while men work in the public sphere (income-generating activities) (Agadjanian, 2002: 2). For instance, Figure 5.3 shows that most deans of faculties at UEM are male. The higher number of male deans may be motivated by gender role expectations as well as gender stereotypes. These expectations and stereotypes, in general, mean that women tend to find work in occupations that deal with the conventional stereotypes of femininity and care (e.g., Education and Nursing), not in top positions (Vincent, 2013: 5; Mabokela & Mlambo, 2015: 16; Boateng, 2018: 26).

[14] Although one can assume that well-qualified women are contributing to their own subordination by not applying for senior positions, it is important to note that women's qualifications are also important to perform other activities, such as fund-raising for research or teaching programs, assure research and teaching quality among other activities that need well-qualified women.

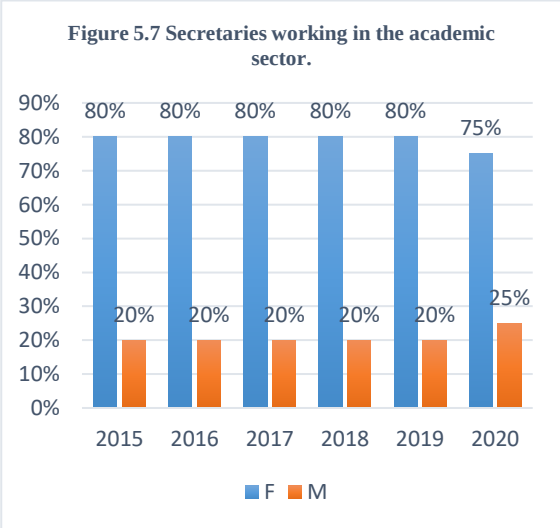
Occupational stratification by gender is a key cause of women's under-representation. A recent study by Gradin (2021) explains the difference between gender stratification and occupational gender stratification in the following terms: "while gender stratification shows the extent to which women and men tend to work in separate occupations, regardless of the characteristics of jobs filled in by each gender, occupational gender stratification means that women and men work in different professions" (Gradín, 2021: 108). In 2011 Wright observed that around the world occupational stratification[15] by gender has been seen as one of the principal and lasting aspects of job markets (Wright, 2011: 20). A study entitled "Drivers of gendered sectoral and occupational stratification in developing countries" conducted by Borrowman and Klasen (2020) showed that occupational stratification by gender is remarkably persistent (Borrowman & Klasen, 2020: 64).

Men are also affected by occupational gender stratification. Whittock (2002: 483) explains that entering work traditionally considered the preserve of women is a central challenge to masculinity, given the focus on work for the establishment of masculine identities. Whittock (2002: 483) emphasizes that the risk of being accused of being homosexual appears as a persistent theme in studies of men in female-designated jobs, which found that men's sexuality is instantly thrown into question by their opting for female-designated work. A study in Mozambique entitled "Masculinity and gender relations among street vendors in Maputo" too observed that men doing female-designated work become objects of negative feminine stereotypes from customers and strangers who perceive men doing what is supposedly women's work as a reduction in social standing (Agadjanian, 2002: 331). This scholar mentions that despite the fact that the gender stigma attached to female-designated work may discourage men from doing that work in higher numbers, men's presence in such jobs is not a totally recent phenomenon in Mozambique. In this country, men may be driven to do female jobs for economic reasons. Nevertheless, the fact that some men are working in jobs traditionally considered the preserve of women shows a positive modification in the labour market (Agadjanian, 2002: 336). Furthermore, a positive side of having men performing in traditionally female-designated works is that it creates the chance to foster a gender-divergent environment (Agadjanian, 2002: 340).

My own questionnaire respondents did not mention men's presence in female-designated work. In 2006, Acker (2006: 444) reported that secretaries, clerks, servers, and care providers are examples of

[15] Occupational stratification is described as both 'horizontal', where women and men are concentrated in different occupations, and 'vertical', where women predominantly occupy lower positions within occupations (Wright, 2011:20).

jobs traditionally considered female-designated work (Acker, 2006: 444). At UEM, secretary positions are also perceived to be "female" work. Figures 5.7 and 5.8 show the distribution of women and men in secretarial positions at UEM over the 5-year period 2015-2020, divided into those working in the administrative and those working in the academic sector.



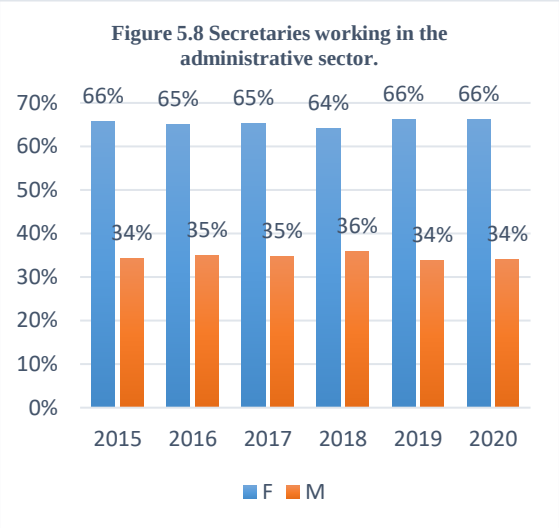


Figure 5.7 Figure 5.8

Source: Email communication from UEM Human Resources (April, 2021).

Figures 5.7 Secretaries working in the academic sector by gender.
Figures 5.8 Secretaries working in the administrative sector by gender.

Although my questionnaire respondents did not mention the presence of male employees in female-designated posts, I was given data from UEM Human Resources (Figures 5.7 and 5.8) which indicate that there are some male employees who perform female work. Nevertheless, in general, the percentage of female secretaries is higher compared to the percentage of male secretaries. Figures 5.7 and 5.8 also show that there are more men taking on secretarial roles in the administrative sector than in the academic one. It is likely that men at UEM prefer to be placed in the administrative sector because (i) the administrative sector is closer to power, (ii) it is less demanding work than the academic sector,[16] (iii) people do not need to publish to be promoted, and (iv) it is easier to access financial and other resources. Figures 5.7 and 5.8 are thus on the one hand evidence that at UEM being a secretary is seen as a female-designated job, and women are expected to service men. The fact that women are often administrative supporters of men has also been observed by Dlamini and

[16] Note that I say this as an 'insider' who has worked in both the academic and the administrative sectors of UEM.

Adams (2014). But on the other hand, these Figures also show that some men do work in female-designated jobs, and that they do so more where the potential gain is greater.

In sum, my study shows that only a very low number of women can be found in traditionally male-designated work at UEM. Participants in this study mentioned Engineering, Management, Gardening, Driving, Security, and Research as areas traditionally considered masculine that women are now represented in. Gender stereotypes and occupational gender stratification are among the contributing factors to women's under-representation in male-designated domains. My questionnaire respondents did not mention any traditionally female-designated job as currently being performed by male workers. However, data from the UEM Human Resources (Figures 5.7 and 5.8) show that at UEM, some men work in traditionally female-designated jobs. The fact that no participants mentioned that UEM has men performing in these jobs may be an indication that this practice is recent or they simply do not see or acknowledge it. This provides limited evidence that attitudes and behaviours related to gender are changing. Such change is still very gradual. The next section centers on data regarding the respondents' perceptions of gender relations in the workplace.

5.2.4 *Gender Relations at UEM*

The last point in the questionnaire sought to shed light on how women and men relate to one another at UEM. The literature defines gender relations as social relationships that prevail in any household, community, place of work, or society between females and males (Flax, 1987: 623; Bottorff, Oliffe, Robinson & Carey, 2011: 2; Shauri, 2015: 7). Gender relations explain the social significance of being female and male, and therefore what is deemed proper behaviour or work for women and men (Makama, 2013: 5). Some scholars have shown that in many African HEIs where men dominate the academic arena, gender relations are basically patriarchal (Adebayo & Akanle, 2014: 149; Afzali, 2017: 75). This is also, as already stated, the case at UEM where men dominate the academic arena (CNAQ, 2015: 9).

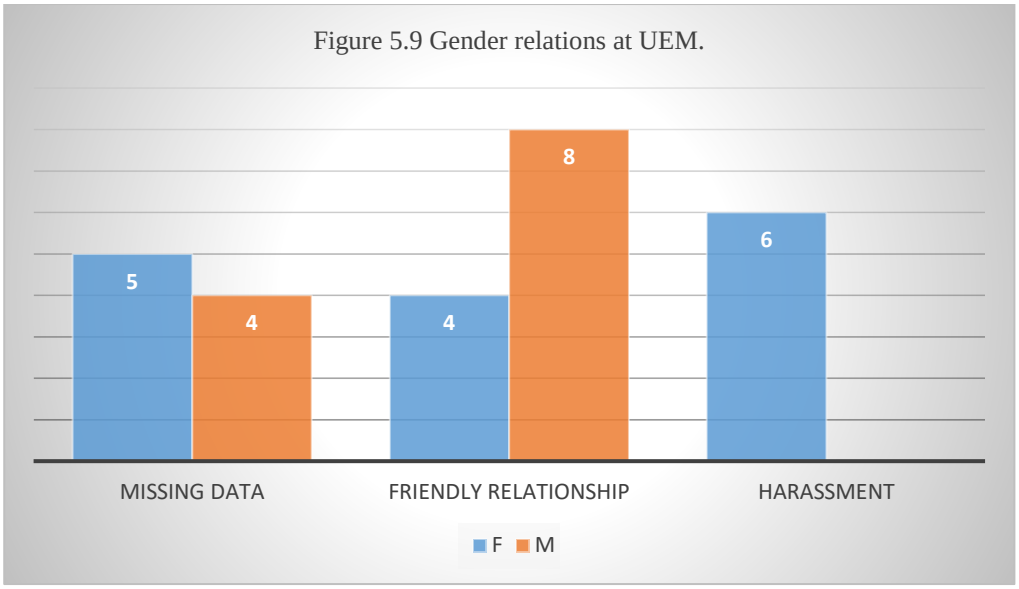
Sanauddin (2015) argues that patriarchy has six structures:

> (1) *patriarchal relations in paid work* in which local values, government laws, and market policies either limit women's access to paid employment or discriminate against them in terms of equal pay; (2) *patriarchal modes of production* where men benefit from women's unpaid domestic labour; (3) *patriarchal relations in cultural institutions* which may maintain different ideas of femininity from masculinity, uneven access to cultural resources, language, literature, and folklore; honour and shame; and other cultural ideals sustaining unequal gender

relations; (4) *patriarchal relations in sexuality* which comprises compulsory heterosexuality; (5) *male violence or threat of violence* which maintains women in their place and prevents them from challenging patriarchy; and (6) *patriarchal relations in the state* which sometimes encourages patriarchy through legislation and public policy, and in some cases, does little to end gender discrimination or to protect women from patriarchal control of men (Sanauddin, 2015: 59, emphasis as in original).

Some of those patriarchal structures are not very prevalent in Mozambique, at least in theory. Mozambican law forbids gender discrimination, and at UEM there is no gender pay gap[17]. At UEM like in other Mozambican government institutions, women and men working in similar positions or categories, with equivalent years of experience, earn the same salary. The salary of the UEM employees is shown monthly on the salary sheet. The salary sheet at UEM is monthly information provided by Human Resources where all UEM employees' salaries are reflected. But many of the other patriarchal structures mentioned by Sanauddin (2015) can also be found in Mozambique. For instance, in Mozambique only heterosexual marriages are allowed (patriarchal relations in sexuality) and the belief that men are better decision-makers in the workplace prevents women from challenging patriarchy. Women also frequently act in compliance with female gender role expectations of subordinated behaviour for fear of male violence. Figure 5.9 below shows the questionnaire respondents' answers regarding gender relations at UEM.

[17] Kohlrausch and Weber (2021: 19) in their study entitled "Gender relations at the digitalised workplace*"* observe that despite the fact that women work in similar positions as men, they can be unequally remunerated. This constitutes the gender pay gap.



Source: the author.

Figure 5.9 Questionnaire respondents' answers regarding gender relations at UEM.

When the questionnaire respondents were asked about gender relations in academia, nine (five women and four men) did not answer, 12 questionnaire respondents (four women and eight men) said that there were friendly relations[18] among the UEM academic community and six questionnaire respondents (all six are women) were concerned about the existence of sexual harassment. The relatively high number of people who did not say anything about gender relations, on the one hand, may suggest that these people did not feel comfortable answering this question (Emmanuel et al, 2021: 1). On the other hand, it is also possible that the questionnaire respondents did not understand what I was asking, or that they did not want to answer for some other reason. It is certainly not a question that is often asked.

The fact that quite a few people (12) said that at UEM there are friendly gender relations might be related to the fact that patriarchal power at UEM appears natural and invisible as discussed by Sanauddin (2015: 40). For instance, despite UEM having been established in 1962, there was no legal instrument against sexual harassment until 2020, resulting in some harassed female students moving from UEM to others HEIs where they felt safer. The absence of such an instrument against sexual harassment for the first 60 years of this HEI's existence might be evidence that sexual harassment

[18] I considered friendly relations as a category that includes gender role equality for both genders. Women and men are free to occupy any position. There are no preconceptions about sex. Healthy coexistence between women and men. Mutual respect. Acceptable behaviour. However, this may of course not be what my respondents had in mind.

was perceived as natural. Additionally, the fact that this HEI has done nothing in relation to some professors who were accused of sexual harassment by students, can be understood as further evidence that in this HEI sexual harassment is not treated seriously.[19] Moreover, the relatively higher number of male participants (eight) who considered that at UEM there are friendly gender relations is also correlated to the fact that they did not seem to think that sexual harassment is prevalent or that they do not take this into consideration.

Figure 5.9 also indicates that while most male questionnaire respondents (eight) said that at UEM there are friendly relations between women and men, only women (six) said that at UEM there is harassment. The fact that only women raised this concern might be evidence that the perpetrators are basically male. It is also possible that my female participants felt at ease to communicate with me about this because I am also a woman. It could also be that men are simply in denial about this. Since there was no instrument against sexual harassment until 2020, UEM has done little to end sexual harassment or to protect females from being harassed. Banchefsky and Park (2018) argue that male-dominated work atmospheres manifest masculine cultures that are unfriendly to women. Due to the influence of the patriarchal society at UEM, most employees behave in line with patriarchal norms.

As Chapter Six on the findings from the individual interviews will show, when focusing on the way women construct leadership, women seem to tolerate patriarchal attitudes (Carlota, Individual interview, 2020). Seemingly, at UEM many women have normalised patriarchal attitudes as part of their own way of thinking. When looking at the interlocking practices of patriarchal tendencies and a male-dominated environment, one can say that UEM's culture reflects a history where women can access HE but not apply for managerial positions (Carlota, individual interview, 2020). Despite there being well–qualified women at UEM, there is a kind of acceptance of gender-stereotyped roles as normal behaviour, with men being elected to better positions and women often assigned to do "women's work". This acceptance may lead some participants in this study to consider that there are friendly relations between women and men at UEM. The idea that men in organizations should be the managers appears to be normalized at UEM.

[19]However, it is important to highlight that in relation to sexual harassment, things are slowly changing at UEM. In the beginning of 2023, two male lecturers were expelled from UEM because of sexual harassment of students (https://evidencias.co.mz/2023/04/04). This was possible because in June 2022 the UEM University Council approved an instrument against sexual harassment. This milestone is the result of the Gender Unit's activities related to gender-based violence (GBV).

In their study entitled "Resisting dominant discourses: Implications of indigenous, African feminist theory and methods for gender and education research*"* Chilisa and Ntseane (2010: 623) state that employees know who has authority by looking at who controls what, and for whose benefits. Authority manifests itself through vertical segregation. Men's domination of the highest-status occupations is classified as vertical stratification (Kohlrausch & Weber, 2021: 19). The existence of vertical stratification at UEM is a clear indication that men control the institution. Women have not had an increase in organizational power equal to that of men. Hence, it is pretty difficult for women to act to reduce power differences across the genders. In short, when talking about gender relations at UEM, despite most questionnaire respondents stating that there are friendly gender relations, this ignores the ways in which gender shapes the distribution of power at all levels.

5.3 Conclusion

When I sent out the questionnaires to the selected academic community members I intended to explore if they had found any change among the UEM academic community as a result of the implementation of the Gender Policy. The responses lead me to conclude that there are positive changes at UEM, although in a rather limited way. For instance, women have some opportunities to hold management positions (at UEM there are female vice-chancellors as well as female deans of faculties). But these opportunities remain minimal. Women are also represented in areas previously reserved for male employees (Management, Engineering, Gardening, Driving, Security, and Research). There are some men who perform traditionally female-designated jobs. But these are small beginnings. In the following chapter, I discuss my findings from the focus group interviews held with Gender Unit employees and gender focal points (GFPs).

CHAPTER 6. THE VICISSITUDES OF IMPLEMENTING THE GENDER POLICY: FINDINGS FROM THE FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GENDER UNIT EMPLOYEES AND THE GENDER FOCAL POINTS

6.1 Dominant Themes that Emerged in the Focus Group Discussions

As previously mentioned in the Methodology Chapter, I conducted focus groups with the Gender Unit employees and GFPs. In this Chapter I discuss the themes that emerged in those exchanges. The dominant themes I identified in the Gender Unit's employees' transcripts were: (1) the participants' perception of the Gender Policy, (2) the role of the Gender Unit's employees in implementing the Gender Policy; (3) raising awareness of the importance of gender; and (4) institutional commitment to gender mainstreaming. These themes are discussed in the following section (section 6.2). The discussion of the themes identified in the GFPs' transcripts occurs in section 6.3. The GFPs' themes included: (1) the participants' perception of the Gender Policy; (2) the GPFs' role in gender mainstreaming; (3) short-term gender courses; (4) freedom to express gender-related issues; and (5) the Gender Action Plan (GAP).

6.2 The Gender Unit Employees' Viewpoint Regarding the Process of Implementing the Gender Policy

I asked all participants in this study about their knowledge regarding the Gender Policy. This enabled me to gain insight into how to proceed with the remaining parts of the focus group discussions (FGDs).

6.2.1 *Participants' knowledge of the Gender Policy*

To commence, I sought to find out whether the Gender Unit employees were familiar with the Gender Policy. In the first FGD composed of four Gender Unit employees (three women and one man), the participants responded differently to this question.

> I particularly have heard about this policy. I heard about it when we were working out the UEM Gender Strategy. At the time, it seemed that the Gender Policy was still being designed. (Male, Gender Unit employee FGD1)
>
> I confess that when I received the interview guide, I became confused. For a while, I thought you were asking about [the UEM] Gender Strategy instead of the Gender Policy. What I heard

about is [the UEM] Gender Strategy, that its draft was presented here at UEM. Not about the Gender Policy. I did not know about the existence of a Gender Policy. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

I remember having attended one or two meetings held by the National Research Fund in which one point was the discussion for the enrichment of the document (the Gender Policy proposal). After that, I heard about a document that was being produced by the Ministry of Higher Education: the Gender Strategy for higher education. Is this the document you are talking about? (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

I have never heard about it. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

The above quotes show that some participants knew about the Gender Policy and others did not. There was also some confusion regarding which document I meant. Some participants mentioned the UEM Gender Strategy. This instrument (the UEM Gender Strategy) seemed to be well known to all participants. According to my participants, at UEM the Gender Unit was the entity responsible for designing this strategy.

At the time we [Gender Unit employees] were designing the UEM Gender Strategy while searching for bibliographic references, this policy [the Gender Policy] appeared to be launched in June 2015. (Male, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

At UEM, the Gender Unit is the entity responsible for designing the UEM Gender Strategy. And each one of us has a [hard copy] of the Gender Strategy to guide us in our activity. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

Since Gender Unit employees have a copy of the UEM Gender Strategy, they are familiar with this document. It is important to highlight that the UEM Gender Strategy is an institutional document designed to implement the Gender Policy. However, in this FGD only two participants knew about the Gender Policy. This finding generally suggests that there are some communication problems that need to be fixed inside the Gender Unit. It seems bizarre that the Gender Unit employees have an official document (the UEM Gender Strategy) to implement a governmental document (the Gender Policy) that they have no idea about. If the Gender Unit employees were not aware of the Gender Policy, they were not aware of the Gender Policy's purpose, and consequently, they could not have any idea if their activities were achieving the Gender Policy objectives. In other words, the Gender Unit employees have been implementing the UEM Gender Strategy without even knowing its original goal.

At the beginning of our FGD I noticed that the Gender Unit employees were happy to know that inside UEM (in the rector's office of the university, where I am located) people were interested to investigate gender-related issues. The Gender Unit employees recognized that talking about gender-related issues with different people in different places and the implementation of gender instruments (Gender Policy and UEM Gender Strategy) are important for spreading their message.

> Looking at UEM some time ago and currently, we can see big differences. Nowadays, people recognize the relevance of talking about this subject [gender]. Currently, the centre [Gender Unit] is seen differently by the UEM academic community. I think the message itself is getting there. It does not matter if the policy belongs to one ministry or another. If the subject is raised in different places by different people, this is good. Currently, the UEM academic community recognizes that gender is not only a Gender Unit matter. All of us are concerned with the same cause [gender equality]. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

The above statement suggests that this female Gender Unit's employee noticed differences in the UEM academic community regarding the issue of gender. The Gender Unit itself was being recognised by the UEM academic community. More to the point, perhaps, the UEM academic community apparently understood that gender was not only a Gender Unit matter. This suggests that attitudes in the UEM academic community towards gender-related issues were shifting. Van Houweling, Christie, and Abdel-Rahim (2015: 36) argue that in HEIs, gender awareness is crucial. These scholars suggest that workshops on gender awareness should be a required element of orientation programs or continuing education, aimed to disseminate information on the Gender Policy and its associated activities (Van Houweling et al., 2015: 36).

In the second FGD with Gender Unit employees when I posed the same question, all four participants (two women and two men) remained silent for a certain period. They were reluctant to speak and elaborate an answer. They looked at each other in silence. I tried to tell them that I was not worried about the type of answer they could provide. I said that their response would in any event constitute valuable information for my study. I also reminded all participants that their discussions, as stipulated in the consent form, were confidential. These statements apparently alleviated their tensions. Only after this did the participants break their silence and tell me that all of them were unfamiliar with this instrument. "I am so sorry, but I have never heard about the Gender Policy before. I only heard about it at the time I received your email." (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD2) She was no different from the other participants in the same group and similar to the two Gender Unit employees from the

first FGD who also had no idea about the existence of the Gender Policy. Meanwhile, the Gender Unit employees from the second FGD were also familiar with the UEM Gender Strategy. They mentioned that the UEM Gender Strategy had been designed by the Gender Unit, but not all staff members had been involved. During our conversation, all four Gender Unit employees from the second FGD complained about their lack of knowledge regarding the dissemination of the UEM Gender Strategy. “We don't know exactly how the disclosure is being done” said one of them, and the others agreed.

All four Gender Unit employees from the second FGD were not aware of how the UEM Gender Strategy was disseminated. This suggests that inside the Gender Unit and presumably outside, people did not speak about the dissemination of this instrument. It is possible that the Gender Strategy had not yet been disseminated at the time of the focus groups. Nonetheless, all four participants confirmed that every single Gender Unit staff had a copy of the UEM Gender Strategy on their computers to guide them in their everyday activities. But this of course does not tell us if and how they actually engaged with the Strategy.

> Speaking of dissemination at UEM, I remember hearing about a meeting at the Faculty of Education where the CNAQ’s president was there to make a presentation under the Gender Mainstreaming program. But it was a very restricted meeting because only people involved in this program [Gender Mainstreaming program] attended that meeting. Thus, it is something that does not allow us to affirm that the policy was disseminated inside UEM. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

It seems that the Gender Policy dissemination at UEM did not involve the majority of UEM academic staff. It is important to remember that in Maputo, UEM has 11 faculties and two higher schools. If the female participant only heard about the dissemination taking place at the Faculty of Education, this does not suggest wide dissemination across UEM. The above statement also suggests to me that the dissemination of the Gender Policy at the Faculty of Education was not organized by the dean of that faculty. If the event had been organized by the dean, not only students from the Gender Mainstreaming program would have been involved but also all faculty staff. If the Gender Unit (the entity responsible for implementing the Gender Policy at UEM) was not invited to attend this meeting, it is possible that the promoters of this event were not aware of the Gender Unit’s role inside UEM.
In sum, in regard to policy awareness, the majority (six of eight) of Gender Unit employees had no idea about the existence of the Gender Policy. However, all Gender Unit participants were familiar

with the UEM Gender Strategy, the UEM document designed to guide the implementation of the Gender Policy. This creates a situation where the continuity from one set of ideas (the policy) to another (the strategy) is discontinuous, and raises questions about how the policy could be effectively implemented. In what follows I discuss the role of the Gender Unit employees in implementing the Gender Policy at UEM.

6.2.2 *The Role of the Gender Unit Employees in Implementing the Gender Policy*

To implement gender policies at UEM, a Gender Unit called the *Coordination Centre for Gender Issues* was established in 2008, through resolution number 5/CUN/2008. In the following paragraphs, I analyse the explanations, understandings, and interpretations of the Gender unit employees regarding their roles.

When asked about their role in relation to the Gender Policy, the two participants in the first FGD who had said that they were unfamiliar with the Gender Policy obviously remained silent. One of those participants explained that he could not respond to the question because the first time he saw the policy was when he designed the UEM Gender Strategy. At that point in the focus group, only one participant could provide an answer; she explained that the Gender Unit had been involved during the formulation phase of the Gender Policy. She explained that the National Council for Assessment of Quality in Higher Education (CNAQ) had invited the Gender Unit to improve the Gender Policy proposal[20]. This participant was someone who had been at the Gender Unit for a long time. Since the Gender Policy is a government document, not only UEM was involved in its design. For the same reason, only one UEM Gender Unit employee was invited by CNAQ.

Although one person from the Gender Unit had been involved in the design phase of the Gender Policy, during the focus group the Gender Unit employees expressed their disappointment regarding the fact that they had been excluded from the approval phase.

> When a policy is approved, there is a meeting that takes place with the main speakers, implementers and each one defines their role. We do not know why the Gender Unit was not invited to that meeting. We have no idea who attended that meeting from UEM's side and to what extent UEM defined its role concerning this instrument. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

[20] The Gender Policy was called "Gender Policy proposal" before its approval.

Since one Gender Unit employee was invited to improve the Gender Policy proposal, it is not clear why the Gender Unit was not invited to attend the approval phase. Although in general most Gender Unit employees felt excluded from the process organised by the Mozambican government (the design of the Gender Policy), a positive aspect might be that all Gender Unit employees are involved indirectly in implementing the Gender Policy through the UEM Gender Strategy. However, lack of knowledge about this guiding policy can also hamper the establishment of related strategies.

The Gender Unit members' experience around the Gender Policy were not unique. A survey conducted in the Kitui District of Kenya to evaluate the constraints and opportunities encountered by the Kitui Gender Unit to implement their National Gender Policy found that "the Gender Unit in Kitui was struggling to implement the National Gender Policy because the Kitui Gender Unit was not involved in the design and approval phases of the National Gender Policy and the objectives of the National Gender Policy were not clearly defined" (Anyoni, 2008: 19). The reasons Anyoni (2008: 19) found this lack of involvement of the Kitui Gender Unit during the design and the approval phases of the National Gender Policy were: (i) gender was considered a cross-cutting issue, hence it was not compulsory to involve the Gender Unit in the process of the design and approval phase. In other words, any other unit could be part of the process; and (ii) staff members from the Kitui Gender Unit were not well trained in gender matters.

The Kitui Gender Unit and the UEM Gender Unit have in common that both struggled to implement their national Gender Policies. While the Kitui Gender Unit thought that the lack of involvement in the design and approval phase, and unclear Gender Policy objectives, were the main reasons for the problem, the UEM Gender Unit claimed that limited financial resources were the reason for their challenges. This will be addressed further below. In the second FGD, I did not ask participants about their role in relation to the Gender Policy, because all participants in this group were unfamiliar with the Gender Policy. Now, I shall discuss awareness raising in relation to gender issues which is part of what the Gender Strategy requires.

6.2.3 *Raising Awareness of the Importance of a Gender Perspective*

Gender in HEIs has attracted increasing attention over the past twenty years in many different scientific fields (Barros, Vasconcelos, Araújo, Amaral & Ramos, 2018: 1). Barros et al. (2018: 1) remark that during that period numerous actions have been undertaken to reduce the existing gaps between women and men in the academy. Nevertheless, Šidlauskien and Butašova (2013: 2) highlight that "while some important gains were made in order to reduce gender inequalities in HEIs, the

progress in recent years has been slow and uneven." In this regard, Mama's (2003: 102) study also observed that the number of women in HEIs was increasing at a slow pace.

I asked the Gender Unit employees about the activities developed by the Unit to reduce gender inequalities at UEM. I was told that the Gender Unit had a plan to visit secondary schools to encourage female students to apply for Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) courses. In the first FGD, there was a broad consensus about visits the Gender Unit had made to secondary schools for this purpose. Below is an account of how Gender Unit employees contextualized their experiences and personal knowledge concerning activities to reduce gender inequalities at UEM.

> We are involved in some activities at secondary schools which consist basically of talking to students and giving more detailed information about what HE is, as well as encouraging female pupils to apply for STEM courses. Nowadays because of COVID-19, those activities have stopped. As soon as the situation normalizes, we will continue with these activities. This work has been carried out at the level of secondary schools in Maputo city. (Male, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

Although UEM has outposts in Quelimane, Gaza, and Inhambane, the secondary school visit plan was only implemented in Maputo city. When they shared this information I had the impression that the staff were embarrassed. All four participants were silent for a long time, looking at each other. Because of this silence I reminded them that our conversation was confidential and the information would be used only for my dissertation. After that, a female participant broke the silence and said:

> [First prolonged silence]. Well... At this moment we have been working only in Maputo. Going to other provinces requires resources and these resources are currently unavailable. It is not a lack of desire. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

The embarrassment and prolonged silence may be evidence that the Gender Unit employees were aware that they are doing only limited work. It is also possible that since UEM is a privileged university in Mozambique, they may not have wanted people outside the Gender Unit to know that the first and the oldest university in Mozambique does not have enough money to do its work on other UEM campuses. The third possibility is that they may have been recommended by their superior to share only the positive aspects of their work, not its weaknesses. The above quote suggests that there is a willingness among the Gender Unit employees to implement the project on UEM campuses

outside of Maputo but because of resource constraints, the project has been implemented only in Maputo. This scenario reproduces existing geopolitical inequalities in Mozambican HE.

In addition to visiting secondary schools, the Gender Unit employees also mentioned the Gender Week and Open Day. They explained that the Gender Week is an event that happens once a year in Maputo city. During this the Gender Unit provides several workshops to the UEM academic community and shares research results of studies that the Unit has carried out related to gender-based violence, for example. The aim of this Week is to generate gender awareness among the UEM academic community. Attendance is, however, voluntary and therefore of necessity uneven.

Open Day is another event where the Gender Unit showcases its activities. Differing from the Gender Week where only the Gender Unit showcases its activities, the Open Day is not only for the Gender Unit but for the entire university. In other words, throughout this event all UEM units are invited to showcase their activities. Although most of the time people who attend this event are secondary-school pupils, the target audience for this event is society at large (the academic community and civil society).

During Open Day, the Gender Unit takes the opportunity to talk about STEM courses at UEM and encourages students to apply to STEM courses. The Gender Unit also talks about programs that provide scholarships for students who pursue STEM courses. The Gender Unit discusses areas where pupils can find a job after finishing STEM courses and clarifies to participants that women and men can apply equally to these courses and jobs. Everybody can do the same work as long they are qualified for it. Open day is an event where the Gender Unit also disseminates the research results of studies related to gender-based violence as well as distributes leaflets with detailed information about the centre. In addition to these activities, the Gender Unit also provides workshops on topics such as gender awareness, and how to introduce gender into research, to which all UEM academic communities are invited, including people in managerial positions (deans).

In the second FGD participants also referred to the workshops that the Gender Unit organizes at secondary schools in Maputo to encourage female students to apply to STEM courses. Similar to what the Gender Unit employees had said in the first FGD, in the second FDG they also suggested that the reason secondary schools outside of Maputo city were not visited was directly related to financial resources. “Although the Gender Unit has a plan to visit other secondary schools outside

Maputo, because of the limited funds, these schools have not yet been visited," said one employee (Male, Gender Unit employee FGD2).

The phrase "limited funds" mentioned above was consistently used in both FGDs. Regarding limited funds, Van Houweling et al. (2015: 36) suggest that budgets should be structured to ensure adequate resources for training students, staff, and the GFPs. In answer to a probing question to understand where the funds for this type of work were supposed to come from, one employee said:

> The funds come from the Government's General Budget. But the Government does not have enough money to cover all our expenditures. For instance, in 2017 the travel expenses budget line was cut by the state fund. It is important to highlight that the cut was not only for the Gender Unit but for all units at UEM. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD2)

If the Government's budget provided for gender issues is not enough, gender equality cannot be much of a government priority. It is possible that the government felt obliged to manifest its intention for gender equality just to continue receiving donations from overseas. An important point I drew from the comment about the travel expenses budget being cut in 2017. The point is, the Gender Unit emerged in 2008 and other UEM campuses outside Maputo were never visited even before 2017. This also means that visiting UEM campuses outside of Maputo never was a priority.

The problem of limited funding is not specific to Mozambican HEIs. Teferra and Altbachl, (2004: 8) and Stotsky, Kolovich, and Kebhaj (2016: 3) report that without exception, African universities are under considerable financial pressure. Academe everywhere, even in wealthy industrialized nations, faces fiscal problems, but the magnitude of these problems is greater in Africa than anywhere else. In 2015 Aina, Ogunlade, and Ilesanmi reported that in Nigeria the Akwa Ibom State University established a Gender Unit (the Centre for Gender and Development Studies) to institutionalise gender education and treating gender as a cross-cutting issue in both academic and administrative engagements of the university. Nevertheless, translating gender mainstreaming into all sectors of the university (academics, management, curriculum, employment, students' enrolments, ICT, health, religion, and security) was retarded by lack of funds (Aina et al., 2015: 20; Mangheni, Musiimenta, Boonabaana & Tufan, 2021: 10). As Teferra and Altbachl, (2004) state, the causes for financial problems in most African universities are:

> i) the pressures of expansion and massification that have added large numbers of students to most African academic institutions and systems; (ii) the economic problems facing many African countries that make it difficult, if not impossible, to provide increased funding for HE; (iii) the inability of students to afford the tuition rates necessary for fiscal stability and in some cases an inability to impose tuition fees due to political or other pressure; and (iv) misallocation and poor prioritization of available financial resources, such as the tradition of providing free or highly subsidized accommodation and food to students and maintaining a large and some number of non-academic personnel and infrastructure, among others. (Teferra and Altbachl, 2004: 8)

Some of the causes for the financial problems mentioned by Teferra and Altbachl (2004) can also be found in Mozambique. For example, as previously indicated in Chapter Two, since the 1990s Mozambique has faced an expansion and massification of HEIs which obviously increased the number of HE students, and this has increased the overall costs of HE. However, the Mozambican economic situation (the Mozambican GDP in 2021 was 39 billion USD) does not allow the government to increase the funding for HE as well as those UEM students who cannot afford their HEIs fees whose the Mozambican government needs to subsidize.

While participants discussed activities to reduce gender inequalities, a notable point was raised regarding gender stereotypes. In the second FGD, several participants announced that to date (2020), some UEM employees believe that the Gender Unit employs only women. Gender Unit employees shared that when they visit faculties and higher schools for their normal activities, a typical reaction/comment they receive from their peers is: “Oh… are you coming from the Gender Unit, the centre where only women are employed?” (Male, Gender Unit employee FGD2) This indicates a still prevailing view at UEM that gender is only a matter for women. However, the Unit employs not only women but also men. In the second FDG participants maintained that many UEM staff from different units also think in the same way. When we were talking about this misunderstanding about the Gender Unit, a male participant first laughed and then shared one of his experiences:

> [Laughs] People think that the Gender Unit is only [about] women’s work. They are surprised when they find out that men are working at this center. The positive side of our visits to other university units is that the Gender Unit is coming out from anonymity. People are already

> getting to know our centre [the Gender Unit] due to the workshops we have been organizing. (Male, Gender Unit employee FGD2)

The quote in part suggests that the visits the Gender Unit employees make to other UEM units have resulted in other UEM units getting to know about the existence of the unit. Meanwhile, Gender Unit employees were also aware that their visits to UEM faculties and higher schools reduce the misunderstanding regarding the gender composition of the Gender Unit employees. An important point I drew from the insights shared by my participants is that the fact that many UEM staff think that the Gender Unit employs only women may be evidence of a misunderstanding of basic concepts related to gender mainstreaming, hence the necessity to provide more workshops concerning gender awareness among UEM employees.

In this regard, Ylöstalo (2016: 9) acknowledges that because of limited knowledge about gender mainstreaming among state employees, gender mainstreaming is often confused with women's perspectives. A recent paper by Mangheni, Musiimenta, Boonabaana, and Tufan (2021: 6) on "The performance of gender focal person structures in Rwanda and Uganda" also reported that due to misinformation regarding gender issues and lack or insufficient gender training in many public institutions, some employees perceive gender mainstreaming as a woman's job. To overcome this misperception, Mehra and Gupta (2006: 9) recommend organizations invest heavily in time and resources in all types of gender training.

In general, the Gender Unit employees agreed that the Gender Unit has a variety of measures to try and combat gender inequalities such as visits secondary schools, the Open Day and the Gender Week as well as workshops for the UEM academic community on gender-related issues. The next section takes a look at the institutional willingness to implement the Gender Policy at UEM.

6.2.4 *Institutional Commitment to Gender Mainstreaming*

Gender mainstreaming was adopted by the United Nations at the 1995 Beijing conference on women as a key policy strategy to achieve gender equality (Mehra & Gupta, 2006: 4; Ismail, 2012: 2; Lombardo & Mergaert, 2013: 6; Ylöstalo, 2016: 4). According to Van Houweling et al. (2015: 31), "The mainstreaming process should encompass the entire spectrum of university functions (teaching, research, and service) and be all-inclusive concerning the various stakeholders (male and female students, faculty members, and administrators)". At UEM the mainstreaming process also

encompasses the entire spectrum of university but it does not seem all-inclusive. As Chapter Seven will show, there are faculty members who are not aware of the existence of a GFP in their unit. "Gender mainstreaming demands putting the right policies in place and securing commitment and leadership at the highest level" (Van Houweling et al., 2015: 31). As indicated by Gender Unit employees, at UEM the leadership at the highest level is strongly committed with gender equality. The question I posed to my participants was: "is there a commitment to mainstreaming gender activities inside UEM?" Asking this question was important for understanding whether the commitment to mainstreaming gender issues at UEM exists only on paper or if it is also a reality in practice.

In the first FDG Gender Unit employees suggested that UEM is committed to mainstreaming gender activities across faculties and higher schools. They spoke about activities that UEM had conducted as a result of this commitment, such as the approval of a Master's Degree in Gender by the University Council in 2019. They also referred to changes they had noticed in the UEM academic community as a result of that commitment.

> There is so much insistence on talking about gender-related issues that there are visible changes in people's mindsets. Currently, when students are facing sexual harassment, they look for assistance from the Gender Unit. This situation was invisible in the past. Nowadays people have been informed about this centre as well as the work we provide. These changes exist mainly because at the top level this initiative is welcomed. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

Gender Unit employees had clearly seen shifts in the academic community. According to Brambilla (2001: 10), several factors should be measured in order to better understand changes experienced by people during the implementation of gender policies: cognitive (knowledge and perceptions), behavioural (practices and actions), and affective (attitudes and motivations). The quote above suggests that there may have been some cognitive and behavioural changes in the academic community. For instance, participants mentioned that as a result of the acknowledgment the academic community gained from the Gender Unit workshops, students facing sexual harassment looked to the Gender Unit for assistance. In the same FGD participants also recognised the commitment that exists

at the top level at UEM to mainstream gender. Participants mentioned UEM's Gender Strategy as well as the ongoing design of an instrument to regulate sexual harassment.[21]

Among Gender Unit employees there was a consensus that UEM had a strong commitment to gender mainstreaming. Some Gender Unit employees said that people were forced to learn about gender-related issues, as opposed to choosing to engage.

> Gender issues are raised as something compulsory. For instance, when people are designing a project, it is compulsory to explain how gender-based issues will be incorporated inside the project. Otherwise, automatically the project fails. Sometimes these projects have external sponsors. Even with external sponsors, if the project does not mention how gender-based issues will be incorporated, the project fails. (Male, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

According to a male participant, people are forced to demonstrate their knowledge regarding gender-related issues in their projects, not only in Mozambique but also internationally. Although this may seem like an imposition, it is obvious that this kind of obligatory measure can achieve positive results and may be necessary in contexts where gender issues tend to be ignored. At UEM, usually senior employees write and implement projects. To be able to explain how gender–related issues are applied in their projects requires basic knowledge in this matter. Making senior employees investigate issues concerning gender concepts may contribute to positive changes as they are required to engage with gender issues. Thus they (senior people) will become aware of the importance of implementing gender instruments in their units, making GFP activities easier. As discussed in 6.3.4, there are several advantages to easing GFP activities.

The female participants in the focus group did not mind that gender-related issues are raised as something compulsory. They were concerned with making people aware of such issues and how the latter could be applied on the ground. Typically one of them said:

> It does not matter if people do it as compulsory or not. The more important thing is that people become aware of how to deal with gender in projects. If people need to implement their projects, they will learn how to put into practice gender-related issues. If I see different people talking about the same issue, one day I can find someone who inspires me. Listening about

[21] Finally, in 2023 the UEM University Council approved an instrument to regulate harassment.

> gender from people who inspire me to defend the same cause, I can easily accept the message. That's why it is important to have different people e talking about the same subject in different places and contexts and include gender as a measure to assess projects. (Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1)

Repeated exposure, and from different quarters, to talk about gender issues was considered one way in which UEM staff could be encouraged to engage with this concern. Thus, apart from having gender as a requirement for project assessment, Gender Unit employees defended the importance of having different people talking about gender-related issues as a tool to enable people to become familiar with gender-based issues.

Similar to what was found in the first FGD, in the second FGD, there was broad consensus regarding UEM's commitment to mainstreaming gender. For instance, during the discussion, the Gender Unit employees mentioned the collaboration that exists between the Gender Unit and the Centre for Academic Development:

> The Gender Unit collaborates with the Centre for Academic Development. This centre provides training for the entire academic community. There is a module about gender awareness that the Gender Unit provides in this centre. Gender Mainstreaming in Research is one of the modules provided by the Gender Unit since 2017. (Male, Gender Unit employee FGD2)

The Centre for Academic Development does not belong to the Gender Unit. This centre is known by all UEM academic community as a centre that provides courses. If this centre agreed to provide a module about gender awareness, means that the higher level agreed with this collaboration, showing in this way the UEM commitment to mainstreaming gender across faculties and higher schools.
The FGDs with the Gender Unit employees proved to be very important. This method (FGDs) allowed me to gather information not only to respond to the second research question of this study but also to understand how the Gender Unit responsibilities are reflected in their practice.

In the following section, I discuss what the GFPs said in their focus groups. Similar to the FGDs held with the Gender Unit employees, there were also two different groups here. As mentioned previously,

five GFPs participated in the first FGD. However, only two agreed to attend the second FGD, presumably as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic.

6.3 Gender Focal Points' Perspectives

Given the fact that the Gender Focal Points **(**GFPs) are one of the interventions proposed by the Beijing Platform for Action (1995), many countries appointed GFPs in every government organisation to promote gender integration (Mangheni, Musiimenta, Boonabaana & Tufan, 2021: 3). However, according to Mangheni et al. (2021), the position of GFPs was often not established within the human resources structure. Therefore, the systems of recruitment, reporting, and accountability were not formalized, and the work of the GFPs was considered secondary (Mangheni et al., 2021: 8). At UEM because of the absence of a formalised system, there is no specific criterion to select GFPs. While some GFPs were appointed by their superiors, others were volunteers because of their previous experience and/or their belief in the value of the work for their units and the population they serve (Scala & Paterson, 2018: 118). This means that at UEM, existing staff were re-designated to take on the GFP role as an add-on to their main appointment as lecturers and/or administrative staff. This makes that job simply an extra burden and thereby reduces the potential effectiveness of the GFP in doing their job. Overall, at UEM the dean of each unit is responsible for identifying a GFP (Van Houweling, Christie & Abdel-Rahim, 2015: 32) and GFPs are supposed to perform gender activities just in their units.

6.3.1 *Participants' Perception of the Gender Policy*

Only two GFPs knew about the Gender Policy while the majority (five) were unfamiliar with this instrument. In the first FGD, they were all unfamiliar with this instrument. They had already heard about the UEM Gender Strategy, however.

> I heard that UEM recently approved the UEM Gender Strategy. Probably, this document [UEM Gender Strategy] was designed in response to that policy. I'm not sure. Even the UEM Gender Strategy has not yet been shared with us [Gender Focal Points]. (Male, GFP FGD1)

Thus whilst the participants knew of UEM's internal strategy, they had not actually encountered it. Training regarding the policy for these GFPs was hence not in place.

As previously mentioned, the second FGD was composed of only two GFPs. Although I am aware that this is not the best example of a FGD, I decided to include the information gathered from these two participants who constituted the second FGD for the study. One of these participants had been performing gender activities at one of the UEM faculties for 10 years and the other had been performing gender activities at one of the UEM higher schools for six years. In the second FGD when asked if they were familiar with the Gender Policy, both participants responded positively. Thus, one female GFP said: "Yes, I do. I was invited to a workshop at the Pedagogical Complex. This meeting was attended by the administrative deans and administrative staff." Although both GFPs were familiar with the Gender Policy, only one had attended the workshop in 2019 when the Gender Policy was disseminated to a very restricted audience, while the other participant had informally heard about this instrument at her unit when talking with her colleagues:

> I did not attend that workshop. I was not informed about that. But I know that this policy exists. I heard about this instrument in my unit while talking with my colleagues. Presumably, I was absent from this workshop because of the new Dean, I mentioned earlier[22]. Many things changed in my unit. When I received the invitation to attend this meeting, I was surprised. I was doubtful whether I still was the gender focal point of my unit [laughs]. (Female, GFP FGD2)

I interpret the above quote in three different ways: first, the fact that one GFP attended the dissemination of the Gender Policy and another GFP was not informed about this event suggests that at UEM, there is weak communication for GFPs. This situation may contribute to GFPs not identifying with the cause, hence a lack of ownership can emerge on the GFPs' side. This lack of ownership in turn will mean that GFPs spend very little effort on implementing the Gender Policy. Second, the fact that the GFP who did not attend the launch of the Gender Policy had a new dean, may be evidence that her dean was not aware of the existence of a GFP inside her/his unit. As Chapter Seven will show, throughout my interviews I had participants who did not know if their unit had a GFP. Not being aware of a GFP in their unit, there is no way to delegate someone to attend a meeting related to GFP issues. Third, the fact that a person is elected to assume an important position at UEM and is not made aware of her/his terms of reference, or in her/his terms of reference there is nothing

[22] Previously this female GFP shared that as soon as her unit changed manager, she no longer attended meetings and/or events related to gender-related issues. It is important to highlight in this context that in general, a UEM employee is allowed to attend an institutional meeting only with the consent of her/his superior.

related to GFP activities may be evidence that GFP activities are not a priority for the unit, and that gender mainstreaming activities at UEM are not properly coordinated. As reported by Van Houweling et al. (2015: 32), since the Gender Unit at UEM was set up in 2008, each dean of faculty and higher school has had the responsibility to identify and communicate with her/his GFP about gender-based issues. Each GFP with the assistance of the Gender Unit should be responsible for communicating gender awareness to their colleagues in their unit (Van Houweling et al., 2015: 32). However, this is clearly not happening.

To summarise, of the seven GFPs who participated in the FGDs, only two were familiar with the Gender Policy. Of those two, only one was invited to attend the launch of the Gender Policy at UEM. Apart from the weak communication system for and among GFPs at UEM, it is likely that inside UEM, there are deans who are not aware of a GFP inside their unit, suggesting that in deans' terms of reference, there is nothing concerning GFPs' activities. Hence at UEM there are GFPs who are not performing their tasks as they should. It is, of course, also possible that they simply ignore this issue because they do not subscribe to the gender cause.

6.3.2 *The GFPs'Role in Gender Mainstreaming*

Despite a political commitment to gender equality at the highest levels of the national government, inequalities persist between women and men in education (Ruprecht, 2005: 14). Ruprecht (2005: 14) considers that Gender Focal Points (GFPs) have an important responsibility because they are in a privileged position to promote gender equality. Mehra and Gupta (2006: 7) argue that the role of GFPs is to act as resource persons, complementing and supplementing the work of gender specialists, thereby extending the outreach of the Gender Unit within an organization. For Geisler, Mokgope, and Svanemyr (2009: 27), GFPs are responsible for both mainstreaming programs and paying attention to gender equality in internal staffing. According to Anyoni (2008: 14), "GFPs are people frequently appointed to promote attention to gender in their sector, in pursuance of policy commitments to gender mainstreaming, and to talk about gender awareness with their colleagues". This supposedly was the role given to the GFPs at UEM. However, they do not inhabit this role full-time; at UEM GFPs handle not only gender mainstreaming activities but also have the usual lecturing and or administrative duties. This has detrimental impacts on their gender-related activities.

I asked the participants to share their experiences concerning their daily activities related to gender issues. All five GFPs responded differently to the same question. In what follows I address some of these responses. As some participants said:

> We help our students to know how to be in HE through workshops. We created a psychosocial support office, only for ECA[23] students. The Gender Unit helped us to allocate some psychologists to assist our students. At the end of each semester, we organize workshops based on the subjects most presented to psychologists. This exercise is producing a positive effect. For instance, with the creation of the psychosocial support office, students feel safer and protected. Unfortunately, we do not have the resources to pay psychologists. So, we started working with a psychologist, those who finished their studies and are waiting for a job. As soon as they get a job, they quit us. (Female, GFP FGD1)

> The activities FACED[24] has carried out cover the university as a whole. We have a continuous training plan composed of 14 modules. One of the 14 modules addresses gender issues. This module on gender issues is taught twice a year. Once every semester. In this way, we think we are giving a contribution to the university community. (Female, GFP FGD1)

> I had meetings with the Gender Unit. In my faculty, we were pioneers in placing suggestions and complaints boxes. This measure arises in response to the situation that concerned us related to sexual harassment, not only from lecturers to the student but also from students to lecturers. These boxes were placed under the guidance of the Gender Unit. (Male, GFP FGD1)

The above quotes indicate a range of GFP activities, carried out at unit level rather than in a wholesale coordinated manner. This may be evidence of a lack of an official plan to be followed by all GFPs as well as evidence that they do not have terms of reference. Anyoni (2008: 17) argues that for GFPs to play their role effectively they should have clear and agreed upon terms of reference. If GFP activities do not follow a specific design from the Gender Unit or any other body to guide their activities, it suggests that on the one hand they may not be playing their role as effectively as possible and that at the end of the implementation process, the result will not be the same across the university. On the other hand, it is likely that because there may be different needs in diverse units, and therefore the strategy used to implement the Gender Policy is also different. This can also be positive. It may also simply be that different GFPs prioritize different activities.

In the FGDs, the GFPs talked enthusiastically about their activities. For instance, two GFPs shared that after they had attended the gender training about sexual harassment in the academic environment,

[23] ECA is the Portuguese abbreviation for Communication and Arts Higher School.
[24] FACED is the Portuguese abbreviation for Faculty of Education.

they had immediately exchanged ideas with their managers. They took the initiative to talk to their managers because, in their units, complaints regarding sexual harassment were not uncommon. As a result of their conversations with their managers, one GFP had been authorized to introduce complaint boxes in their faculty and another GFP had permission from her manager to organise a workshop for lecturers and students inside the unit to talk about sexual harassment. The GFPs said that because of sexual harassment, some female students decided to abandon their studies at UEM where the environment had become toxic for them. They moved to another HEI where they hoped that the environment would be less problematic. An effect of the complaint boxes according to GFPs was that female students seemed more confident in making complaints, and the perpetrators of sexual harassment were more likely to be afraid because they knew that in case of a complaint they could be punished.

> At least those colleagues who practiced sexual harassment may have been scared by the presence of these complaints boxes. There is a group of people composed of Gender Unit employees and faculty members, appointed by the dean of the faculty, to manage the content of the boxes. That group of people is responsible to follow up on the issues related to sexual harassment. (Male, GFP FGD1)

The above quote suggests that the complaints boxes had some impact. How far-reaching and continuous this is, is however a question.

A study by Barnes (2007: 11) on "Gender and institutional culture in African universities" indicated that attention is increasingly being paid to the prevalence of sexual harassment and gender-based violence on African campuses. The existence of sexual harassment at UEM suggests the prevalence of unequal power relations. Unequal power relations not only at UEM but also in other African universities are an indication that gender inequality is present in the processes, practices, images, and ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life, hence they are gendered institutions (Acker, 1992: 4).

While discussing GFP activities in the first FGD, I learnt that the majority (four) of the GFPs developed activities to benefit their own unit. Although this was the case, they also talked about the Faculty of Education where some gender activities benefitted the entire academic community.

> Those activities that the Faculty of Education is developing to benefit the entire university are precisely due to the existence of the CDA whose responsibility it is to provide courses for the academic community. It is easy for the GFP of this faculty to publicize the activities of the GFPs through the CDA and therefore benefit the majority of academic communities at once. (Female, GFP FGD1)

The fact that the CDA is placed at the Faculty of Education helps the GFP from this faculty to disseminate GFP activities. This situation is different in the other faculties and higher schools, where the GFPs have to work independently without CDA assistance. Therefore, one can assume that the GFP from the Faculty of Education has an advantage compared to other GFPs. The quote above also suggests that the dean of the Faculty of Education is in favor of GFP activities, otherwise, the GFP would not feel free to perform GFP activities with CDA assistance.

In the second FGD when GFPs were asked about their role, the participants responded in the following way: "We are responsible for sharing the information we receive from the Gender Unit with our peers." This seems a very limited interpretation of the role of the GFP, and indicates that different GFPs operate quite differently across the university.

GFPs are the link between their units and the Gender Unit. In this FGD both GFPs mentioned that they had attended a gender course titled "The female condom as the only female-initiative dual protection method" provided by PATHFINDER (an international NGO working on sexual reproductive health). After this course, both GFPs placed female condoms in their units and organized workshops to demonstrate how to use the female condom.

> The female condom as the only female-initiated dual protection method is a training organized by the Gender Unit and facilitated by PATHFINDER to the UEM GFPs. We invited PATHFINDER to explain to our students and the academic staff in general how to use the female condom. Although this initiative aimed to retain female students in higher education, to prevent illnesses, undesired pregnancies, and dropouts, and to practice safe sex, because of issues related to taboo, not all colleagues approved the initiative, claiming that by conducting such activities we were persuading students to practice sex. (Female, GFP FGD2)

Although initially both GFPs' managers agreed to the initiative to distribute female condoms to students and academic staff, after the initiative had been rejected by most colleagues, both GFPs' deans doubted their initial point of view. The female condoms were removed from the two units and handed to the Gender Unit. This clearly indicates some of the difficulties GFPs have in promoting changes in gendered attitudes. Although providing women with condoms is empowering them, it is possible that in the GFPs' deans' minds, only men should be in charge of condoms, meaning they want control over women's sexual life. Therefore, although empowerment is a tool to foster gender equality (Esquivel, 2016: 12), in conservative societies such as Mozambique women can be prevented from improving their life opportunities through men's power to determine women's lives. The fact that women in academe (UEM) were denied female condoms reveals the unequal power relations rooted in this HEI. These unequal power relations are guided by "multiple intersecting factors including the social and political structures of the society, cultural values, religious norms and ideologies of nations" (Ali, 2014: 119).

According to Anyoni (2008: 14), in Kenya evaluations of gender mainstreaming repeatedly and consistently concluded that effective gender mainstreaming in any context requires staff, variously referred to as GFPs, to take responsibility for supporting and sustaining gender work, and those GFPs need to be supported by their managers. Furthermore, Anyoni (2008: 14) emphasises that the role of GFPs is not to take full personal responsibility for gender work but to act as catalysts supporting and promoting gender-related skills and approaches amongst professional colleagues. In the same vein, Mehra and Gupta (2006: 7) state that "gender mainstreaming should not be only the concern and responsibility of GFPs but rather an essential part of the work of all members of staff". These scholars highlight that it is important that all staff have a sense of ownership over the way gender concerns are integrated into their work. They also observe that when mainstreaming is everyone's task, it may become nobody's responsibility. However, this is not exactly the case at UEM. The above mentioned incidents make clear that UEM GFPs generate initiatives to promote gender mainstreaming but these are not always welcomed or supported. In that sense some staff lack the critical reflection on gender that would enable them to support and be implementers of gender activities (Wang & Torrisi-Steele, 2015: 23). Cultural change is difficult and does take time, but incentives to integrate gender into their work in the university might facilitate the embedding of greater gender awareness.

In sum, regarding the GFPs' role in gender mainstreaming (GM), I noted that each GFP performed different activities from the others. This may be evidence that each unit has different priorities regarding GM. It may also be evidence that GFPs do not have terms of reference to guide their work. Their work is thus fragmented and unevenly distributed. Consequently, one can assume that GFPs at

UEM are not playing their role as effectively as might be possible. In the next section I address gender training.

6.3.3 *Short-term Gender Courses*

The Africa Union Gender Policy defines gender training as "the provision of formal learning experiences and skills to increase gender analysis and awareness skills" (Union, 2009: 34). Ruprecht (2005: 36) suggests that the object of gender training is to get participants to begin to question commonly held beliefs about women's and men's abilities and roles through the exchange of experiences. They should also acquire new skills to conduct their regular duties using a gender lens[25]. Quite recently Caparini (2020: 153) observed that although gender training seeks to raise awareness of the importance of a gender perspective, gender training efforts vary considerably despite the provision of standardised guidance and the encouragement of a standardised approach by the United Nations. As a result of this variation, experiences with gender training are often been less than satisfactory (Mehra & Gupta, 2006: 9). Mehra and Gupta (2006: 7) highlight some reasons that contribute to the failure of GFPs' work. These include: (i) GFPs often get marginalized; (ii) GFPs tend not to be gender experts themselves; (iii) GFPs are assigned focal point duties in addition to their routine responsibilities and can have trouble managing their competing time demands and responsibilities. The second and the third reasons specifically applied to the GFPs at UEM. At UEM no GFP who was part of my study was a gender expert, meaning that they had no particular qualifications in gender issues. Not being a gender expert, the probability of facing challenges is very high. Nevertheless, in order to overcome this gap, the Gender Unit provided short-term gender courses to all GFPs.

Regarding short gender courses, I asked the participants whether they had ever attended any training/workshop/seminar on gender-related issues. I sought to explore this because at the time I collected the data (in 2020), the GFPs at UEM had no professional qualification in gender[26]. In the first FGD, all GFPs had already attended several workshops. As a male GFP put it: "All of us have attended several gender training courses provided by the Gender Unit." Apparently, the GFPs started training immediately after the Gender Unit was set up. The Gender Unit provides gender training for

[25] *Gender lens* is the term used to describe a tool used by governments or NGOs to make sure they are addressing gender equality issues in their work. A gender lens can take the form of a list of questions, a short checklist of points to remember, or a form of analysis (Ruprecht, 2005: 11).

[26] Since 2021 UEM has had a Master's degree in Gender and Development (2021-2023), funded by the Swedish government, with priority given to GFPs. Other people who are interested in pursuing gender studies can also apply.

the entire academic community (students, lecturers, and administrative staff) including the GFPs. The participants in the first FGD mentioned that workshops and seminars for GFPs were provided both by the Gender Unit and by PATHFINDER. According to the GFPs, all gender training took place on the main campus of UEM. Some gender training GFPs mentioned during the FGDs included the topics (1) gender-based violence, (2) sexual harassment in the academic environment, (3) transformative gender leadership, (4) basic concepts about gender, (5) integrating the needs of women and men into institutional plans and budgets, (6) the female condom as the only female-initiated dual protection method, (7) HIV strategy in public service, (8) planning and budgeting from a gender perspective, and (9) the launch of the project Girls' Access to STEM courses. These gender courses were aligned with the four priorities that UEM identified for gender mainstreaming, namely (i) stereotypes and gender biases; (ii) the unequal division of responsibilities and work; (iii) reconciling academic, professional, and family life; and (iv) moral, labour, and sexual harassment (EGUEM, 2019: 6).

In the second FGD the participants also confirmed that they had already attended short gender courses. They said that each gender training lasted no more than one day. Similar to what had been said in the first FGD, the GFPs from the second FGD mentioned that some gender training was provided by the Gender Unit and others by PATHFINDER. During the discussion, a concern related to resistance was raised. Resistance concerns the institutional culture around gender. As previously indicated, a female GFP stated that following the appointment of her new dean, she no longer attended gender training.

> My unit has a new dean. I attended some training with the previous dean, such as basic concepts of gender and planning and budgeting from a gender perspective. With the new dean, things changed. Everything stopped. I no longer attend gender training. (Female, GFP FGD2)

From the quote, it is unclear why this was the case. Was this GFP forbidden to attend, or no longer given the relevant information by her dean, or…? Regarding this matter, Geisler et al. (2009: 6) suggest that sometimes GFPs receive little support from their leadership in their organizations. In previous work, Nesiah (2006: 8) argued that gender training should not be a once-off event, but ongoing and consistently refreshed. This was clearly not going to happen here. It may be that the new dean's attitude was related to UEM's institutional culture. I raise this possibility, based on Barnes' (2007) remarks. According to this scholar, African universities are gendered institutions which

privilege not only masculinist power but certain kinds of masculinist power over others (Barnes, 2007: 10). Barnes also mentions that institutional cultures in African universities continue to produce and reproduce ways of knowing that privilege certain kinds of maleness and marginalize other ways of knowing and of knowledge production. In any event, this occurrence highlights a challenge faced by GFPs, those UEM employees elected to deal with gender concerns at UEM.

The Gender Policy as well as the UEM Gender Strategy do not mention anything concerning gender training. Nonetheless, since at UEM all GFPs have no professional qualifications in gender, it should be compulsory to provide short gender courses as much as possible in order to allow GFPs to learn about gender-related issues in a more structured way. The fact that some faculty managers apparently prevent GFPs from attending gender training may result in problems in the implementation of gender mainstreaming activities. Since learning from short gender courses may enable GFPs to feel confident in performing their activities and indeed give them ideas for new activities, their absence from those short courses hinders the implementation of gender mainstreaming in some units at UEM. The behaviour presented by those managers who prevent GFPs from attending gender courses may be classified as resistance to change (Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014: 8). According to Mergaert and Lombardo (2014), such resistance to change can be occasional or repeated, but it is not necessarily part of a collective pattern. The fact that this was not a collective pattern at UEM is evidenced by some GFPs being able to attend courses.

Overall, despite GFPs at UEM having no professional qualification in gender, short-term gender courses supported most GFPs in some respects in performing their activities. Tellingly, the minority (two) GFPs who felt ill-equipped to perform their role were those who did not receive support from their managers. The big concern is with these GFPs. Mangheni et al. (2021: 14) suggest that it is an uphill task expecting GFPs to operate in an unsupportive institutional environment to drive the gender agenda. The good thing to be highlighted is that, although resistance to change was identified in some deans' behaviour, systematic institutional resistance to the implementation of mainstreaming at UEM was not detected. As suggested by Mergaert and Lombardo (2014: 8), institutional resistance takes place when resistance is found at a collective level. This was not the case here. I shall move to address how free GFPs felt to talk about gender issues inside their units.

6.3.4 *Freedom to Articulate Gender-related Issues*

Mainstreaming gender equality is a highly sensitive issue and is often met with staff resistance (Mehra & Gupta, 2006: 7; Anyoni, 2008: 17; Ylöstalo, 2016: 14). Resistance to gender initiatives can emerge during all the processes of gender mainstreaming implementation and show that equality is not a priority for the resisting person or that they feel threatened by it. Mergaert and Lombardo (2014: 8) identify two types of resistance: individual and institutional. "While individual resistance is expressed through the action or inaction of an individual to oppose gender change, institutional resistance is revealed by a pattern of aggregated action or inaction that is systematically repeated and that suggests a collective orchestration to oppose gender change" (Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014: 8). Mergaert and Lombardo (2014) also indicate that both individual and institutional resistance can be expressed in two different ways:

> (i) explicitly when actors oppose gender equality initiatives through their actions and discourses or do not do what they ought to do to advance gender equality even when they are made aware of gender equality commitments, and (ii) implicitly verified by observing the extent to which actors, in their discourses and inactions or inadequate actions, distance themselves from the goal of gender equality itself. (Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014: 8)

Mergaert and Lombardo (2014) suggest that some reasons for resistance are related to:

> (i) The fact that gender mainstreaming challenges people's identity and beliefs. Gender mainstreaming provokes reflections about people's own gender roles and stereotypes, sometimes making subjects feel exposed to criticism or suggesting a need for changes in the personal identity that they have constructed. This questioning of the personal sphere can trigger reactions of fear and self-protection that can move people to develop attitudes of resistance;

and

> (ii) The fact that the goal of transforming gender relations is considered to be feminist and thus excessively based on ideological and emotional rather than rational, scientific, or legal arguments. (Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014: 9)

The question I asked the study participants was: "Are you comfortable talking about gender issues in your unit?" In the first FGD, the majority (four) GFPs affirmed that they felt comfortable talking

about gender issues, mainly because they had the full support from their managers. “Yes, I do. I have no barrier because our leadership is interested in me doing this work at the faculty level.” (Female, GFP FGD1) Nonetheless, although the GFPs seemed to feel secure in addressing gender issues, during the discussion they mentioned the existence of different challenges they faced while performing their activities. One of these came from colleagues who disavowed the importance of gender issues.

> To date, many colleagues consider that gender does not work. This issue is not important for our institution. You know how UEM is. These negative comments from colleagues to some extent discourage performing GFP activities. They say that gender is a utopia. It is very difficult talking to people and trying to change their mindset. (Female, GFP FGD1)

This quote suggests that there are UEM employees who believe that UEM is not committed to gender-related issues. Consequently, they do not pay attention to what GFPs intend to share with them. There is both active resistance and resignation here ("You know how UEM is."). But how UEM is does not have to be how it will always be, and although changing people’s minds is an uphill struggle, it is a struggle worth engaging in.

The above-mentioned view resembles the findings by Lombardo and Mergaert (2013:11) who reported that GFPs face different forms of verbal resistance throughout their work, for instance: “(i) we cannot afford to deal with this issue now. There are more pressing priorities; (ii) it is not my problem. I am not responsible because I did not create it; (iii) the issue is too complex. There is no quick-fix solution. Time will fix the problem”. De Marco and Toto (2019: 27) argue that gender issues are not always easy to introduce and discuss owing to the social values they are linked to and because they have long been considered taboo. Nevertheless, these scholars stress that discussing gender issues in academia is important for raising the academic community’s awareness on these topics, strengthening their ethical value, and increasing their gender sensitivity.

Another important piece of information shared in this FGD was that not all managers were supportive. Study participants involved in my study did not know precisely how many managers were not supportive, but they commented that in some faculties GFPs perform their activities without any support from their managers. Some participants mentioned that in some units, deans refuse to talk with GFPs about gender activities claiming that gender is not the faculty priority. One person gave

this example of a response received from her manager when she tried to address issues related to gender: “Gender is not our priority. We need to be focused on our faculty mission.” (Female, GFP FGD1)

Since the GFPs observed that at UEM some but not all managers rejected gender activities, it is likely that those who rejected them constitute individual but presumably socio-culturally conditioned resistance to change. The individual resistance of those faculty deans has negative consequences not only because it discourages GFPs from performing gender activities but also because some faculties will be far behind concerning gender mainstreaming activities. Resistance to change is a concept that helps explain why gender policies succeed or fail within gendered institutions (Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014: 15). Nesiah (2006: 8) found that GFPs face resistance from all levels of staff, from senior management through to field staff. Resistance according to this scholar can come from conservative interests at the political and institutional levels and is closely linked to organizational culture. Like Nesiah (2006), Moser and Moser (2005: 7) also recognize that organizational culture and gender training success in gender awareness are connected. Moser and Moser (2005: 7) emphasize that in an organizational culture that is male-biased, in terms of attitudes and working conditions, gender commitments are not rigorously pursued. Other problems identified by Anyoni (2008: 32) that hinder GFPs from gender mainstreaming include the weak influencing power commanded by GFPs, the evaporation of gender policies when it comes to implementation, and the difficulty of gender mainstreaming in the face of a gender-biased organisational culture. All of this applies at UEM.

In the second FGD, when I asked participants whether they were comfortable talking about gender issues in their unit, one participant said yes, but the other said no. Clearly, the units where managers are supportive will be more advanced in comparison with other units regarding the implementation process. Resistance also results in an unequal implementation of gender activities which is not desirable from the institution’s point of view.

Feminist theory helps to understand how the culture of an institution has implications for the degree of resistance encountered in the implementation of gender mainstreaming (Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014: 15). Here I draw on postcolonial feminist theory and patriarchal culture to explain these matters. Postcolonial feminist theory is concerned with the representation of women in previously colonized countries (Tyagi, 2014: 45). A postcolonial feminist perspective draws attention to the forces that maintain, sustain, and encourage unequal relations of power (Darroch & Giles, 2014:29). At UEM, similar to many other African universities, the institutional culture (male-biased) reproduces ways of

knowing that privilege a certain kind of maleness, contributing to maintaining unequal power relations. Given this, people can easily refuse to collaborate in ideas and/or activities aimed to generate gender equality. In addition to having been a colonized country under a patriarchal regime, Mozambique has an African-culture-based patriarchal structure (Mateus, 2017: 13). Colonisation and patriarchalism are two powerful systems that impact negatively on opportunities for women. The fact that UEM is a male-dominated environment means that its culture tends to protect male privileges and power. Consequently, initiatives to implement gender mainstreaming are likely to face opposition (Mergaert & Lombardo, 2014: 15).

In sum, regarding the freedom GFPs had to address gender issues, my study indicates:
(i) the existence of verbal resistances regarding GFPs' activities that demotivate GFPs in performing their activities. These verbal resistances are associated with UEM employees who do not believe that gender is an important matter for UEM;
(ii) in some faculties and higher schools, GFPs perform their activities without any support from their managers. Their managers claim that gender is not their faculty and/or higher school's priority;
(iii) although gender-based training is very important and allows participants to question commonly held beliefs about women's and men's roles (UNESCO, 2005), only GFPs whose deans are committed to the idea of mainstreaming gender issues at the university are able to participate in such courses.

While conducting these FGDs I followed up with a question that sought to understand if each unit had an activity plan to integrate gender activities. This is discussed below.

6.3.5 *The Gender Action Plan*

The Gender Action Plan (GAP) is the roadmap for gender activities that gender policies implementers adopt (Verge, 2020: 238). "A GAP includes a range of strategies, activities, resources, gender capacity-building initiatives, targets, and indicators for ensuring that women, along with men, participate in and benefit from all components of the project or program" (Hunt, Lateef & Thomas, 2007: 6). Hunt et al. (2007: 7) state that the GAP supports the implementation phase of the policy. It refines and details strategies, activities, and targets and ensures that responsibilities and resources are allocated to implement and monitor all GAP elements.

Mehra and Gupta (2006) recommend six components to include in a GAP in order to deliver gender equality results. They list these as follows:

> (i) structured training opportunities for project team members and other stakeholders to promote ownership and commitment to the cause; (ii) a participatory approach to ensure all team members understand why resources are allocated to specific measures to ensure women benefit; (iii) realistic targets that can be achieved through step-by-step progress closely linked to project objectives; (iv) step-by-step actions spelled out to accomplish each gender-related target and flexible implementation and a learn-as-you-go approach to address unanticipated constraints; (v) leadership to overcome challenges and resistance during implementation; and (vi) consistent monitoring of indicators suitable to assess progress across all gender activities. (Mehra and Gupta, 2006: 13)

Regarding the GAP, I sought to figure out whether the GFPs' units had a plan to integrate gender issues. Since GFPs are people with the responsibility for spearheading the gender mainstreaming in their department/unit (Anyoni, 2008: 17), they should be guided by a tool such as a GAP. On the ground, I found that across units, each faculty and higher school designed its own strategy. In general, units focus on concerns that worry their peers. Then the GFP in collaboration with her/his manager designs a plan to solve the problem. In the first FGD with GFPs, three participants (two from faculties and one from a higher school) out of the five participants who attended the group interview had a plan in their unit and their plan was known to the Gender Unit. According to one participant, "There is a plan at the university level." (Female, GFP FGD1) The plan involved the establishment and running of a module dealing with gender issues. By developing this module, UEM demonstrated its willingness to try to mainstream gender across faculties and higher schools. However, one stand-alone module will not achieve this. Gender mainstreaming means including gender concerns in all modules, not just in one. At best this one module, hardly integrated anywhere, can be said to constitute a first attempt at getting gender mainstreaming in the curriculum off the ground. It is also insufficient to count as a GAP. It is but a small element in such a GAP.

In the same FGD, two GFPs said that their units did not have a plan to integrate gender activities. They said that the Gender Unit visited their units to talk about the module it had set up but there was some reluctance to include the module in their curriculum.

> The centre [Gender Unit] visited faculties and higher schools to talk about this module [Life Skills]. Moreover, the centre also provided workshops on gender-based issues to all faculty staff including deans. Unfortunately, to date, this module has not been included in our faculty's curriculum [laughs ...]. In addition to the Gender Unit informing faculties and higher

> schools about the existence of this module, the UEM has institutional documents that inform faculties about the existence of this module. (Female, GFP FGD1)

One could argue that every institution has to start somewhere and that one module is better than nothing. But it would also be possible to specify measures that necessitated engaging with gender issues more significantly and more rapidly although such an approach would require significant support from the leadership of the institution. This would be one way of counteracting some deans' reluctance to include this module in their curricula.

In the second FGD with two GFPs when I asked about the GAP, both participants responded negatively. They said that although the Gender Unit had recommended that each GFP should design an activity plan in coordination with their manager, their unit had not complied with that recommendation. Both GFPs confirmed that they had shared this recommendation with their dean, but they were still waiting for a response. The quote below was by a woman who had been a GFP for 10 years.

> Last year [2019], we talked to our dean about the necessity to draw up an activity plan that the Gender Unit knew about. A plan is important not only for our daily activities but also for training. It is important to know that in a certain period our faculty is going to train lecturers on this matter, in another period our students are going to be trained, and so on. This is important to make the Gender Unit's work easier. The centre needs to know that in a specific month, they will be in unit X or Y for training. We are aware of the necessity to draw up an activity plan. (Female, GFP FGD2)

This statement indicates that although the deans were made aware of the necessity to design an activity plan, a year on some GFPs were still waiting for their dean's feedback regarding this recommendation. This delay from the deans' side may be evidence that this is not considered a priority.

Because of the delay in the deans' responses, I decided to ask a probing question to find out how often GFPs had meetings with their managers, as well as with the Gender Unit. Thus I found that contact between GFPs and the dean of their units was rare.

> In addition to being a GFP, I am also responsible for Information and Communication Technologies. Most of the time, I am in the ICT room working with students. I rarely see my dean. (Female, GFP FGD2)

This GFP clearly had too much to do to be able to chase meetings with her dean who her-/himself clearly could not be bothered to initiate regular meetings of any frequency. Further, the GFPs revealed that the number of meetings scheduled between GFPs and the UEM Gender Unit was not specified. In other words, there was no official plan for the Gender Unit to talk with GFPs, nor for GFPs to talk to their managers.

> I do not know exactly how often the meeting with the Gender Unit happens. There is no schedule. We rely on their invitation. But I believe that whenever there is an event at the Gender Unit gender focal points are invited. (Female, GFP, FGD2)

If a GFP who has been performing GFP activities for 10 years is not aware of any schedule to facilitate GFP work and meetings with the Gender Unit, this clearly shows a lack of planning and commitment. If the Gender Unit announces meetings without a previous plan, the probability of many GFP being absent due to other commitments is very high. As mentioned previously, at UEM GFPs are also lecturers and/or administrative staff in addition to performing GFPs activities. In other words, GFPs are not 100% available to the Gender Unit. Overall, only three units out of the seven who participated in this study had developed a GAP that was known by Gender Unit.

Conducting FGDs with GFPs provided information about a range of ideas and feelings that the participants had about the Gender Policy. These included:

(i) The Gender Unit's lack of financial resources for implementing its activities adequately;
(ii) Not all units had a GAP on behalf of the Gender Unit to monitor GFP activities;
(iii) Neither the Gender Policy nor the UEM Gender Strategy were shared with GFPs at the time of the FGDs;
(iv) Only a few units included the module Life Skills in their curriculum. Nevertheless, this module was recommended by UEM for the entire university to include in their curricula as part of the Gender Policy implementation;
(v) There was no schedule for meetings between GFPs, their deans, and the Gender Unit.

6.4 Conclusion

The intention of this chapter was to analyse the empirical data collected at UEM about the perceptions of Gender Unit employees and GFPs on the process of implementing the Gender Policy. Specifically, FGDs with Gender Unit employees were conducted to gather information to answer the second research question of this study, namely, w*hich activities has the UEM gender unit undertaken to implement the Gender Policy at UEM?*

The FGDs with the GFPs were conducted to find out:

(i) The GFPs' role during the implementation of the Gender Policy;

(ii) If the GFPs had been given any training for the implementation of the policy; and

(iii) If the GFPs had an activity plan to implement gender issues into their units.

In respect of knowledge of the Gender Policy, the FGDs showed that the vast majority of Gender Unit employees (six) were unfamiliar with the Gender Policy. This finding suggests the existence of communication problems inside the Gender Unit. There was, however, among the Gender Unit employees, a greater awareness of the UEM Gender Strategy, an official document designed to implement the Gender Policy. This finding let me to believe that Gender Unit employees designed the UEM Gender Strategy without knowing its ultimate goal and without proper reference to the Gender Policy.

To reduce gender inequalities at UEM, the Gender Unit has been implementing a variety of activities such as the Open Day, the Gender Week, visits to secondary school, and gender awareness workshops. Nevertheless, all those activities are only implemented in Maputo, apparently due to scarcity of resources.

Although the UEM Strategic Plan (2018-2028) mentions that gender is a priority for UEM and during the individual interviews with the University Council members, they also confirmed that gender is a priority for this HEI, I found various challenges, including unsupportive attitudes from some deans, which demotivate GFPs to perform their activities. The deans' behaviour might be evidence that the legacy left by colonialism is still present in people's minds as well as that gender stereotypes continue to prevail.

The vast majority (five) of GFPs were unfamiliar with both the Gender Policy and the UEM Gender Strategy. This finding is quite scary because GFPs are people elected to deal with gender-based issues inside their unit and they are supposed to work directly with the Gender Unit.

A continuing concern regarding sexual harassment was raised among the GFPs. Of the total of seven GFPs who attended the FGDs, only two reported that their units had taken clear measures against this matter. It is likely that other units do not take clear measures regarding this concern because at the time I conducted the fieldwork (2020), the university did not have any instrument to deal with sexual harassment.

Short-term gender courses allowed most (five) GFPs to perform some gender activities confidently. The majority of the GFPs who indicated that they had the technical capacity to perform gender activities were those who had support from their managers. And the minority (two) GFPs who felt ill-equipped for performing their roles were those who lacked that support. The absence of support in some units will result in an unequal implementation of the Gender Policy.

There were hardly any GAPs, or planned meetings between the GFPs and the Gender Unit, or the GFPs and their managers. If GFPs in addition to performing gender activities, are lecturers and/or administrative staff, they need a clear plan to better organize their activities. Otherwise, when the Gender Unit invites them to attend a certain meeting they will not be able to attend because of other activities such as lecturing, for instance, where these activities are planned at the beginning of the academic year. It is, therefore, crucial that in order to create change and reduce inequalities in this HEI it is important to ensure that the implementers receive full support from their managers. Managers are part of the solution. However, some managers are behaving in a way that does not help the development of gender activities in their units. Because of this, urgent measures need to be taken by the Gender Unit to intervene with those managers who are still heavily influenced by patriarchal mindsets.

In the next chapter I discuss my findings from the individual interviews.

CHAPTER 7. UNEVEN DEVELOPMENTS: FINDINGS FROM THE INTERVIEWS WITH THE UCM

7.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the central findings identified in the interviewees' accounts. The dominant themes that emerged were: (1) knowing about the Gender Policy, (2) knowledge about and relations with Gender Focal Points, (3) the UCMs' perceptions of women in leadership positions, (4) women's voices in a male-dominated environment, (5) institutional commitment to improving gender inequalities, and (6) the weakness of the implementation process. I analyse these below.

7.2 Knowing about the Gender Policy

According to Stromquist (1999: 5), policies are proposed solutions to operational problems. They are intentions, and sometimes there is a significant gap between the purpose and the practice (Stromquist, 1999: 5). Stromquist explains that gender policies are often developed by governments in response to troubles faced by women, and they result from some form of social pressure (1999: 5). The Gender Policy 2015-2025 was formulated by the Mozambican Government. It was launched in 2015 and was intended to be implemented over 10 years. This policy applies to all HEIs in Mozambique. Throughout this chapter, and with a greater focus on theme number five (institutional commitment), issues related to this Gender Policy will be discussed.

As with the other research participants, these interviewees too were asked, "Are you familiar with the Gender Policy?" Asking this question made it easier for me to proceed with the interviews after determining to what extent members of the University Council knew about this policy. Although most University Council members (UCM) acknowledged the existence of this policy. The discussion of its dissemination as well as monitoring provided me with insights into the possible roots for the persistence of gender inequalities at UEM. The following paragraphs illustrate this. When participants in the study were asked if they were aware of the Gender Policy, of the 13 respondents a high number, 11, said that they were. Gusmão and Juvêncio, both employees at UEM who had been working as UCM for four and five years respectively, said:

> **Gusmão**: "I know that the policy belongs to the Ministry of Higher Education."
> **Juvêncio**: "I am happy to know that we are going to talk about the Gender Policy. The [UEM] Gender Strategy was recently approved by the University Council. When I saw the Gender Strategy, I noticed that it is related to Gender Policy."

Both Gusmão and Juvêncio knew about Gender Policy and also which institution of the Mozambican government the policy emanated from. Juvêncio's response also indicates that he understood the connection between this policy and the UEM Gender Strategy. Clayton and Collins (2014: 282) argue that stakeholders should be familiar with the Gender Policy since that knowledge contributes to a more effective implementation. In *Gender Profile in Mozambique* Segola et al. (2016: 14) emphasise that the biggest challenge in Mozambique is the implementation of policies and national strategies that defend the rights of women and girls because policies are not always adequately known by those accountable for implementing them. The question is of course what 'adequately known' here means. And: knowing something is not the same as knowing it in detail or indeed implementing it.

Of the 11 participants who confirmed that they were aware of Gender Policy, three (João, José, and Carlota) emphasised that the Gender Policy was not only important for UEM but for all HEIs in Mozambique. One of the participants, Jorge, someone who had worked as a UCM for a year, expressed his concern regarding the efficacy of the Gender Policy and said:

> **Jorge**: "I heard about the Gender Policy, UEM's Gender Strategy, but I do not know if those instruments changed anything. In my faculty, we always had more female students than males. Because of having more female students, we also have more female lecturers. In management, we always had more men. In terms of deans, for the past five years, only one dean was a woman."

Jorge's statement shows that even in a female environment, the preference for management positions is men. In another conversation Georgina who had served as a UCM for 29 years, similarly expressed her concern about the policy.

> **Georgina**: "I know about the Gender Policy because I am a member of the University Council, otherwise I would not know about its existence. It seems to me that there is no concern with gender issues, and they are not treated objectively."

Georgina's statement suggests that the Gender Policy is only discussed in the context of the University Council so that only the members of that Council know about it. An interesting point was made by João when introducing himself: "I am here to give my contribution to a somewhat neglected but very important subject." Similar to Georgina, João's response seems to indicate that people do not

prioritise gender issues - the subject is 'neglected'. These statements indicate that although there is knowledge of the Gender Policy at UEM, a number of the respondents expressed concern with its implementation and wider knowledge about the policy.

In contrast to the previous participants, two other participants, Lissungo and Carlos, had never heard of the Gender Policy. Lissungo was a substitute UCM. She attended the University Council meetings only if one of her colleagues from the administrative staff was not available. Carlos had been a member of the University Council for less than a year. When I asked them about the Gender Policy they responded as follows:

> **Lissungo**: "No, I do not know. I am a substitute University Council member. I only attend the University Council's meeting in case one of my colleagues from the administrative staff is not available."
> **Carlos**: "No. This was a novelty. I know about the National Research Fund's Gender Policy but this higher education policy I have never heard about."

Carlos knew about a Gender Policy from another institution, not from UEM. As mentioned earlier, Carlos became a UCM only a year before my field work (2019). Carlos had never heard of this instrument. An analysis of the individual interviewees' responses shows that most (11) study participants knew about the existence of the Gender Policy and a minority (2) said that they had never heard about it. Although most of the UCM were aware of the Gender Policy, some did not know how the policy had been implemented or monitored. This is illustrated in Gomes' and Gusmão's accounts below:

> **Gomes**: "Yes, I have heard about the Gender Policy. Because of this, I have something to suggest to the University Council. One problem with the functionality of the University Council is the lack of feedback about how policies are being implemented. We do not know how the implementation is happening."
> **Gusmão**: "I have heard about that Gender Policy, but little is known about monitoring. Who monitors at the unit level? They release documents, we take group photos, but we do not receive feedback on how things are happening on the ground."

Gomes' and Gusmao's concerns regarding the policy related to implementation and monitoring. The same concern (monitoring) had already been raised in a different context, in Spain (Catalan public university) in 2018 by Verge et al. In exploring factors that constitute barriers to implementing gender policies in tertiary education, Verge et al. (2018) found that a lack of monitoring leads to the breakdown of implementing gender policies (Verge et al., 2018: 92). Monitoring is defined as the ordinary gathering, examination, and delivery of information and data on the development of the activities and programs that are being implemented (Brambilla, 2001: 5). Brambilla (2001: 7) highlights that monitoring and evaluation mechanisms promote the implementation of policy since they appraise the influence of the activities of a development program or policy on the target audience and evaluate whether the goals have been achieved. Similarly, the Gender Policy states that "a crucial element in the monitoring of this policy is the regular dissemination (annually) of information, to different stakeholders (implementers, managers, beneficiaries, partners and the media)" (CNAQ, 2015: 15). When gender mainstreaming policies are applied at an institutional level, strategies to monitor and evaluate their development must be in place (Brambilla, 2001: 13). During the interview process, I asked participants about the policy monitoring process and there were significant differences in their responses. Juvêncio, Gomes, and João, for example, said the following:

> **Juvêncio**: "The Gender Unit and Gender Focal Points (GFP) should monitor the implementation of the Gender Policy."
> **Gomes**: "Each faculty and higher school must monitor how the policy is being implemented in its unit. It is at the faculty level that it is necessary to measure how the implementation is done. Management should start at the faculty level."
> **João**: "I know about the existence of a commission composed of members of the Gender Unit and Pedagogic Office who are responsible for measuring the implementation process."

The quotes above highlight, unexpectedly, that among UCM there was no consensus regarding who was responsible for the monitoring. In *Gender and Monitoring: A Review of Practical Experiences* Brambilla (2001: 7) suggests that

> as monitoring is generally guided by the interests of the stakeholders who carry out the process, the exercise is likely to be focused on specific issues that could be instrumental in achieving the results desired by these stakeholders. The monitoring process could then be biased and neglect relevant information on changes to gender relations. (Brambilla, 2001: 4)

Since the UCM were not sure who was responsible for overseeing the monitoring process, each unit is likely to do the monitoring process in its way or possibly not at all. As a result, each unit may achieve only the results guided by their own interests, or none. While the UCM were not sure who is supposed to monitor the policy implementation, they seemed to be very sure that the instrument was not disseminated widely. For instance,

> **Juliana**: "I think it [the Gender Policy] needs to be disseminated. More people need to know. At UEM, for example, people talk about gender only during the gender week, once a year."

Juliana clearly thought that the Gender Policy was not yet well spread across UEM. She also thought that gender–related issues were not spoken about frequently by people at UEM. Juliana's response was mirrored by another interviewee, Georgina. This was in line with Moser and Moser's findings (2005: 7) that a Gender Policy must be extensively disseminated across the university community because all staff share obligations regarding the process of mainstreaming gender activities. The Strategy for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (2018-2028) states that "gender equality is achieved when women and men enjoy the same rights and possibilities across all sectors of society, including economic engagement and decision-making, and when different behaviours, ambitions of women and men are equally precious and favoured" (Union, 2019: 8). This achievement seems somewhat far off at present in respect of UEM.

Contrary to Juliana's and Georgina's accounts, Juvêncio said that the Gender Policy had been disseminated in different ways at UEM. Juvêncio had been working for the University Council for five years. In addition to being a UCM, Juvêncio was also a member of the Gender Unit's Council. In the following account, Juvêncio mentions different ways through which the policy was shared.

> **Juvêncio**: "Each faculty and higher school at UEM has a Gender Focal Point (GFP). Therefore, the Gender Unit works with GFPs on gender-related issues. All documents discussed at the University Council level, related to gender equality, including this Gender Policy, are disseminated through printed copies, the centre for communication and marketing (hereafter CECOMA), WhatsApp of the focal points, and the Gender Unit's E-mail."

Contrary to some UCMs, Juvêncio was aware that at UEM each faculty and higher school has a GFP. And different ways of communicating the Gender Policy were clearly available. However, as quite a

few members of a core body of the university think it has not been widely disseminated, this suggests that the available dissemination mechanisms are not working well. And some GFPs' experiences of lack of support from their deans, discussed in the previous chapter, underwrite this.

Jorge, dean of one of the UEM faculties, mentioned in his interview that in the past the Gender Unit used to visit faculties to disseminate the Gender Policy. They came to his faculty to talk about this instrument.

> **Jorge**: "The Gender Unit organised workshops in my faculty aimed to disseminate the Gender Policy to the academic community. The Gender Unit organised different workshops for different groups. I attended as a lecturer. I was not yet the dean of the faculty. In those workshops, we were very few lecturers."

Jorge's testimony suggests that in addition to the means of disseminating information talked about by Juvêncio, the Gender Unit also visited faculties with the same purpose. However, at least at Jorge's faculty very few people attended the meeting. The fact that very few people attended may be an indication that the meeting was not publicized in advance or enough. It is also possible that staff at Jorge's faculty were not interested in gender-related issues. Overall, the participants' comments show that there was no consensus regarding the dissemination of the Gender Policy. This finding reflects the statements in the first FGD with the Gender Unit employees, discussed in the previous chapter, when they complained about the poor dissemination of this instrument.

In an attempt to further understand the situation around gender mainstreaming at UEM I explored the issue of GFPs with the UCMs. The African Union Gender Policy (2009: 19) acknowledges the importance of the GFPs' role in mainstreaming gender issues within an institution. Below I discuss the UCMs' knowledge of GFPs.

7.3 The Gender Focal Points

The Mozambican Gender Policy does not mention any concrete task that needs to be performed by GFPs. Similarly, the African Union Gender Policy does not mention specific activities that are supposed to be performed by GFPs. GFPs therefore do not have publicly defined roles. Hence the question I posed to the UCMs was: 'Do you know the GFP of your unit?' Asking this question was important because at UEM GFPs are people identified and selected within academic units, supposed

to deal with the gender mainstreaming strategy and build capacities among colleagues to incorporate gender into their daily activities.

In the interviews it became clear that although the University Council had agreed to mainstream gender issues across the faculties and higher schools, some members still did not know who the GFPs in their respective units were. This lack of information represents a serious challenge to the effectiveness of the implementation of the Gender Policy. Among my interviewees, Juliana, Carlos, and Lissungo indicated that they knew about the GFPs in their units. As Juliana put it: "There is an effort from the Gender Unit's side to make possible that each unit has a GFP. In my unit, the GFP was chosen based on the terms of reference suggested by the Gender Unit." Carlos belonged to one of the higher schools at UEM located outside Maputo. The unit to which he was affiliated had a GFP as well as a group responsible for discussing issues concerning gender mainstreaming. As he said: "My unit created a group to discuss gender-related issues. This group is composed of lecturers, students, and administrative staff, including the GFP." And although Lissungo knew the GFP in her unit, when I asked her about activities that the GFP had done to contribute to gender equality she told me that "the gender focal point has already been identified but activities have not yet started." It may be that activities had not yet started because the GFP was facing some difficulties in managing the GFP activities as well as her/his regular responsibilities, or there may be other reasons for this inactivity.

Concerning GFP activities, Ismail (2012: 8) suggests that the activities that are supposed to be performed by GFPs include: (i) making reports consisting of inputs to gender issues under their respective organizational jurisdiction; (ii) giving input to speeches, notes, interventions or reports to be submitted at international conferences or meetings and; (iii) giving assistance to the smooth implementation of gender mainstreaming initiatives in their respective context. In a previous study, Geisler et al. (2009: 25) reported that GFPs are responsible for ensuring that departments follow gender mainstreaming instructions, and establish gender-sensitive projects and programmes. In concrete terms, Geisler et al. (2009: 25) consider that GFPs are supposed to: "(i) guarantee that each department implements the national Gender Policy; (ii) make sure that gender issues are frequently considered in departmental strategic planning exercises; (iii) ensure that departments provide and use gender-disaggregated data in their work and; (iv) co-ordinate gender training and education of all staff within departments". But Mehra and Gupta (2006: 7) argue that when GFPs are assigned focal point duties in addition to their regular responsibilities, they may encounter difficulties in managing

these. Geisler et al. (2009: 27) too state that GFPs have multiple responsibilities which often make it hard for them to focus and generate an effect in terms of their individual roles. This might be one of the reasons why some GFPs at UEM do not perform gender activities.

Further discussion showed that in contrast to Carlos, Juliana and Lissungo, other UCMs did not know about the GFP in their units. For example, Gomes and Georgina said:

> **Gomes**: "This is another problem. The gender focal point should be a person who builds capacities among her or his colleagues for incorporating gender into their units. Up to now, I do not know who the gender focal point in my unit is, neither what she/he does."
> **Georgina**: "I did not know that my unit had a gender focal point. Practically, I live in my faculty. If we had a GFP I would know her/him [laughs]. So, we create institutions, we put people in, and then nothing happens."

It may be that Georgina did not know about her unit's GFP simply because her unit does not have a GFP. If this is the case, Georgina's dean is refusing to comply with resolution 5/CUN/2008 which created the UEM Gender Unit and requires each faculty and higher school to identify a GFP.
Overall, the comments by the interviewees showed that only three of the 11 respondents knew the GFPs in their units, and that despite resolution 5/CUN/2008. This lack of awareness and the roles they are meant to assume obviously has a negative impact on gender mainstreaming efforts.

Given that relatively little was known by key decision-makers in the university about GFPs, it is perhaps not surprising that they also manifested stereotypical gender assumptions when it came to women in management positions. In my research, I asked the UCMs about their thoughts about women in management positions to get them to reflect on their own gendered assumptions (Bernard et al., 2005: 16). The UCMs could begin to see how traditional gender norms might impact on their assumptions, which is a fundamental first step on the road to gender equality (Bernard et al., 2005: 16). I analyse these below.

7.4 UCM's Perceptions of Women in Leadership Positions

Although in general, more women occupy managerial positions in some institutions such as South African HEIs, gender asymmetries in higher education leadership remain a worldwide concern (Kele & Pietersen, 2015: 11; Moodly & Toni, 2019: 181). Apart from their view that women themselves are often hesitant to put themselves forward for advancement, Moodly and Toni's (2017: 138)

acknowledge the following factors that contribute to the slow progress of women: “i) the restricted number of women applying for leadership positions; ii) inadequate support for professional effectiveness and career progression, and iii) institutional cultures that favour men over women”. In previous work, Odhiambo (2011: 677) has highlighted that in many African universities, a mixture of historical, social, cultural, and economic factors may explain the under-representation of women in management positions. Although Odhiambo (2011: 677) argues that improving women’s engagement in leadership roles is essential to enhance the liberty, rights, and opportunities for all women worldwide, female leaders in most African countries are faced with “a culture of exclusion in the form of male dominance, muting of women’s voices, as well as male patterns of networking” (Moodly & Toni, 2019: 176). In addition to unfriendly institutional cultures, a culture of silence around women’s matters, and patriarchal practices are among the factors contributing to this reduced number of women in leadership positions (Ramohai, 2019: 1). Here I discuss the issue of management positions in terms of three subthemes that emerged during the interviews: how women work to fulfil their missions, the value women place on themselves, and the social division of labour.

The question I asked the UCMs was: ‘What are your thoughts about having women in management positions?’ Asking this question was important for understanding UEM's institutional culture around this. Moodly and Toni (2019: 180) state that “institutional cultures can be viewed as patterns of behaviours or experienced behaviours over a period of time. They are best explained through lived experiences or realities of members of the institution.” The discussion around this theme helped me to identify the participants’ opinions and perspectives regarding women in management positions at UEM; factors that prevent women from entering decision-making and management positions; and the participants’ perceptions and attitudes towards women’s suitability for academic management positions.

The female participants in this study, i.e., Lissungo, Carlota, Georgina, and Juliana, acknowledged concerns about the under-representation of women in management positions. However, they also noted that there had been a bit of a breakthrough for a few women who are in positions of power as deans of faculties, heads of departments, as well as the current vice-chancellor. These women have been influential in challenging stereotypes about women in management positions. The following account provides some insight into the under-representation of women in management positions.

> **Carlota**: "We [women] are afraid of challenges because for a long time women had no space. Women were not encouraged to do big things, so we always feel small. This is the reason we have few women in this institution in general."

Carlota suggests that in the past women were not encouraged to assume management positions or assume important responsibilities. While Carlota believes that the under-representation of women in management positions is directly related to the past, Georgina thought that women refused to apply for those positions.

> **Georgina**: "There are qualified women at all levels, but they do not want to apply for those positions. Even when they are pushed to apply, they refuse. Because there are groups of people who say, come on, we will support you, but they refuse."

Georgina did not know the reasons for this. However, this view is perhaps not surprising, given the fact that gender relations in Mozambique are marked by the subordinated position of women (Mateus, 2017: 3). Georgina's view might therefore be evidence of the existence of a patriarchal society's mindset even among some qualified women. In patriarchal societies such as Mozambique, women learn at an early age that they do not have the same rights as men and are expected to act in line with their ordained gender roles (Syed & Ali, 2019: 7).

Studies carried out by António and Hunguana (2013: 6), GQA (2014: 14), and Miguel et al. (2021: 24) clearly show that UEM is a male-dominated institution. In male-dominated institutions, decisions taken by managers define the organisational structure (Vicente, 2013: 7). According to Vincente (2013), executives contribute to the homosocial reproduction of work roles by hiring workers who are like themselves in terms of gender (Vicente, 2013: 7). O'Connor (2019: 30) further argues that the under-representation of women in leading positions means that the existing structure and culture in these institutions are fixed by men, and for men. Consequently, women are often considered unsuitable in a male-dominated environment. This makes it difficult for women to access and take senior positions (O'Connor, 2019: 30). A somewhat different argument appeared in the interview with Lissungo. Lissungo thought that women have other interests. The following excerpt illustrates this:

> **Lissungo**: "But thinking about women and leadership positions, of course, we cannot generalize but some women prefer to remain anonymous. They perform their job without thinking to assume a leadership position. Because they are fine and happy living in that way.

> I have to say that many women prefer to have an individual life, without commitment. They prefer to focus on their private lives, business, travel, writing a book, nothing related to commitments. This is something that could be difficult to accomplish if they held leadership positions. People in leadership positions are often busy with meetings, sometimes until very late."

Lissungo's comment suggests the choices women may be forced into by how working life in senior positions is organized. An important point Lissungo mentions is related to the time of getting home in the evening. At UEM people working in management positions usually stay at work until very late. Culturally, in Mozambique if a woman arrives home after her husband this is not viewed favourably. Even those who are single mothers are expected to arrive home early in the evening. Aware of Mozambican culture, and to allow women to run for those positions, the UEM leadership should avoid meetings out of working hours.

Although the literature (Vicente, 2013: 7; Segola et al., 2016: 13; Mateus, 2017: 3; O'Connor, 2019: 30) recognizes that women confront challenges in achieving management positions, during the fieldwork I also spoke with Carlota, an inspiring woman who had been very successful in her career at UEM. Carlota enjoyed working in different management positions at UEM and did not let any gender-based obstacles deter her. She was grateful because UEM had helped her to pursue her Master's and doctoral degrees.

> **Carlota**: "What encouraged me to apply for management positions is funny [laughs]. It's simple. I have been working at UEM for many years. I do my best for this institution. I grew up in this institution. Because of this HEI, I had the opportunity to pursue a Master's and doctorate. It was a great honour for me to have received a scholarship and get degrees. After I finished my Ph.D., I asked myself, 'how am I going to show my gratitude to UEM?' I am a Ph.D. because UEM invested in me".

Carlota's argument suggests that the reason she applied to management positions was because UEM treated her like a daughter. UEM paid for her postgraduate degree, an expense that usually is met by parents, and in turn, she responds to this like a good daughter. From my point of view, what enabled Carlota to succeed in her career when so many other women never reach the front door, was probably the confidence she acquired from succeeding within the institution as well as the support that she

received from her colleagues. When discussing the issue of women in management positions Carlota pointed out that throughout her career at UEM she had been given different management positions such as Head of Department, Dean's Assistant as well as Dean of Graduation at one of the UEM faculties. As she put it:

> I feel happy because in these management positions I was elected to occupy, I never felt discriminated against by my colleagues, I always felt at ease. I like doing what I do. My colleagues collaborate. All of them give me a lot of support and a lot of strength. This job needs people from different areas. Some of my colleagues are older and more experienced than me, but all of them collaborate.

Çarlota was a self-confident woman, very happy with the job she was elected to. Her reported experiences, however, may not be typical.

Lissungo also thought that women have the support to assume management positions at UEM. Lissungo had been working at UEM since 1994. According to her, in 1994 UEM had only one woman as a dean in one of the non-academic units[27]. This fact might be influenced by the colonial history of higher education in Mozambique, which started in 1962 and ended in 1975 (Langa, 2014: 25). During the colonial phase, the university was established mainly for students of Portuguese descent, and only a very restricted number of Mozambicans had access (Bailey, Cloete & Pillay, 2011: 20). As indicated by Quimuenhe (2018: 3) in the "History of education in Mozambique", the colonial phase of higher education in Mozambique ended with the independence of the country in 1975 and in the same year, the right to education for all Mozambicans was declared. This meant extensive access at all levels of education. Lissungo herself referred to this history and suggested that with the increase of HEIs in Mozambique, women got the opportunity to study, hence, they started occupying management positions.

> **Lissungo**: "Over time, people had an opportunity to study. Having more people qualified and trained, the institution [UEM] took these trained people and put them in leadership positions such as Head of Sections, Head of Departments, Secretaries, and so on. At the time women became qualified, we saw them gradually occupying leadership positions."

[27] By non-academic unit I mean units such as administrative ones inside UEM which do not include teaching.

The above comment indicates that UEM started to place some women in positions of power when these women became qualified. This has to be seen in a context where since 1993 the percentage of female students has gradually increased in Mozambique (Teferra & Altbachl, 2004: 37). These scholars argue that this progress was in part due to the opening of non-governmental HEIs, where, on average, 43 percent of all students enrolled in 1999 were female. Due to the increase of HEIs, Mozambique made some progress concerning the participation of women in decision-making areas (Segola et al., 2016: 31). However, one experience cannot describe everyone's experiences. Juliana, the Dean of one of the non-academic units at UEM, did not have the same experience as Carlota. When discussing the issue concerning women and management positions, Juliana said:

> At the beginning of my career, I had some problems. My male colleagues did not trust me. They doubted what I was capable of. But over time, I showed them that I was capable and nowadays they look at me differently.

Juliana obviously did not find the beginning of her career easy. Boateng (2018:23) comments that "as a result of gender stereotypes, women who journey into male-dominated domains are often denied, they are not seen with favourable eyes by their fellow women as well as men. These kinds of unfavourable experiences women have in male-dominated organisations do not vary from those of academia". Boateng elaborates on this issue and highlights that

> women in academia have had to systematically fight for a place within academe, as they continuously confront gender stereotypes. Such stereotypes create an environment where women who are successful in academia are made to believe that they are an exception to the norm, and in cases where they decline, they are depicted as failing to be sufficiently aggressive or incapable (Boateng, 2018: 26).

Awung and Dorasamy (2016: 119) also argue that despite the wide introduction of equal opportunity policies in higher education, women have found it very difficult to reach leadership positions in academe. This situation can be attributed to the endemic sociocultural and systemic obstacles that many female academics face at universities worldwide because of patriarchal mindsets (Syed & Ali, 2019: 5).

7.4.1 *How Women Work to Fulfil Their Missions*

Under the broader theme of management positions, the issue of the way women work to fulfil their missions (capacity-building) emerged in some interviews (Lissungo, Carlota, Cynthia, and José). Some participants argued that capacity building is important for someone who decides to apply for management positions. Lissungo had worked at UEM for 26 years and therefore had long-standing experience and knowledge of UEM's institutional culture. She thought that the vast majority of women were not suitably qualified to inhabit management positions. Maybe Lissungo thought this because at UEM most management positions are occupied by people who have a PhD degree, in this case men. Potter and Brough (2004: 2) suggest that for lasting progress to address the challenges of quality and equality it is crucial to invest in training people. And Frantz et al. (2014: 1614) think that the poor retention of trained people who leave because of low salaries and/or restricted resources and infrastructure or an inadequate career path, leads to brain drain. This is a key factor that contributes to the absence of skilled personnel in many African HEIs.

According to Lissungo, the reason women are not qualified enough for management positions is related to the fact that in the past girls were not allowed to attend school in Mozambique. For instance, as a result of poverty and historical gendered practices, it has become an entrenched pattern that boys are prioritised over girls when it comes to receiving primary and secondary education. Therefore, the early entry of boys into school and consequently their access to higher education gives them an unfair advantage in terms of later rising to management positions at an accelerated pace. Lissungo's perspective has its counterpart in Okorafor et al.'s work (2015: 56) on "Women's access to higher education in African countries". They comment that the lack of schooling for women does not support their advancement.

Lissungo stated:

> Some time ago, before the creation of the Gender Unit, it was difficult to find women in management positions. As soon as women had the opportunity to study, we saw changes. UEM took these qualified women and put them in leadership positions. Access to training and scholarships has changed many women's lives.

Lissungo's comments suggest that as soon as women became qualified, they had opportunities to occupy leadership positions. However, this is not uniformly the case at UEM, where even in

disciplines dominated by women at the undergraduate level, few if any women progress to more senior academic positions. Lissungo suggests that the emergence of the Gender Unit played an important role in supporting qualified women to assume leadership positions. However, it is equally important to highlight the role UEM had in increasing female students at the Faculty of Engineering from 2000 to 2005, even before the Gender Unit emerged. For instance, Carlota, Cynthia and José, spoke about the program “Woman and Engineering" that aimed to provide scholarships for female students wanting to pursue engineering courses. Carlota enthusiastically said that:

> It was an excellent program. It was sponsored by the Foundation for the Development of Community. The program started in Maputo and was then applied to the entire country. Female students at the Faculty of Engineering increased because of the presence of the Woman and Engineering project.

Carlota also spoke about the existence of another project in the same faculty: “Currently (in 2020), the Faculty of Engineering has a program with Mozal[28]. Mozal has been providing scholarships to women who are admitted to engineering courses. Unfortunately, there are more scholarships than female students.” This may be evidence that women are still not encouraged enough to apply to STEM courses. It may also be the case that scholarships are not widely disseminated to female students.

Thus, even before the emergence of the Gender Unit, UEM was already invested in increasing the number of female students at UEM in male-dominated subject areas. But although immediately after independence (1975) women were admitted to all levels of education (Quimuenhe, 2018: 3), the percentage of female students enrolled at the UEM was and remains low/er than the percentage of male students (see Table 2.1)

In Mozambique, the right to education is assured by the Mozambican Constitution in Article 88 titled Right to Education (Segola et al., 2016: 19). Regarding the selection of students at UEM, the Pedagogical Regulation[29] emphasizes the compulsory application of the entrance exam as an instrument for choosing candidates (Mandlate & Nivagara, 2019: 29). Despite the widespread belief that education is a social good and that equality of access, involvement, and outcome is desirable (Lynch & O'riordan, 1998: 456), women still struggle with entry and success in HEIs (Šidlauskienė

[28] Mozal is an aluminium smelter joint project at the Beluluane Industrial Park, Maputo.
[29] The Pedagogical Regulation is a UEM institutional document.

& Butašova, 2013: 2; Van Houweling, Christie & Abdel-Rahim, 2015: 4; Awung & Dorasamy, 2016: 1; Akala, 2019: 1).

A study conducted by Segola et al. (2016: 9) showed that in Mozambique there are socio-cultural factors that persist to exclude women from accessing higher education. Segola et al. (2016: 9) note that some of these restrictive factors are poverty, social location (living in rural areas where access to quality education is low), and the inability to speak Portuguese[30]. Additionally, the low gross domestic product (GDP) in Mozambique (15 billion United States Dollars) has a direct impact on its poverty rating (National Statistical Institute, 2020). There is some evidence that countries with a lower GDP per capita tend to support male enrolment in higher education (Morley, 2007: 635). Van Houweling et al. (2015: 8) observe that women's enrolment in higher education is associated with the national wealth of a country. Those scholars state that in 31 of the poorest 34 countries, men have higher tertiary participation rates than women. The same situation does not apply in wealthy countries where women have high enrolment rates at this level of education (Mohamedbhai, 2014: 6).

In 1998 in Ireland, Lynch and O'Riordan conducted a study to understand the difficulties faced by low-income students in accessing HEIs. The results of this study show that: "(i) *Relative poverty* was regarded as the principal obstacle to equality of entry and participation for low-income families. Households with limited means regarded expenditure on higher education for one child as a luxury; and (ii) The social exclusion emanating from poverty also created *information gaps* as many times people misunderstood how higher education works" (Lynch & O'Riordan, 1998: 461). In addition to poverty and information barriers, Van Houweling et al. (2015: 15) comment that in Mozambique insufficient accommodation for women in HEIs also limits their access to higher education. Many students are enrolled in universities that are far from their homes and they need safe and affordable housing in or near campus. Without on-campus housing, women are forced to find a place to stay outside the campus, which is often prohibitively expensive and could also put them in a potentially unsafe situation.

Overall, my interviews suggested that women do not apply to management positions for a variety of reasons such as:

(i) an unfriendly institutional culture that favours men over women;
(ii) inadequate support for professional effectiveness and career progression;

[30] Portuguese is the official language spoken in Mozambique.

(iii) The historical gendered practices that make boys enter early into school and consequently their access to higher education gives them an advantage in terms of later rising to management positions at an accelerated pace;

(iv) Since home responsibilities are not shared evenly among couples, women decide not to apply to management positions fearing that they cannot deal with their family responsibilities if they have demanding jobs as well;

(v) In Mozambican culture women are not well regarded when they arrive home after their husband. But the lack of gender sensitivity at the higher level encourages a meeting culture that continues out of working hours. To avoid family confrontations about this women decide not to apply for management positions.

(vi) Because of the influence of African culture that teaches girls at an early age that men are the boss, there are some women who have normalised and internalized the notion that power positions are the preserve of male employees, not for them.

7.4.2 *The Value Women Place on Themselves*

The value women place on themselves or their self-esteem is an attitude about the self and is related to personal convictions about skills, abilities, social relationships, and future outcomes (Heatherton & Wyland, 2003: 2). "Having high self-esteem makes people feel good about themselves, they can manage effectively with challenges and negative feedback, and they live in a social world in which they consider that people value and respect them" (Heatherton & Wyland, 2003: 1). In classrooms and workplaces, people generally believe that high self-esteem is critical to success in that domain (Orth & Robins, 2014: 1). Carlota and Juliana mentioned a lack of self-esteem as an aspect that contributes to women not applying for management positions. Carlota and Juliana had been employed at UEM for 30 and 31 years respectively. They pointed out that:

> **Carlota**: "The fact that women had no voice for a long time as a result of the patriarchal mindsets, resulted in low self-esteem on women's side."
>
> **Juliana**: "Lack of self-esteem can be associated with women's education that makes them feel inferior to men."

Carlota's and Juliana's comments indicate that women's lack of education and patriarchal traditions and attitudes are part of the reason for low self-esteem. A study conducted by Baumeister et al. (2003: 2) stated that "self-esteem is defined by how much value people place on themselves." Heatherton

and Wyland (2003) argue that the individual aspirations everybody establishes for her/himself are the basis of self-esteem (Heatherton & Wyland, 2003: 3). In 2013, Martin and Barnard (2013) observed that psychological obstacles that hinder women from applying for male-dominated occupations are related to their internalized stereotypical gender role expectations. These include stereotypical questions about women's competence and gender-role ideologies that lead to them feeling unsatisfactory, have low self-efficacy and low self-confidence (Martin & Barnard, 2013: 4). This means that, as interviewee Carlota put it, "Even having the opportunity to occupy a different position, women think they must be under the men's shoulders and they easily accept being in a position of subordination."

Confidence is especially important for women's willingness to enter, expend effort, and gain success in competitive, male-dominated environments. Martin and Phillips (2017: 28) demonstrate a confidence gap between women and men, with men frequently being over-confident, and women often being under-confident in their skills. Furthermore, these scholars argue that "though gender differences in confidence are often discussed as a systemic gap, it is important to note that these findings often occur in masculine domains, domains where masculine qualities, such as assertiveness, and dominance are more highly appreciated than feminine qualities, such as kindness and sensitivity" (Martin & Phillips, 2017: 29). This quote suggests that confidence is interpreted in particular ways in male-dominated contexts that discriminate against women. It suggests that having masculine qualities (such as assertiveness and dominance) means being confident. Confidence and kindness are viewed as incompatible.

This suggests that only certain kinds of confidence are valued. A study conducted by Baumeister et al. (2003: 19) on "Leadership and group behaviour" recognised that leadership correlates with high self-esteem. These authors argue that high self-esteem might give a person the confidence and initiative to take charge of a group, make decisions under stress or uncertainty, and hope that others will follow her or his command. Overall, then, lack of confidence influenced by low self-esteem is likely to result in some women not applying for management positions.

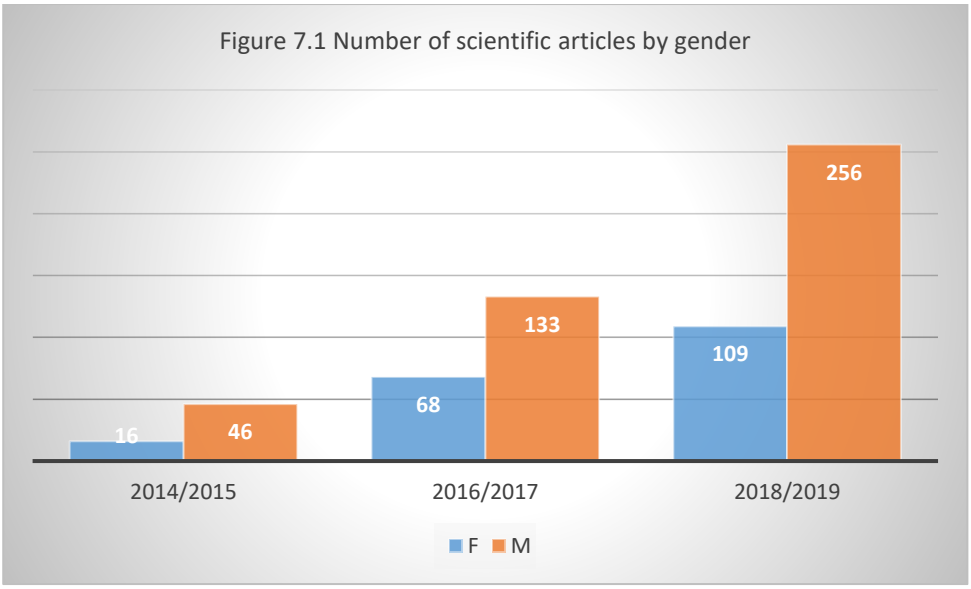
7.4.3 *The Social Division of Labour*

There is evidence that women and men experience the world of work rather differently (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011: 765; Staudt, 2017: 40). The common division of labour between women and men tends to create mechanisms of female subordination (Benería, 1979: 211). The most basic division is

between domestic and non-domestic labour. Domestic work is overwhelmingly considered women's work in all societies (Benería, 1979: 211). In addition to self-esteem, this common social division of labour may constitute another reason for women's struggle to access management positions. Juliana and Lissungo agreed that the workload that women have at home as well as outside the home discourages them from applying for management positions. As Lissungo said of her experience as a Human Resource employee:

> **Lissungo**: "In the Human Resources office, I noticed that there are more women with disciplinary proceedings than men. Exactly because women are involved in several activities. Women are late for work because they must take their children to school, hospital, child care, etc. If the cleaner or housemaid is absent from work, women stay at home cooking before going to work. Those kinds of problems women have, men don't. Men are never late or miss out on a job because the housekeeper doesn't arrive on time. It's cultural. Due to the many activities in which women are involved, it is difficult for them to be focused enough to develop their professional activities. Consequently, women will have low productivity compared to men. This influences women to stay behind compared to men. Women sleep late but wake up early. Sometimes they don't accept leadership positions because they are already too busy. Accepting a leadership position will imply a tighter schedule."

Lissungo's quote highlights some Mozambican cultural practices that contribute to women being behind men. There is no sense that men's share of labour should change, even though this is obviously necessary. Lissungo's points correlate with the findings of Segola et al. (2016: 28) who indicate that the amount of time women and men dedicate to care tasks and carrying out domestic work is very different, with women usually working more hours than men, with repercussions for their leisure and welfare. This results in difficulties when it comes to women developing their professional activities as raised by Lissungo. Women at the UEM have less opportunity to progress scientifically as a consequence of this. This is one example of gender-based obstacles that women face as a result of the unequal division of labour. This unequal division of work results in lower scientific productivity among women. It not only exists at UEM but is common in many HEIs. According to data provided by the UEM Scientific Directorate, the lack of scientific productivity is more acute among women. Figure 7.1 below provides an overview of the number of scientific articles by gender of author.



Source: UEM Scientific Directorate, April 2021.

Figure 7.1 Number of scientific articles by gender of author.

Figure 7.1 shows that both women's and men's publications output at UEM increased over the period 2014-2019. However, although female productivity increased, it remains low in comparison to men. In 2014/2015 of the total number of scientific articles published, 26% were by women. In 2016/2017 and 2018/2019, 34% and 30% respectively were by women, suggesting that women's publication rate has in fact recently declined. This must be cause for concern.

My findings here resemble those of Levin and Stephan (1998: 1049) who over twenty years ago showed that women scientists in academe generally publish less than their male peers, and this lower research output results in slow progression. In 2004, Teferra and Altbachl also stated that "despite the fact that the state of investigation in much of Africa remains precarious, many investigators report that academic progression relies to a huge proportion on publishing" (Teferra & Altbachl, 2004: 40). This makes progression very difficult.

Some of the literature on career progression (Morley, 2007: 31; Germain, Herzog & Hamilton, 2012: 440) suggests that having children effects women's careers negatively, and that women are more likely to assume parental duties which impact negatively on their career advancement. Bartáková (2010: 191) argues that family responsibilities and the related charge (unpaid housework and childcare) influences women and men differently. Other studies also suggest that tensions between teaching, research and family obligations contribute negatively to career advance (Callaghan, 2015: 8; Mabokela & Mlambo, 2015: 16; Williams, L. 2017: 103).

When my female participants were asked about women in management positions, they agreed that most women have impediments to applying for these positions. On a different note, when the same question: "What are your thoughts about having women in management positions?" was posed to male participants, I found evidence of gender stereotypes in three of the seven male participants' accounts. For instance:

> **Jorge**: "I think it is important this kind of balance so that women can get involved in discussions. But balance depends on the existence of people to occupy certain positions. Some positions come as tradition. It is traditionally accepted that men perform better than women."

Jorge had been employed at UEM for 20 years, and a University Council member for one year. In addition to being a UCM, he was the Dean of one of the faculties at the UEM at the time of the interview. One can interpret Jorge's response in several ways. When he mentioned that some positions 'come as tradition', it seems that he is 'remembering the old' (Mackay, 2014: 552) - we have always done it in this way and there is no possibility of change, it is a reproduction of the same. Jorge still thought that men are better leaders than women, based on a misguided notion that a reference to tradition somehow articulates some kind of truth rather than merely a convention or social construction.

Jorge's comments may also indicate a particular view of power. This type of power intends to control, repress, or even prevent women from occupying management positions. Jorge's comment references one of the persistent stereotypes regarding women working in the public sphere, especially in management positions. Jorge's statement may also indicate that at UEM there is an implicit and indeed at times explicit gendered assumption that men are better suited to management positions.

Newman (2014: 25), and Rarieya, Sanger, and Moolman (2014: 5) argue that gender stereotypes are directly related to gender discrimination. Gender discrimination is defined as "any distinction, exclusion, or restriction perpetrated against wo/men, based on socially constructed gender roles and norms that prevent a person from enjoying their human rights" (Newman, 2014: 26). One interviewee who had a similar view to Jorge was Gusmão. Gusmão had been employed at UEM for 12 years and had been a University Council member for four years. When I asked him about his thoughts regarding women in management positions, Gusmão replied:

> I see no harm in having women in leadership positions as long as they are qualified to fill the vacancy. However, women generally let themselves be more easily influenced by social problems, and sometimes they are unable to separate their family problems from professional matters. This seldom happens with men.

Gusmão's views are associated with prejudices against women and are in line with Bobbitt-Zeher (2011: 774) who states that at times, employers explicitly express ideas about women's assumed traits that would likely be viewed negatively in any job. In these accounts, authority figures draw on stereotypes of women as unintelligent, hormonal, and overly emotional (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011: 774). Gusmão agreed theoretically to having women in management positions, but naturalised gender differences, attributing issues to women that men supposedly do not have.

Gomes who had been working at UEM for 26 years recognized that women must be present for changes to occur. He also defended that women should not be elected to management positions just to create a gender balance. Gomes' view was: "We have to assign someone a place according to their competence and/or knowledge, not to increase the number of women in management positions." Gomes' statement seems to suggest that because of UEM's commitment to gender equality there are cases where women are elected just to create a gender balance, not exactly because of their competence. This undoubtedly is evidence of gender prejudice. Although he has been working at UEM for 26 years he refuses to recognize that women are studying, improving their skills and some of them are ready for occupying management positions. There are also of course questions to be raised about what he means by competence and knowledge, not least since there is evidence that women are frequently required to over-perform in order to be considered competent.

Overall, Jorge, Gusmão, and Gomes, three senior men, tended to express a reluctance around women assuming management positions. This reluctance has also been noticed in previous research where male employers articulate a preference for men in management positions, linked to the 'nature of the work environment' (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011: 774). However, the work environment seems to be an excuse since men interpret women's increased presence as a threat to their power (Bobbitt-Zeher, 2011: 768).

Differing from Jorge, Gusmão, and Gomes, other male participants revealed that they were not against the presence of women in management positions. José's and Juvencio's accounts are examples of this:

> **José**: "I do not care if a woman is appointed to a leadership position as long as she complies with the requirements."

> **Juvêncio**: "Many times, women are not only leaders but also someone who is going to teach you. Many women are not bosses, they are leaders."

Taken all together, the men's statements above suggest that among men, there was no consensus regarding women in management positions. These quotes show that men are not a homogeneous group in their views on this matter. Men can think differently concerning gender issues. To some, (Jorge, Gusmão, and Gomes) having women in leadership positions was a problem. For others, (Carlos, João, José, and Juvêncio) that was not the case.

Overall, it is clear that there is a significant difference between women's and men's opinions regarding women and management positions. While lack of capacity-building, self-esteem, and social division of labour are some of the sub-themes that emerged in the interviews with the female participants as reasons for women struggling to access management positions, the male participants were divided about having women in management positions, but some agreed conditionally. According to their expressed opinions, women could be part of management, but only if they were (considered by the men) competent and if they could keep family matters separate from professional issues. Some men also did not want to promote women as a means of improving the number of women in senior positions.

Another issue that emerged from the UCMs' transcripts was women's voices. As gender inequality impacts women more significantly than men (Morley, 2007:23), in the paragraphs below I address the perceptions of my study participants regarding women's voices in a male-dominated environment, with particular emphasis on the University Council.

7.5 Women's Voices in a Male-dominated Environment

There is a long tradition of disregarding women's voices as authoritative (Smith, 2014: 148). In male-dominated organisations, it has been found that women are muted, they do not express their opinions

freely, and sexual harassment occurs relatively often (De Haas & Timmerman, 2010: 722). Smith (2014: 147) argues that "silly woman" is a common term used to silence women in a male-dominated environment. For Smith, silencing is a way in which women's voices are shut down. Silencing women operates by undermining the authority of women's voices, mostly in a male-dominated atmosphere (Smith, 2014: 147).

In focusing on women's active participation in decision-making, I asked my study participants: "How free are women at the University Council to give their opinion?" The answers to this question allowed me to gain insight into how my informants saw their work environment at the University Council. When I asked Gomes who had been a University Council member for 10 years if women at the University Council were free to talk, he responded in the following way:

> **Gomes**: "I can see the ladies we have there; they are all very active. One of them is Professor Georgina. She was the Dean of one of the UEM faculties. She has been working in many other organizations. But I agree that the number of females attending the University Council should be a little bit higher[31]."

The under-representation of women at the University Council was a concern expressed by Gomes. UEM's Gender Strategy states that: "According to the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender and Development Protocol, half of leadership and decision-making positions must be held by women" (EGUEM, 2019: 13). However, norms around who should speak up and how comfortable some men feel about women taking on certain topics and in recognising them as authorities are surely connected to why we do not find women in certain work contexts (Smith, 2014: 148). Like Gomes, Juvêncio and João also thought that the female council members were very active.

> **Juvêncio**: "Although they [women] are represented in a smaller percentage, they are very active, they express their opinions and are heard."
> **João**: "They [women] always give their opinion. There is space and equal opportunity for women to share their ideas."

[31] Gomes has a good impression of his female colleagues working at the University Council. Maybe because of this, he changed his mind. Now he sees women as active and he believes that women are elected to occupy power positions not just to achieve a gender balance, but because women deserve it.

The above quotes seem to indicate that the University Council offers a safe work environment for all members including women. Carlos was the newest council member. He had been part of the University Council for less than a year at the time of the interviews. Carlos said: “As I said, I am new at the University Council. But at the times I attended the University Council meetings I noticed that they [women] shared their ideas without any hesitation.”

The men clearly shared a broad consensus concerning women stating their opinions in the council. This was also true for its female members. When I asked Juliana, a woman who had been in the University Council for 13 years, and the Dean of a non-academic unit, about women at the University Council, like her male colleagues she said: “Although women are in a reduced number, we have an active voice. And the questions raised by us are taken into consideration.” Other women interviewees agreed with this. For instance, Lissungo stated:

> We are free to speak at any time. We do our interventions whenever necessary. Our Rector gives space to everyone as long as she or he asks permission. If other members agree with what have been said, the suggestion is accepted. So, there is a lot of openness, 100%. There is no discrimination at all.

It would appear that inside the University Council there was no problem regarding women's voices. People at the University Council accepted different views and different values. All council members thought that women could talk freely. Although the University Council is a male-dominated environment, it is in that sense a safe work environment.

Contrary to what some texts (De Haas & Timmerman, 2010: 722; Smith, 2014: 148; Martin & Phillips, 2017: 30) say about women in a male-dominated environment, the findings of this study lend general support to Wright (2016: 10) regarding women’s experience of workplace interactions in male-dominated work. Wright (2016) found a positive workplace relationship between minority women and male colleagues in a male-dominated work environment. Additionally, the same study revealed that “women's presence had helped old-fashioned colleagues to overcome their gendered preconceptions about the role” (Wright, 2016: 11). This last point, however, was not so evident among the male Council members.

Although the University Council is on some level a women-friendly working environment, the difficulties faced by women to achieve historically male-dominated occupations might be associated with the unwillingness to accommodate women in those occupations. Martin and Barnard's (2013: 3) remarks suggest that men generally produce environments that disincentivize high numbers of women from entering into these fields. Furthermore, the same scholars indicate that a misunderstanding of the challenges women face and how they cope in these environments may add to women's limited integration and advancement in historically male-dominated professions (Martin & Barnard, 2013: 3).

In summary, although many studies suggest that there is a lack of women's voices in male-dominant environments, this is not fully supported by the findings of this study. At the University Council, there were limited numbers of women and hence voices, but all UCMs in this study agreed that the women at the Council were very active.

7.6 Institutional Commitment

In researching "institutional commitment", the main question I asked my study participants was: "What UEM has done to mainstream gender across faculties and higher schools?" Asking this question was important because at the time the Gender Unit was created the University Council expressed their intention to promote gender mainstreaming among UEM's academic and administrative staff (Cinquenta/Cinquenta e Agenda pós[32], 2015: 5). Morley (2007: 25), suggests that gender mainstreaming requires political will, commitment, and support from the top level of management so that the process does not become marginalized. The UEM Gender Strategy refers to UEM's long-term commitment in relation to gender equality:

> UEM's commitment to the effective realization of gender equality is attested by the extensive scientific production of more than 40 years ago, carried out by the Centre for African Studies which, since its creation, has been studying, with priority, the theme of gender equality because of its commitments to the ideals of the new society and the new man that emerged from ideologies associated with national independence (EGUEM, 2019: 5).

Holland (1997) suggests that every institution needs to establish a clear and definitive mission statement that reflects its own goals. Moreover, each institution must develop its understanding of its

[32] Cinquenta/Cinquenta e Agenda pós means Fifty/Fifty agenda after.

academic priorities and set clear goals (Holland, 1997: 31). This is reflected in the UEM Strategic Plan 2018-2028 which aims:

> (i) To develop an organisational plan to address and integrate cross-cutting issues, namely gender, sport, environment, ethics, citizenship, and health; (ii) promoting culture and sport as a means of integral training for the graduate; and (iii) promoting gender equity (PEUEM, 2018: 28).

The Strategy's mission is to:

> Promote, through the principles of equality, equity and transversality, behaviours, attitudes, values, norms and structural and functional mechanisms leading to the elimination of inequalities based on stereotypes and gender prejudices (EGUEM, 2019: 18).

When analysing UEM's institutional documents, the willingness of the institution to reduce gender inequalities in this HEI becomes visible. But is this reflected on the ground?

Below I analyse the interviewees' comments regarding the results already achieved as a consequence of the implementation of gender mainstreaming activities. The various responses below show that the gender mainstreaming initiative at UEM have already achieved some significant results. For instance:

> **Cynthia**: "In 2019 UEM approved the UEM's Gender Strategy."
> **Aziza**: "This year [2020] in the second semester, UEM created a workgroup responsible for designing an instrument to regulate harassment. I am not sure exactly the date that we started. But to give you an idea, we have meetings every 15 days even though we have not yet had our tenth meeting."
> **Gomes**: "I know that there is a Master in Gender and Development, whose curriculum was already approved by the University Council in 2019. And this Master in Gender and Development is at a very advanced stage for its implementation. This Master is about gender-related issues."
> **Lissungo**: "Since 2000 UEM provides scholarships to increase female students in this HEI. UEM has been looking for scholarships and the priority are women. Therefore, UEM has always encouraged women to access training for both lecturers and administrative staff."

> **Juvêncio**: "The introduction of a module *Life Skills* into the curriculum of the Faculty of Education, and the creation of Gender Focal Points in each Faculty and Higher Schools from UEM."

The above points show that some gender mainstreaming initiatives have taken place. After 60 years of its existence UEM has, for example, decided to design an instrument against harassment. I think this is a milestone in gender mainstreaming initiatives, since it will help to make the female academic community feel safer to study and work in an environment where harassment is punished. In addition to the instrument against harassment, some other activities have been put in place such as the approval of the Master in Gender and Development which is going to provide specialists in gender even without the need to study overseas.

One of the Gender Policy's strategic actions is "Training at least twenty researchers in gender issues and quality of higher education" (CNAQ, 2015: 11). To respond to this strategic action, the UEM Gender Strategy states that:

> In 2019 UEM approved the Master Degree in Gender and Development and it will be introduced in 2021 at the Faculties of Arts and Social Science and the Faculty of Education (EGUEM, 2019: 6).

The Gender Policy suggests that 20 researchers should be trained. Quantitative indicators like this are important for showing what the outcome of an intervention is, or the degree to which an objective has been attained (Snyder et al., 1996: 1493). However, in 2023 only 10 people were in funded to train on this degree. The strategy has thus only been partially met. The Gender Policy is not explicit regarding how many women and men are supposed to be trained. In other words, disaggregated quotas for female and male participation are not presented. Brambilla (2001: 6), however, recommends that in order to evaluate how well a development program has scored in its gender targets, indicators must be gender-sensitive and gender disaggregated data are one dimension of this (Snyder et al., 1996: 1493).

A recent study (Roos et al., 2020: 3) suggests that gender equality initiatives tend to fail because of resistance or unwillingness to support equality initiatives involving quotas or affirmative action. However, like all indicators, gender-sensitive indicators have limitations. Acknowledging these

limitations is useful to understanding what they can or cannot achieve and how to complement them with other tools or methods. Common problems and limitations include the difficulty to find indicators that provide dynamic information on gender relations, how they were shaped, and how they can be changed (Brambilla, 2001: 12).

Concerning objectives, Brambilla (2001: 14) suggests that "for indicators to be effective, the objectives must be clear, explicit, feasible, verifiable and realistically timed." In the Gender Policy itself, the objectives are clearly written. For instance, the second specific objective of the Gender Policy is to "Define strategic actions[33] to promote the approach to the quality of higher education from a gender perspective" (CNAQ, 2015: 10). However, this general objective lacks detail and there is nothing regarding any audit that would make the objective verifiable or time-bound.

As mentioned earlier, UEM has introduced subjects related to gender into the curriculum. In doing this, UEM is promoting a gender perspective approach. Concerning the introduction of gender issues into the curriculum, Cynthia who has been working at UEM since 1980, said that "UEM introduced two subjects related to gender equality at the Faculty of Arts and Social Science in 1990." The incorporation of gender issues in the curriculum is part of the objectives of the Beijing Platform for Action Strategy (O'Connor, 2019: 30). According to Cynthia: "Dr. Katia is a Geography lecturer, and, in her subject, economic geography, gender aspects were introduced. Prof. Marta is an Anthropology lecturer, gender issues were introduced in her subject anthropology for women and gender." These are very specific initiatives but they are also piecemeal and not systematic, clearly depending on specific individuals rather than representing the wholesale adoption of a policy.

Including gender issues in the curriculum is one kind of gender mainstreaming initiative. However, this was done prior to the setting up of the Gender Unit. Some staff at UEM were clearly committed to introducing gender-related issues even before the creation of the Gender Unit. However, this has occurred unevenly and depending on the initiative of individual staff. On a different note, the frustration of a participant in my study regarding gender mainstreaming was articulated in a statement by one University Council member who said:

[33] It is important to remember that the Gender Policy is a national document. Each HEI needs to design its strategic actions in order to implement this instrument. At UEM the Gender Unit designed the UEM Gender Strategy's strategic actions.

> **Georgina**: "Is there any female dean at the central services? All deans responsible for managing money are male. We only have two female faculty deans, Engineering and Veterinary Medicine. Women must be present. The presence of women is important to start paying more attention to women. How many women are Heads of Department at the central units?"

Georgina has been at the University Council for 29 years and 40 years at UEM. She was Dean of one of the faculties as well as a member of the Deans' Council. Georgina's comments correlate with certain research findings which indicate that in Africa, gender inequalities in HE are prevalent among teaching and administrative staff but the most evident representation hereof is identified among senior managers and researchers (Mama, 2003; Dlamini & Adams, 2014; O'Connor, 2018). In particular men control resources, e.g. money. It is also for this reason that one finds large numbers of men in administrative positions in the university.

The Gender Policy emerged in a context in which Mozambique had a very weak female presence in academia and research (Bennett, 2009; Dlamini & Adams, 2014; CNAQ, 2015: 8; O'Connor, 2018; Myklebust, 2019). This disparity has persisted even though the Gender Unit at UEM was set up in 2008. Frustration regarding gender mainstreaming at UEM was not only raised by Georgina but also by Cynthia. Cynthia had been working at UEM since 1980. She used to be a member of the University Council. At the time I was conducting my fieldwork, she was the Dean of one of the UEM departments at the Centre of African Studies. In her analysis regarding gender mainstreaming across faculties and higher schools, Cynthia admitted that:

> Despite the existence of the Gender Policy, and the UEM Gender Strategy, that aims to regulate gender issues, this [gender] is an issue that many people do not take seriously. Gender is not an easy matter. At the time we were presenting the UEM Gender Strategy, one of our colleagues from the University Council had a very negative intervention. We reacted to his intervention. When our Vice-chancellor gave his opinion regarding what we were talking about, I felt comfortable knowing that the top leadership of UEM is sensitive concerning gender-based issues such as harassment and traditional attitudes about the status and role of women in the public sphere. Gender is not an easy matter. Sometimes our colleagues find us in the hallways and shout, 'she is the woman who is worried about gender.' Even here [at the

> Centre for African Studies], our colleagues used to talk to me sarcastically, how are gender issues at UEM, Professor Cynthia? Gender is not a matter that people take seriously.

This indicates the mixed reaction gender as an issue received at UEM but also the top management's commitment to it. However, such commitment does not always help in the day to day. It suggests that training in gender matters across the university is necessary to reach all staff.

One question that arises is to what extent there is a coordinated effort to implement the Gender Policy or whether each unit acts individually. Three of the eleven UCM thought that within the institution there was a coordinated effort to implement the Gender Policy. Juvêncio for instance said:

> Yes, there is a coordinated effort. GFPs are prepared and trained by the Gender Unit through workshops. Deans are also called to attend those workshops organized by the Gender Unit. After the training provided by the Gender Unit, GFPs organize workshops inside their units. The Gender Unit designed a module called Life Skills which in its essence addresses gender issues. This module is recommended to the entire academic community. Unfortunately, only a few units include this module in their curriculum.

In addition to the Life Skills module discussed in Chapter Six, Juvêncio's account suggests a structured approach to gender mainstreaming. However, the way he spoke indicates that it is unknown if the deans attend those workshops or not. But attending those workshops is crucial for deans to increase their awareness regarding gender, and to assist GFPs activities. It is not clear if there is ever any follow-up regarding actions to be implemented and indeed, there appear to be no sanctions if they are not.

In contrast to the above statements, a lack of coordinated effort to implement the Gender Policy across faculties and higher schools was identified by seven of the eleven UCM. For instance, João did not think that there was a coordinated effort. He said:

> This is difficult to answer. Often it is not easy to join units. Heads of the sections are not coordinated with the heads of departments and the deans of the faculties. In my faculty [Faculty of Arts and Social Science] we have this coordinated implementation. We have an active militancy from our lecturers. My department has only two female lecturers. At the administrative staff level, we also have a few female employees. The UEM Gender Strategy

that was approved aimed to reduce these asymmetries. From my point of view, I believe that the implementation is not uniform. Each unit tries to implement it by itself.

João's response is aligned with the findings from another study about implementing the Gender Policy in HE. In 2007, Morley carried out a study in Tanzania, Uganda, Nigeria, and South Africa. I have already referred to this study previously. This study was an exploration of how gender equality is promoted and embedded in universities there and how the university curriculum and individual disciplines are gendered. Findings from this study show that mainstreaming activities were uneven across the countries and faculties. Some faculties were more receptive than others. For instance, in Nigeria, only the Faculty of Agriculture established a GM commitment to review the curriculum. I shall now turn to discussing how the UCMs perceive the process of Gender Policy implementation.

7.6.1 *The Gender Policy Implementation*

In 2016, Segola et al. conducted a survey entitled 'Gender Profile in Mozambique', aimed to identify the constraints for the effective promotion of gender equality and the empowerment of women and girls in Mozambique. They found that one of the challenges Mozambique struggles with is implementation (2016: 17). This was already reflected in some of the UCMs' views expressed above. Segola et al. reported that there are policies that, in theory, formalize equality between women and men but, in practice, they are poorly implemented.

A common understanding is that the implementation of gender policies involves attitudinal changes by organizational members (Mehra & Gupta, 2006: 5). In light of this, at the UEM one interviewee (Georgina) spoke about the existence of ordinary employees mainly composed of men who encourage women to apply for management positions. An example of this is Lissungo who explained how she became a University Council member:

> **Lissungo**: "Well, I have been working at UEM for 26 years. Most of that time I spent in Human Resources. At Human Resources we have access to information like any other UEM employee. I heard about the candidacy announcement for the University Council. At UEM I had colleagues who had previously worked at the University Council. They encouraged me to apply to the University Council because of the long experience I had as a management consultant. I read the terms of reference, I tried to understand the content, and I took it seriously".

Lissungo's account confirms what Georgina said. Because of her long years of experience as a UEM employee, Lissungo's colleagues trusted that she could be part of the University Council. This behaviour might be an indication that at UEM some people are changing their mindsets. But it could also simply be seen as a reward for long-term loyalty rather than having anything to do with gender.

Mehra and Gupta (2006) identify four factors as essential for effective gender mainstreaming namely:

> i) Political will: it should start at the very top of the organization. The leadership should make a public commitment to gender mainstreaming; (ii) Technical capacity: Organisations should conduct gender audits to assess the current level of gender awareness and, based on that work, they should enhance gender expertise (iii) Organisational culture: It is important to change the values and views on gender that prevail within organizations. These changes can be achieved for instance, through approaches such as ensuring gender balance on technical and administrative teams, involving men as partners not as obstacles to gender mainstreaming; and (iv) Accountability: Accountability measures should be put in place. They may include requiring gender indicators for monitoring and evaluating project processes and outcomes and ensuring that gender is integrated throughout annual plans and reports (Mehra & Gupta, 2006: 26).

Of those factors considered essential for effective gender mainstreaming only the first (political will) is evident at UEM. Until the time I was conducting my fieldwork (2020) the top level of the organization (UCM), did not know who was responsible to put in place any accountability measures.

I asked the UCMs, "Who is responsible for implementing the Gender Policy at UEM?" Asking this question was important to find out if the UCM thought that they too were responsible for this. However, I found that the members of the University Council did not have a uniform idea of who was responsible. They were also not aware of the conditions that needed to be in place for the successful implementation of the Gender Policy, such as the training of the implementers about the laws and regulations related to the policy (Bayisenge, Höjer & Espling, 2015: 6). According to Morley (2007: 25), implementing a Gender Policy in an institution is the responsibility of all staff. This is what my interviewees told me:

> **José**: "The Gender Unit is the entity responsible for coordinating the implementation. All other units should implement the policy under the coordination of the Gender Unit".
>
> **João**: "Heads of departments, and the Dean of courses. In the process of selecting monitors, my faculty is attentive to gender equality. At the faculty level, I also see the Deans of courses concerned with matters that involve harassment."
>
> **Juvêncio**: "The implementation must be done through the Gender Unit with the collaboration of GFPs."
>
> **Juliana**: "Gender Focal Points assist the Gender Unit in implementing the policy. Even the Deans of units are supposed to facilitate the implementation process."

These accounts show that there was no consensus regarding who is responsible for the policy implementation. Different interviewees had diverse views on this. In contrast to the above interviewees, Gomes and Gusmão thought that the entire university is responsible for implementing the Gender Policy. Gusmão said: "I think that all units should be implementers. We have the Gender Unit in Maputo, but we have UEM not only in Maputo but also in other Mozambican provinces [Quelimane, Gaza, and Inhambane]. That's why I believe that each unit should implement." Gusmão's statement shows that he understood that the Gender Policy has been implemented only in Maputo. This, as previously discussed, was due to a lack of financial resources to visit other provinces. One might also argue that by making everybody responsible, nobody in the end feels responsible. In any event, without audits to check that such implementation has occurred, it is unlikely to be realized.

Different from the previous responses Carlota said:

> During the time we are organising ourselves for the admission process, we always pay attention to the balance between women and men. Indeed, we cannot go beyond what we have. We know that our institution has more men than women, but we always try to have women doing the same job men do.

Carlota was a Dean at UEM. As a Dean, she had tried to facilitate the process of implementing the Gender Policy by inviting both women and men to perform the same work. Carlota's response chimes with Juliana's idea when she argues that deans of units should facilitate the implementation process. Overall, however, there was no clear consensus as to who was responsible for the policy implementation.

Factors identified as barriers to implementing gender policies in higher education include the lack of commitment from policy planners or the lack of knowledge concerning gender mainstreaming or a combination of both (Meena, 2007: 385); a lack of gender sensitization, a lack of understanding of strategy, process, and objectives, insufficient budgeting for the gender components of projects (Morley, 2007: 613); inadequate information about the Gender Policy procedures (Bennett, 2009: 3); insufficient financial resources (Johnson, 2014: 68); reduced commitment to incorporating gender into the curriculum (Loots & Walker, 2015: 45); and the inadequate supervision for implementing gender mainstreaming initiatives by evaluation agencies (Verge et al., 2018: 30). Many of these factors were relevant at UEM, reducing overall institutional commitment.

The UEM Strategic Plan 2018-2028 recommends that all processes of implementing the Gender Policy need an action plan (PEUEM, 2018: 53). The action planning process is an initial step to guide the development of gender mainstreaming (Gollifer & Gorman, 2016: 42). The plan should include: defining, planning, acting, and checking stages of the gender mainstreaming process (Gollifer & Gorman, 2016: 42). Similar to Gollifer and Gorman's (2016) recommendation, the UEM's Gender Strategy as well as the UEM Strategic Plan have an implementation plan. It includes the identification of areas of activity, namely gender stereotypes, the unequal division of work, conciliation between academic and family lives, and sexual harassment (EGUEM, 2019: 19), inputs, outputs, and strategic actions (PEUEM, 2018: 31). But this plan has only been followed to a limited extent. The UCMs recognized this, either explicitly or implicitly.

7.7 The Weakness of the Implementation Process

The last point raised by the UCMs was the weakness of the implementation process. I asked them: "With the implementation process in mind, in which areas would you recommend changes?" Asking this question was important because the Gender Policy was meant to be implemented between 2015 and 2025. My fieldwork took place in 2020, in other words, it occurred in the middle period of the implementation. To make the implementation more effective it is important to monitor how the process is going. According to my study participants, the implementation of the Gender Policy was facing certain threats. As Juvêncio put it:

> Firstly, the issue of training the implementers is very important. Then, a platform to disseminate information regarding the process of implementing the Gender Policy should be created. The information must flow because time does not stop. We know that all plans have a certain period to be implemented. It is necessary to try to accomplish what was planned.

Implicit in Juvêncio's comment seems some worry about the dissemination of the information and the training of the implementers. Staudt (2017: 12) defines gender training as "a way of looking at the world: a lens that brings into focus the roles, resources, and responsibilities of women and men within a certain system". Past research carried out by Snyder et al. (1996: 10) has demonstrated that "for workers who must implement gender policies, gender awareness training should be an essential step in moving them toward changes in attitudes and behaviours so that they can support, and perhaps even become change agents for gender-inclusive policies." Staudt (2017: 13) suggests some gender training approaches that should be taught to staff who must implement gender policies. These gender training approaches include (i) the *Gender Roles Framework,* where trainees should learn about the division of labour, (ii) the *Gender Planning Approach,* where trainees are supposed to learn about the productive, reproductive, and community demands on women's time and labour burdens, and (iii) the *Social Relations Framework,* where trainees should learn about the power relations between women and men. Nothing like this has happened at UEM. Nonetheless Juliana thought that

> the process of implementing the Gender Policy is going in the right way, but I think it needs to be disseminated more. More people need to know. At UEM, for example, people talk about gender only during Gender Week, once a year. I think it should be a systematic thing.

Carlos was one of the UCMs who was not familiar with the Gender Policy. Carlos's unit was located in Inhambane, another province of Mozambique. He confirmed that his unit was not familiar with the Gender Policy. But he commented that his unit had received a call from the Rector of UEM asking them to pay attention to gender equality. Since UEM is not only located in Maputo but also in other Mozambican provinces (Quelimane, Gaza, and Inhambane), Carlos argued that "The Gender Policy should be disseminated to the entire academic community, not only in Maputo but also outside Maputo." Carlos had a similar view to Juliana. Both agreed that the Gender Policy needed to be disseminated more. Previous research by Snyder et al. (1996: 1492) indicates "communication problems as one of three central obstacles to program implementation."

A different point of view was articulated by Gusmão. Regarding areas to be improved, Gusmão said: "In monitoring. We talked a lot about the instrument, but little is known about monitoring. Who monitors at the unit level? Who checks whether the policy is being implemented, nobody knows. What are the monitoring and evaluation documents? This is missing." Gusmão's comments resemble Brambilla's point (2001: 4) that "many bodies aim to mainstream gender, but few track how effective

they are in doing so with monitoring and evaluation". The UEM Strategic Plan 2018-2028 actually recommends the formulation of mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating the policies and plans for integrating gender issues (PEUEM, 2018: 53). However, to date this has not happened. In view of what my study participants said, I think there are three sets of recommendations that need to be addressed, namely (i) training, (ii) dissemination, and (iii) monitoring. Regarding the three recommendations given by my participants, I think that training is crucial so that all procedures are well understood by each intervenient in the process; after training participants will have new skills or update existing skills to enhance their effectiveness in the Gender Policy implementation process. Disseminating information regarding the Gender Policy is important to guarantee that people have the knowledge they need to make informed decisions. These recommendations are also shared by the African Union Gender Policy which indicates that for the effective implementation of a Gender Policy it is crucial to plan and implement training sessions for Heads of Departments, and Gender Focal Points (Union, 2009: 19). Finally, monitoring is important because it helps people to identify areas of improvement, as well as to assess if the policy objectives are being achieving. This should be a regular, at least annual, process, and maybe occur more frequently at the beginning to embed it effectively.

7.8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the UCMs' views regarding the Gender Policy and its implementation at UEM. The key findings in this study are summarized below. Overall, the UCMs were fairly cognizant of the Gender Policy. However, the Gender Policy itself as a document and as content still needs to be disseminated much more extensively across the entire UEM academic community, including those parts of UEM that are not located in Maputo. The interviewees mentioned a number of activities to support gender equality which UEM had undertaken. However, these efforts were fragmented and unevenly distributed across the university. They need to be systematized to create a profound and lasting effect.

Regarding management positions, the results show that there were two broad schools of thought among female and male participants. Female participants agreed that most women have impediments when it comes to occupying managerial positions because of local patriarchal attitudes, reduced capacity building, lack of self-confidence among some female staff, and unequal divisions of labour. Conversely among the male participants, some confessed that it was not their priority to have women in management positions, others agreed conditionally. I found evidence of gender stereotypes in some

men's narratives. They agreed that women can participate in discussions, meanwhile believing that sometimes women are only elected to create a gender balance, not for their competence. On the other hand, they were afraid of having women in management positions because women are supposedly more sensitive and easily influenced by social problems. This showed that inside UEM, especially among men, there is an implicit and at times explicit gendered assumption that men are better suited to occupy management positions.

Two female participants (Georgina and Lissungo) indicated that at UEM some efforts are devoted to facilitating the advancement of women to take leadership positions. One of these efforts is organized by a small group of employees who assist women who desire to apply for management positions (Georgina) and the other is organized by the Gender Unit (Lissungo). The University Council was a work context where women did not seem to face any problems when performing in this environment. Since the idea of a gender balance at UEM started at the University Council level it is quite obvious that at this level, women might be well supported by their male colleagues. But it is also evident that much remains to be done to create lasting changes.

8. **CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

8.1 Conclusions

In the previous three chapters (chapters five, six, and seven), I have discussed the findings from my study, dealing with these in the order in which I conducted the research, i.e. questionnaire results first, then the FGDs, and finally the individual interviews. These contributed in different ways to answering my research questions. My initial research questions were:

1. How has UEM organized itself to implement the Gender Policy?
2. Which activities has the UEM Gender Unit undertaken to implement the Gender Policy at UEM?
3. Which changes for women and men at UEM can be seen, as a consequence of the Gender Policy implementation?

Chapters Five, Six, and Seven helped me to answer the first research question. An overview of these findings chapters makes me conclude that at present UEM is not well organized to implement the Gender Policy because of its organizational structure. Figure 8.1 below shows that at UEM the lines of management/responsibility/accountability are bifurcated and make a systematic implementation of the policy difficult, suggesting that UEM has not aligned the relevant line management structures with how to implement the policy.

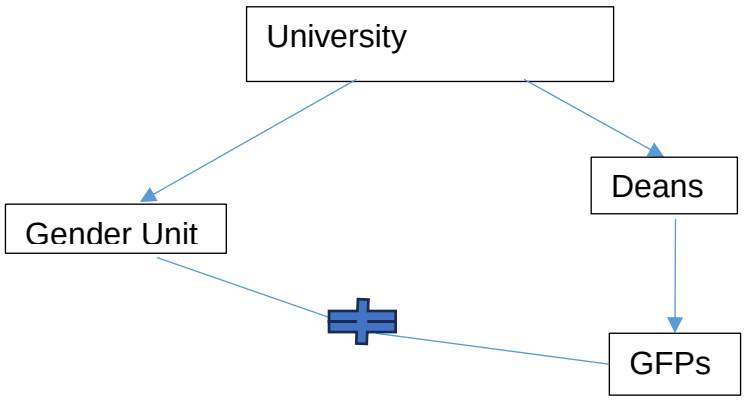


Figure 8.1 Gender-policy related appointment structure of UEM.

As can be seen in Figure 8.1, the Gender Unit and the GFPs have no clear line management relation to each other. The Gender Unit is appointed by the university management but the GFPs are appointed

by the deans. No connection is made between the two (Gender Unit, GFPs) to enable them to integrate their work appropriately. This disjointed way does not facilitate the implementation of the Gender Policy. Figure 8.1 shows that the GFPs are subordinated to their deans which reduces the possibility of the Gender Unit to interact with the GFPs in a line management fashion that would enable an integrated responsibility and accountability structure. At the same time, the lack of a plan of scheduled meetings between the Gender Unit and the GFPs, as discussed in Chapter Six, further exacerbates the problem of the implementation process. Because of the absence of a plan of scheduled meetings, activities organized by the Gender Unit are not attended by all GFPs. In this situation it is difficult to apply sanctions because the organizers (the Gender Unit) do not inform about any the meetings sufficiently in advance and in any event, they have no line management role in relation to the GFPs. All this shows that there is a distributed structure regarding the Gender Policy implementation which is not well coordinated. Consequently, the implementation process is not systematic. The UEM organizational structure was not designed to create systematic change in relation to gender issues. The attempt to implement the Gender Policy remains fragmented and uneven, as was also evident in Chapters Six and Seven. The lack of effective organization is partly a function of the combination of UEM's colonial legacy of having discriminatory practices, and partly an expression of the prevailing patriarchal culture which does not value gender issues sufficiently and is resistant to implementing change.

Figure 8.1 illustrates why I found, as discussed in Chapter Seven, that some UCMs do not know their GFPs. This may of course also be because not all GFPs have performed gender activities, but there is additionally a lack of communication each way. Some of the reasons why GFPs were not performing gender activities in their units had to do with a lack of support from their dean’s side, as discussed in Chapter Six. In order to overcome this situation, the Gender Unit might want to organize workshops only for deans to encourage them to support the GFPs' activities and consequently to help to implement the Gender Policy. Another reason why the GFPs were not performing gender activities was their work overload, also discussed in Chapter Six. The negative side of having too much to do is that GFPs will prioritize activities that are recognized by all in the academic community (lecturing and administrative duties). Due to this, it is urgent that the institution recognizes the GFPs’ tasks, not only on paper but also in practice. For instance, those who are GFPs should not be made to undertake other duties such as lecturing or administrative, since GFPs’ activities are very demanding (see Mehra & Gupta, 2006: 7), especially in a context where gender issues are not well understood and not well

embedded. Alternatively, the GFPs' workloads in areas such as lecturing and administration might be at the very least reduced, or some form of extra remuneration offered to recognize their work.

Another finding that led me to conclude that UEM is not well organized to implement the Gender Policy, is the fact that the UCMs were not familiar with the Gender Policy content. For instance, regarding monitoring, I found (see Chapter Seven) that although the Gender Policy was discussed at the University Council, among UCMs there was no consensus regarding who was responsible for monitoring its implementation. The UCMs appeared not to know the Gender Policy document properly. Consequently, although they are in a higher position at UEM they are not clear about what has been done or what else needs to be done to achieve the goals of the Gender Policy. And yet it is clear that without proper buy-in from the leadership, it is difficult to create the conditions for change, including around gender issues. As already stated, this lack of effective organization is a result of the combination of the colonial legacy of discriminatory practices, and of the prevailing patriarchal culture which does not value gender issues sufficiently and is resistant to implementing changes.

I also found that despite the Gender Policy being already in its implementation phase, the UCM acknowledged that this instrument was not widely disseminated. This finding also emerged in Chapter Six among the Gender Unit employees as well as the GFPs where only a minority of participants (two Gender Unit employees and two GFPs) knew about this instrument. Quite surprisingly, the same result was not found in Chapter Five among the selected academic community, where the vast majority (24 out of 27 participants) said they were familiar with this instrument, though one might want to treat this assertion with some skepticism. As mentioned previously in Chapter Five, the participants in the questionnaire survey represented all 11 faculties and two higher schools. If 24 participants were familiar with the Gender Policy, this suggests that the instrument was widely disseminated across faculties and higher schools. In terms of the credibility of these findings, it is important to note that GFPs are also UEM employees working in faculties and higher schools inside UEM. Nevertheless, most of them (five out of seven GFPs) were unfamiliar with the policy. In sum, there is a serious communication problem within UEM regarding policy dissemination. People who were supposed to be familiar with the Gender Policy (GFPs and the Gender Unit employees) were in fact unfamiliar with it.

UEM has a centre called Centre for Communication and Marketing (CECOMA) which is responsible for communication. If the study found communications problems this suggests that something at CECOMA or even at the Gender Unit needs to change. It is important that CECOMA be committed

to its role, and spread information in the UEM community. As an insider, I am aware that each UEM unit is responsible for sending to CECOMA information to be disseminated. If CECOMA did not spread information as requested by the Gender Unit, for example, CECOMA needs some kind of training to encourage them to work more effectively across the university. Critical theory provides an explanation for this situation. It is important to highlight that while intersectionality and postcolonial feminist theory (the other two theories applied in this study) focus on understanding or explaining society or the relations between certain aspects of identity, critical theory focuses on transformative action that leads to social change. This theory as mentioned in Chapter Two, in addition to providing change strategies to improve lives, problematizes what is taken for granted in a culture. In this case, Mozambique has a patriarchal culture in which it is taken for granted that gender is not an important issue. This may be the reason why CECOMA is not spreading gender-related issues the way it should. In order to accomplish a positive transformation CECOMA staff may need to examine their beliefs in terms of their roles as a unit created to provide communication support for the entire university community. In sum, to respond to the first research question one can say that the disjointed way UEM is organized in relation to embedding gender concerns, the distributed responsibility structure with no overall coordination, the absence of planned scheduled meetings between the Gender Unit and the GFPs, the lack of monitoring and evaluating the progress, and the unpredictable resource provision contribute to a fragmented and uneven implementation process.

Chapter Six in this thesis, 'The vicissitudes of implementing the Gender Policy: Findings from the focus group discussions with the Gender Unit employees and the gender focal points', addressed the second research question. The purpose of this chapter was to figure out the Gender Unit employees' role during the formulation and implementation of the Gender Policy as well as to find out what the Unit had done to reduce gender inequalities at UEM. My findings show that the Gender Unit was invited to participate in the formulation phase of the Gender Policy, but during the approval phase they were not invited. This situation caused some concern among the Gender Unit employees because according to them, it is during the approval phase that they have the possibility to clarify their role in the subsequent implementation phase of the Gender Policy. The fact that the Gender Unit employees were absent during the approval phase meant that they were not very clear about their role during the implementation phase. This impacted negatively on the entire process of the Gender Policy implementation.

In order to reduce gender inequalities, the Gender Unit organized different activities such as the Open Day, the Gender Week, visits to secondary schools, and gender awareness workshops. However, these

activities were only carried out in Maputo, not on the other UEM campuses (see Langa, 2017; Female, Gender Unit employee FGD1; Male Gender Unit employee FGD2). This was apparently due to limited financial resources. However, the UEM Gender Unit was created in 2008, and only in 2017 did the Mozambican government cut the travel budget for universities, meaning that even before the Mozambican government cut that budget, the Gender Unit never visited other UEM campuses. This situation contributes to gender inequalities among HEIs since for instance, only pupils from Maputo will be aware of the importance and possibilities to apply to STEM courses.

In the FGDs with the GFPs, I tried to find out if they had attended any training to enable them to implement the Gender Policy. Likewise, I also sought to find out if the GFPs had an activity plan to mainstream gender activities in their units. My study showed that all the GFPs had some opportunity to attend some short gender training courses provided by the Gender Unit. This allowed most of them to perform a limited number of gender activities confidently. Since no GFP at UEM is originally a gender specialist, providing them with gender training is crucial to enable them to perform their role. However, I also found that there were some GFPs who did not attend gender courses because they were not supported in this by their new dean. This has to be seen in a context where employees routinely have to ask permission of their superiors to engage in any task. One effect of this is to infantilize the staff who are not treated as adults that can be trusted to do what is necessary for their job. It also heightens the authority of those in positions of power over lower-ranking staff and creates goodwill dependencies among unequally located staff. It amounts to a failure to distribute responsibility-taking appropriately among staff. This cannot be desirable in an institution seeking to improve its international standing as a world-class research institution. The fact that the GFPs had uneven training on gender matters means that the institution itself placed people in important positions where they were then undermining a significant institutional goal. This in consequence endangered the gender mainstreaming process. Having a dean who is not interested in gender-related issues contributes to demotivating GFPs to perform their activities, compromising the gender mainstreaming process across the institution.

As previously mentioned in Chapter Two, a postcolonial feminist perspective draws attention to the forces that maintain, sustain, and encourage unequal relations of power (Darroch & Giles, 2014: 29). Unequal power relations are very prevalent in Mozambique including in higher education. Deans have great power over more junior staff including the GFPs. At UEM most deans are men (see Figures 7.3, 7.5, and 7.6), often aged around 60 years or older. Because of a lack of employment in the

country, there is restructuring in the civil service, and very soon most current deans are going to retire. They will be replaced by younger deans. With younger deans, it is possible that the institution will implement gender policies more easily due to the fact that younger people may be less influenced by the legacies left by colonialism and African traditions which tend to undermine women. Colonization and patriarchy are two very powerful systems that negatively impact how people behave, producing hierarchies of inequality which over time become normalized. Deans that do not support their GFPs may be said to consider it normal for women to be effectively second-class citizens. The combined effects of colonialism and patriarchal culture undermine the possibility of gender equality at UEM.

Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that not all managers were resistant to the GFPs' activities, meaning that in some UEM units, the implementation of the Gender Policy has a certain potential to succeed. Further, younger deans may also have other professional experiences than the older ones as a consequence of studying in different countries abroad and having seen other ways of operating around gender than is now common among the older deans. This means leaving both colonial and some supposedly 'African tradition'[34] legacies and practices behind. At UEM, the reproduction of both the colonial and 'African tradition' systems can be seen through the low representation of women in management positions. The deans who do not recommend their GFP to attend gender courses show that they are still strongly influenced by these legacies.

I also found that not all GFPs had an activity plan. This means that there was no systematic enactment of gender mainstreaming activities. If the GFPs are implementing the Gender Policy without a plan to guide their activities, the initial impression is that the Gender Unit does not coordinate the GFPs' activities. This also contributes to problems with policy implementation. In the case of those who had an activity plan, all the activities plans were different. This suggests that each unit designed its plan according to its needs. This can be very productive at local level but it also means that it may be harder to achieve consistency and for the institution to move forward at an even, collective pace. Where GFPs had a plan, not all plans were known to the Gender Unit. Consequently, the central Gender Unit was likely not to be familiar with what each unit was doing concerning the implementation process of the Gender Policy. This is an effect of the Gender Unit not being in a line management role in relation to the GFPs regarding the implementation of the Gender Policy. Overall, in answer to the second research question it can be said that a number of activities related to gender

[34] I put 'African tradition' in inverted commas because many of these supposed traditions are not actual traditions but were invented at certain points, often in reaction to colonial systems, to regulate a given society in problematic ways.

mainstreaming have been carried out at UEM but these are unevenly developed and carried out. The effect is that the implementation of the Gender Policy is challenged and the GFPs are left to wrestle with a difficult situation in a context where they are given insufficient support, resources, and responsibility.

With regard to the third research question, Chapters Five, Six, and Seven all contributed to answering it. Chapter Five shows that despite women being represented in a low percentage, in Engineering, Management, Gardening, Driving, Security, and Research, which are areas traditionally known as masculine, their representation can be seen as evidence of a positive impact of the Gender Policy within the UEM community. Further, Chapter Seven found that although the number of female deans of faculties and higher schools increased as a result of the implementation of the Gender Policy, many women are basically forced not to apply for management positions because of family responsibilities and the fear of behaving against the prevailing Mozambican culture. For instance, meetings are scheduled to last until very late (out of working hours) showing that the people who organize these meetings are not gender sensitive. Another factor that prevents women from participating more fully in academia is the fact that home responsibilities are not shared evenly among couples. Much needs to be done to change this. Nevertheless, it is important to note that in big cities like Maputo for example, some men are changing. They acknowledge that acting in traditional gendered ways is not only disadvantageous for them, but also for the entire family. The disadvantage of having women badly represented in management positions is that it creates the possibility of having final decisions only from a male perspective. Many female employees at UEM are in positions where they do not have a voice to actively influence the implementation process of the Gender Policy.

As suggested by Nogueira (2017), social categories do not act independently of each other. On the contrary, “they are interrelated creating a system of oppression that reflects the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination” (Nogueira, 2017: 142). Intersectionality theory calls for understanding how different social categories work together to prevent minority groups, in this case at UEM, from getting ahead. The fact that qualified women at UEM decide not to apply to management positions reflects the history of uneven distribution of power between the sexes at the institution. Having few women in higher positions results in few women with active voices engaging in the implementation process of the Gender Policy. A combination of female academic staff's gender roles, related traditions, practices, and institutional cultures thus results in the uneven implementation of the Gender Policy.

Chapters Six and Seven noted some positive changes as a result of the Gender Policy implementation. For instance, in 2021 UEM finally created an instrument to regulate harassment. As a consequence, in Inhambane (another UEM campus) two lecturers lost their jobs because of sexual harassment. Although this instrument was applied to punish two lecturers in Inhambane, the same measure was not applied in Maputo to a lecturer who traveled with his student and forced her to have sexual relations. This means that the presence of this instrument by itself does not solve the problem of sexual harassment. In order for this instrument to bring systematic positive changes, the same measure should be applied to all UEM employees regardless of their status at the university.

A critical assessment of Chapters Five, Six, and Seven (findings chapters) shows that the major objective of my study, to analyze the impact of the gender policy implementation at UEM, has been met. These chapters demonstrate that at UEM the patriarchal culture is still strongly present in people's minds. This is not helpful for women because this culture impacts negatively on their opportunities, hence reducing the possibility of gender equality in higher education.

8.2 Recommendations

Based on my findings I have three different kinds of recommendations: for the University Eduardo Mondlane, for the Gender Unit, and, finally, for further research.

8.2.1 *Recommendations for the University Eduardo Mondlane*

Based on my research, I make the following recommendations that need to be responded to at university level:

- The university should design and implement family-friendly policies to respond to women's needs and to reduce tensions between family responsibilities and academic life. Aware of the African culture that expects women to put marriage and family first, the university should schedule meetings only during working hours.
- The university should open a nursery inside the university.
- An annual cycle of induction meetings should be organized for all new staff and staff new to their positions to enable better communication of university strategies, requirements, guidelines, and priorities.
- The GFPs should be line-managed by the Gender Unit to better integrate and systematize their mainstreaming gender efforts. This means that GFPs should be appointed by the university management rather than by deans, and responsibility for the GFPs' day-to-day management

should be delegated to the Gender Unit. The work of GFPs should be integrated into their workload model, reducing their other work commitments accordingly, or if not, an extra payment should be introduced to recognize the additional labour imposed by this work.

- Gender should be a standing item on the agenda in every meeting across all faculties and higher schools.

8.2.2 *Recommendations for the Gender Unit*

Below, I address some recommendations for the unit responsible for implementing gender policies across the university.

- As part of that annual cycle of induction and an annual staff training week, all staff new to the university or new to their position (e.g. deans, heads of department) should be required to participate in a gender awareness workshop.
- Incentives such as awards for e.g. the best gender initiative at the university should be developed for GFPs to motivate them to perform their activities more effectively.
- The Gender Unit should establish an annual cycle of planning meetings with GFPs which should be published at the beginning of the academic year. To roll out the Gender Policy and related policies to all UEM campuses, the Gender Unit should hold regular obligatory awareness-raising meetings online with staff from the other campuses (Quelimane, Gaza, and Inhambane).

8.2.3 *Recommendations for Further Research*

- In the course of this study, a number of potential research avenues emerged. There is a need to conduct research that focuses on understanding what has changed at UEM after the approval of the anti-harassment policy.
- Since my study was carried out only in Maputo, it is important to research the gender awareness of the UEM employees in Quelimane, Gaza, and Inhambane to shed light on the possible influence of the Gender Unit location on the dissemination of gender-related issues.
- After deans aged 60 + have retired, it is crucial to research whether patriarchal values remain dominant among the new deans (younger deans). How has university life changed with the new deans and how have things progressed?
- It is important to audit the work of the Gender Unit. For example, research should be conducted on how many secondary schools the Gender Unit visited to invite pupils to apply

for UEM STEM courses. How many female students from those schools applied to UEM STEM courses? From those who applied how many belong to secondary schools at Maputo centre, and how many belong to secondary schools in Maputo suburb?

- It would be useful to carry out a study to understand the positive experiences of women in management positions at UEM in overcoming the glass ceiling and their daily experiences.
- Research is needed to understand what implementation practices work best when introducing new policies such as gender mainstreaming.
- Research is needed to understand men's position in relation to gender and to develop effective actions to support cultural change among them regarding attitudes towards gender.
- More research is also needed to understand how cultural change regarding gender issues within the institution might be promoted.

8.3 Contributions of my Study to Knowledge

This study has contributed empirically, epistemologically, theoretically, and to the discipline.

Empirical contribution: I have collected original empirical qualitative data as part of examining the implementation of the Gender Policy in Mozambique's higher education. As I showed in my literature review, research on implementing that policy in higher education in Mozambique is still relatively rare compared with, for instance, South Africa, and thus my research makes an original contribution to higher education studies in sub-Saharan Africa.

Epistemological contribution: Whereas previous gender studies in Mozambique have rightly focused on analysing gender statistics and problematic and undesirable gender gaps, this study contributes to the literature on gender (in)equality in academia by analyzing specifically the impact of the Gender Policy at UEM.

When discussing women in management positions with my interviewees, I concluded that implementing measures such as conducting meetings during working hours and designing family-friendly policies would allow more women to run for management positions. Since UEM is committed to reducing gender inequalities, and my dissertation will be available online and at the UEM library, this knowledge could be useful when UEM reviews its policies and plans.

Epistemologically I have also contributed to knowledge about GFPs whose role at Mozambican HEIs has not been explored to date.

Overall my findings chapters (Chapters Five, Six, and Seven) made me understand and conclude that for a better implementation of the Gender Policy, the GFPs need to be line-managed to the Gender

Unit. Making this happen does not involve costs, but just the willingness to do so. This knowledge is useful for all institutions committed to implementing gender policies, including UEM.

Theoretical contribution: In my work, I have conjoined intersectionality theory and postcolonial theory, which are often treated separately. I used intersectionality to consider how the intersection of gender and the functional role people have at UEM, together with the possibility to create opportunities to implement the Gender Policy, interrelate. Both postcolonial theory and African traditions which undermine women's position in the workplace, contribute negatively to the Gender Policy implementation. They reinforce patriarchal attitudes enabling gender policy to be sidelined.

Contribution to the discipline: My main contribution to Gender Studies is the original empirical data that I collected. Further, patriarchy as an issue has not been at the forefront of western feminist work for some decades. This ignores that in large parts of the world including Mozambique, patriarchy remains the dominant social gender structure. My study is thus in part intended to stimulate further and future discussion about patriarchal issues, not least in relation to a decolonizing perspective on contemporary patriarchal societies. And, as Amina Mama (2006: 53) declares: "ensuring equity of access at all levels and in all areas of the higher education sector is a minimal condition for the pursuit of gender equality."

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: Letter of acceptance from the UFS

GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

17-Mar-2020

Dear Ms Magaua, Natalia NH

Application Approved

Research Project Title:
Analyzing Gender Policies in Higher Education: A Case Study of the University of Eduardo Mondlane, Mozambique

Ethical Clearance number:
UFS-HSD2019/2102/1703

We are pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Prof Derek Litthauer
Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee

Digitally signed by Derek Litthauer
Date: 2020.03.17 15:57:04 +02'00'

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Appendix 2: Letter of acceptance from Mozambique

[Translation]

[Logo]

EDUARDO MONDLANE UNIVERSITY

Rector's Office

Dear Ms.

Dr. Natália Helena Magaua

Eduardo Mondlane University

Maputo

Our Ref. 1525/RT/2019 **Date: 24th September 2019**

Subject: Research Project-Analysis of Gender Policies in Higher Education

On the above subject, the Magnificent Rector issued the following order:

"I agree.

I recommend that you work with the Scientific Directorate to implement the initiative."

Signature:) Orlando António Quilambo, PhD

Date: 20.09.2019

Best wishes,

Office Director

[Signed and Stamped]

Carlito António Companhia, PhD

(Assistant Professor)

Appendix 3: Letter from the Scientific Directorate

UNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONDLANE

Direcção Científica

Exmo(a) Senhor(a)

_____

_____

Universidade Eduardo Mondlane

MAPUTO

S/Referência | N/Referência Nota n.º 290 /UEM/DC/2020 | Maputo 20.05.2020

Assunto: **Realização de pesquisa sobre Análise de Políticas de género na UEM pela Mestre Natália Magaua**

A **Mestre Natália Helena Magaua**, funcionária do Gabinete de Planificação e Qualidade Académica desta Universidade, está em processo de formação a nível de Doutoramento na Universidade *Free State* na República da África do Sul. Neste momento ela está em processo de recolha de informação ou dados para a sua pesquisa de culminação de curso intitulada ***"Análise de Políticas de género no ensino superior: estudo de caso da Universidade Eduardo Mondlane"***. Para a realização desta pesquisa na UEM, a Mestre Natalia Magaua solicitou autorização ao Reitor da UEM.

Tratando-se de um momento em que estamos em estado de emergência decretado no âmbito da pandemia do COVID-19, a pesquisadora fará a recolha de dados, através de envio do questionário em formato electrónico por email, que será preenchido e retornado pela mesma via. Quanto às entrevistas, poderão ser realizadas se as condições permitirem.

Para a efectivação da sua pesquisa, a Direcção Científica solicita a V. Excia todo o apoio necessário para que a pesquisadora termine o seu trabalho no período previsto.

Cientes de que o assunto merecerá de V. Excia devida atenção, aproveitamos a ocasião para endereçar os nossos melhores cumprimentos.

O Director

Prof. Doutor Emílio Tostão
(Professor Associado)

UNIVERSIDADE EDUARDO MONDLANE DIRECÇÃO CIENTÍFICA

Av. Julius Nyerere, nº 3453, 2º Andar-Edifício da Reitoria, Campus Principal, Caixa Postal 257, Tel.: +258 21304405, Telefax.:+258 21 485871, Celular 84 3025517, Maputo – Moçambique

Appendix 4: Letter addressed to the deans of Faculties and Higher Schools of UEM

Dear Sir,

…… …….

Natália Helena Magaua, an employee at the UEM Planning, Quality, and Institutional Studies Office, currently undergoing Ph.D. training at the University of Free State in South Africa, has very respectfully asking for authorization to conduct the collection of information on gender and higher education in faculty/higher school you run.

Thus, for the collection of data through questionnaires, I request from this faculty the indication of:

Two (2) lecturers,

Two (2) members of the Administrative Staff; and

A postgraduate student (preferably the head of the class).

The questionnaires will be administered through email.

For data collection through interviews, I request the indication of the GFP from your unit.

For additional information contact: nmagaua@gmail.com or 82 07 36 910

Thank you for your collaboration.

Appendix 5: Questionnaire: Academic community

This questionnaire is intended for the academic community (lecturers, administrative staff, and postgraduate students) at UEM. It aims to understand the changes that have taken place at UEM as a result of the existence of the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy. The questionnaire is anonymous. I invite you to participate in this study voluntarily.

Gender: Female …… Male …… ..Other .....

Name of the Faculty or Higher School ... ... ……

Mark your current academic status with X?

Postgraduate student …… Lecturer …… Administrative Staff ……

1. Have you ever heard about the Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy?

Yes… No…..

1.1 Where did you heard about the policy?

2. Have you noticed any change regarding the presence of women at different levels (students, administrative staff, management, and leadership positions) over the past five years?

3. The women's participation in decision-making forums (eg University Council and Council of Directors) is less than desired. Do you consider that women are free to occupy leadership positions at UEM? Justify your answer.

4. Within UEM, have you noticed the female presence in activities traditionally known as male and vice-versa?

4.1 Give examples of areas traditionally known as masculine that in the last five years there has been a female presence

5. Tell me about gender relations in the academia?

Thank you very much for this information

Appendix 6: Consent form

UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE
UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT
YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA
UFS UV

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my consent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation.

I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet. I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty (if applicable). I am aware that the findings of this study will be anonymously processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings.

I agree to the recording of the *insert specific data collection method*.

I have received a signed copy of the informed consent agreement.

Full Name of Participant: _____

Signature of Participant: _____ Date: _____

Full Name(s) of Researcher(s): _____

Signature of Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Appendix 7: Focus group question guide – Gender Unit employees

1. Interview date…/……../2020
2. Gender: Female……Male……..
3. Years of experience

Less than a year	1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	More than 15

1. Are you familiar with Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy?

2. What was the Gender Unit's role throughout the implementation of the Gender Policy?

3. Can you tell me if the gender policy implementers have benefited from any training?

4. Who was involved in the implementation of this policy?

5. Which resources (human/material / financial) were made available for the policy implementation?

6. Which activities has CCGI developed in Secondary Schools in order to increase female students at UEM?

7. Do you know about the existence/occurrence of any form of gender-based discrimination at UEM?

8. Have you got any positive or negative experiences related to gender at UEM?

9. Any additional information?

Thank you very much for your information.

Appendix 8: Focus group question guide - GFPs

Interview date:… / …… ../ 2020

Gender: Female .....Male...……..

Name of the unit: ……

Years of experience in your unit

Less than a year	1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	More than 15

1. How long have you been working as a Gender Focal Point (GFP)?

2. What is your role as a GFP?

3. Have you ever attended any training/workshop/seminar on gender issues?

4. Are you comfortable/capable to disseminate information about gender in your unit?

5. Are you familiar with Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy in Mozambique?

6. What is your role during the implementation of gender policy?

7. Does your unit have any plan to integrate gender issues?

8. Do you consider that gender mainstreaming is a priority at UEM?

9. Anything to add?

Thank you very much for your information.

Appendix 9: Interview guide - UCM

Interview date:… / …… ../ 2020

Gender: Female …… Male ……

Name of your unit: ……...

Years of experience at the UEM at the CUN

Less than a year	1 to 5	6 to 10	11 to 15	More than 15

1. Are you familiar with Gender and Quality in Higher Education Policy?

2. What has been done by your unit to contribute to the implementation of this policy?

3. Which activities have been carried out by UEM in order to contribute to the implementation of that policy?

4. What kind of coordinated effort has they been to implement the policy or has each unit acted individually?

5. Which resources (human, material, financial) were made available for implementing the policy?

6. Who are the implementers of this policy at UEM?

7. Do you know if the implementers of the gender policy have benefited from any training?

8. Have you noticed any changes in gender roles over the past five years? Can you give some examples?

9. What are your thoughts concerning women in management and leadership positions?

10. Regarding the gender policy implementation process. In which areas would you recommend changes and how? (Preparation, time/duration, content, among others).

11. How free are women at the University Council to give their opinion?

12. Do you think that gender equality initiative can be developed at the UEM? How?

13. Anything to add?

Thank you for your information.

Appendix 10: Themes used to report the results of the Gender Unit employees.

Question	Theme
Are you familiar with the Gender Policy?	The participant perception of the Gender Policy
What was the Gender Unit employees' role in the formulation and implementation of the Gender Policy?	Role of the gender Unit employees
Which activities has the Gender Unit developed in secondary schools to increase female students at UEM?	Raising awareness of the importance of a gender perspective
Do you believe that gender mainstreaming is a priority at the UEM?	Institutional commitment for gender mainstreaming

Appendix 11: Themes used to report the results from the GFPs

Question	Theme
Are you familiar with the Gender Policy?	The participants perception of Gender Policy
What do you do as a GFP?	Gender focal point's role in gender mainstreaming
Have you ever attended any training/workshop/seminar on gender issues?	Short Term Gender Courses
Are you comfortable/capable to disseminate information about gender in your unit?	Freedom to express on gender related issues
Does your unit have any plan to integrate gender issues?	Gender Action Plan (GAP)