Pursuing Equity: How Women Academics are Challenging Gender Norms and (Re)shaping University Culture in Ghana

by

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Ethics Statement

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Abstract

This research focuses on the experiences of women faculty, PhD candidates and administrators, and the courses of action they employ to raise consciousness about systemic gender bias and pursue gender equity. I discuss the methodologies that participants use to overcome barriers and sensitize their social and professional environments to the experiences of women. Using nego-feminist theory and methods, participants initiate critical discourse with family, peers and institutional power holders, encouraging their respective families, colleagues, departments and universities to be gender-sensitive, reshaping their social and professional environments.

Moving beyond their own departments, participants circumvent gender labour barriers and engage in collaborative co-development; building formal and informal networks, they effectively (re)create disrupted systems of support, furthering women's professional development. Women academics co-create anti-harassment policies and gender and advocacy centres, changing the institutional structures of their universities as part of their on-going pursuit of equity.

Keywords: gender, equity, feminism, nego-feminism, African feminism, Ghana, gender sensitization, intersectionality, academia, professional development, social consciousness

I dedicate this to my wife Tammy

who has supported my academic pursuits without question or doubt,

and to Professor Ann Travers

who saw my potential and chose to become a mentor.

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I would like to thank my participants for their generosity; for sharing their time, experiences and insights with me. I also thank the theorists, upon whose work I am drawing.

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List of Acronyms

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation.

C: Creche (preschool).

CEGENSA: Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy.

CEGRAD: Centre for Gender, Research, Advocacy and Documentation.

CODESRIA: Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa.

DAAD: Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst; German Academic Exchange Service.

GenCED: Gender Centre for Empowering Development.

JHS: Junior high school.

LGBT: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans.

LGBTQIA+: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer/questioning, intersex, asexual, all other sexualities, sexes not included in these letters.

NETRIGHT: Network for Women's Rights in Ghana.

UG: University of Ghana.

WAFIRA: Women Advancement Forum; International Exchanges, Research and Academia.

Glossary

Cedi: Ghana's currency.

Creche: Preschool.

Deviance: A recognizable violation of cultural norms.

Embodied: How individuals physically experience their world; connects social experiences to the physical, material body.

Equity: Fair and equal treatment in which proportionate resources and opportunities are made available to those who experience special circumstances (IE: gender, race, class, age, ability, etc.) as a method of equalizing access and representation.

Experiential: Knowledge/understanding based on experience and/or observation; involves complex knowledge based upon reflection upon experiences which can include physiological, emotional, psychological and social experiences.

Feminism: Advocacy for women's rights; based ideologically on equality of the sexes.

Gender: Socially constructed roles and behaviour that are typically socially associated with binary concepts of male and female sexes.

Gender discrimination: Gender discrimination occurs when decisions regarding characteristics, ability, activity of performance are based upon perceptions of gender, an ascribed characteristic, rather than capacity.

Gender equity: The fair treatment of individuals or groups, irrespective of gender, in which women should be given more proportionate access to resources and opportunities to overall equalize gender access and representation.

Gender labour: A division of labour in which different jobs are allocated to men and women.

Gender roles: The perceptions, attitudes and activities that society attaches to sex.

Gender sensitization: The reflective changing of beliefs and behaviours and perceptions of gender; includes an emphasis on building empathy and the impacts that perceptions of gender have on groups and individuals.

Hegemonic: Dominant social norms and values; the ingoing existence of hegemonic ideas often implies taken for granted consent to maintaining said ideas.

Imagined community: A term coined by Benedict Anderson (1991); describes a social construct of who does, and does not, belong within a community; involves identifying who belongs, and 'others' who do not.

Inferential sexism: Covert, possibly subconscious, often socially reinforced gender discrimination and/or bias that can be taken for granted or unquestioned.

Intersectionality: The complex interactions that different social factors (race, gender, age, class, ability, etc.) have when intersecting, creating multiple and varying layers of discrimination and privilege.

Labelling: How one's identity, as seen by oneself and others, is shaped by how others perceive or respond to them. Labelling is strongly impacted by notions of conforming and deviance.

Misogyny: Dislike, bias, prejudice and/or contempt for women.

Microaggressions: Subtle, brief, indirect and unconscious comments or behaviours that communicate prejudicial, hostile or degrading beliefs about a group of, often marginalized, people.

Microinvalidations: Acts or comments that negate or exclude the beliefs, thoughts, feelings or experiences of others.

Microinsults: Often deliberate acts, comments or behaviours that demean a person or groups. Microinsults are intended to cause harm, enable discrimination or perpetuate oppression.

Nego-feminism: A heterogeneous African feminist theory and methodology coined by Nnaemeka (2003). It functions as an inclusive feminism in which the removal of ego from the negotiative process engenders a focus on broader issues and their impacts.

Other: A person who is different from what is normalized, expected or considered socially acceptable; implies deviance; a method for implying or justifying bias in determining who does or does not belong within group, space, social, professional, cultural environment or nation.

Sexism: Prejudice or bias based upon a person's sex or gender; a system of oppression.

Social geography: Maps who does and does not ‘belong’ within spaces, cultural practices, discourses, professions; includes critical analysis of power relations as related to social inclusion and exclusion,(under)representation, (in)visibility, dominance and marginalization; does not exclude or require formal barriers to maintain social, political or power barriers.

Stigma: A negative label that has the ability to significantly impact or change an individual’s perception of themselves and their own identity within a social environment.

Tro tro: Privately owned minibuses that operate as a primary form of public transportation.

Chapter 1. Introduction

When I began this project, I knew it was ambitious. I questioned myself on the appropriateness of my performing this study; about my whiteness, my existence and life as a settler in the colonized space of Canada, a country that remains colonized by Ghana's former colonizer. I knew that my future included the possibilities of working in education, policy and inclusion, so I sought to learn and write about people, spaces and communities that I found to be underrepresented within my region and area of study. I hoped that this experience would shape my understanding, carve a path, and prove my capacity to develop knowledge and discourse. I was concerned about unintended bias and my limited understanding of Ghanaian contexts, so I applied for a visiting student researcher affiliation with the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana in Accra; an affiliation that enabled me to speak with faculty, access resources and research materials, and deepen my understanding of Ghana's educational system and culture.

During my field work preparation I studied Ghanaian culture, customs and expectations. I found a small studio apartment near the university, figured out where the markets were, the cedi[1], the tro tro[2] routes and stations. I scoured Google maps; in my mind, I walked through the neighbourhoods where I would be living, the streets of the city, and the grounds of the university. I knew that as much as I could prepare, I would still be unprepared. Just after New Years' and two days of travel, my plane began its

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[1] Ghana's currency.

[2] Privately owned minibuses that operate as a primary form of public transportation.

descent into Accra. I knew Accra was big[3], but as the plane flew over the metropolis my eyes grew with the size of the urban landscape. The lights from the city illuminated landmarks; I could see the dark space of the Achimota Forest, not far from the Legon campus of the University of Ghana. It was almost midnight, 32 degrees celsius and near 100% humidity. The winds of Harmattan had blown the sands of the Sahara south, across the continent covering Accra in a reddish brown haze, shading and colouring the night's sky.

After I arrived, I connected with the University of Ghana to begin my affiliation only to find that the paperwork was incomplete. I hurriedly acquired all the needed documentation online and had necessary hardcopies sent from Canada, submitting everything within a few days. Knowing that my affiliation would now be delayed for weeks, if not months, I redesigned my research methods. I researched universities online, academic networks, and female faculty that focused on gender, inclusivity and access to education. I introduced myself to administrative staff at universities, sent introductory emails to researchers and faculty, talked with members of the community, and researched at the National Archives.

I was concerned about whether or not I would be able to develop a network, access materials or obtain interviews. I anticipated that my being a cultural outsider who was asking questions and researching people who did not know me would raise concerns; after all, how could they be sure of my intentions and character? I worried that I would not be able to build a rapport with participants, and that interviews would be superficial.

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[3] 2019 Statistics from the Ghana Statistical Service lists the population of Accra Metropolis as over 2 million, with Greater Accra's population as nearly 5 million. For more information, see: http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/regionalpopulation.php?population=MTM0NTk2MjQzOS4yMDE1&&Greater%20Accra&regid=3

I approached these issues with the best methodology that I could determine: integrity and transparency. Knowing that my time was limited and invaluable, I worked diligently, seeking and conducting interviews, access research materials, further define my theoretical approaches, and develop my understanding of Ghanaian contexts.

As I talked to community members and organized my first interviews, I developed a sense of the importance and significance of community and collaboration. I spent time staying at Creche (C) to Junior High School (JHS) school just outside of Accra in Kasoa. Comfort, the headmistress and proprietress of the school, has built three schools in different locations, including one for special needs children, educating hundreds of students every day. Her process and intentionality focuses not only on educating children, but also on uplifting her community. Orphaned children and children who cannot afford to attend are invited, free of cost. To incentivize enrolment, children are fed breakfast and lunch at the school, then are sent home with dinner. Women in the community who are struggling and cannot afford to send their children to school are employed by the school, where they can earn income and their children can be fed and educated. Her intention and engagement is embedded in doing her best for her community; Comfort's impact is significant and wide spread throughout distance and time. Her insistence that no child in her school be identified as an orphan is not only an act of resistance against stigmatization and labelling, but also an assertion that no child in her school is without family; a belief essential to her principles of inclusion. Comfort engages in, and instills, an ideology of community-based connection. In her schools, everyone has family and is family, regardless of biological connection. For Comfort, 'home' is is not a narrowly defined nuclear construct; instead connects to traditional understandings of home that shape notions of 'family' into extended realms of home and

community; realms that have been disrupted, but still exist[4]. While Comfort's contribution is not included within the main part of this thesis, as I focus on tertiary education, her praxis of intertwining lives into, and within, communities has greatly informed my research.

It was during these weeks when I had to pivot and recreate my process, that I found a niche that few people were discussing. During interviews, I talked with participants about managing obligations, expectations and academic workloads. This expanded into discussions about gender expectations, the second shift and a need for networks. In mid-February, as the sands of Harmattan cleared, so did the focus of my research. It transitioned from centring on the experiences of first generation university students, to the embodied experiences of women academics: how they navigate their personal and professional lives, and the methods that they engage with to shape their experiences and environments. As life is ever changing and constantly in flux, overt, covert and unconscious negotiation manifests in social engagements within all realms, and is often unnoticed or under-acknowledged. It is these negotiative processes, within the theoretical methodology of nego-feminism[5], as coined by Obioma Nnaemeka (2003), that I have structured my research.

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[4] This concept of home and connectedness is embedded in traditional, "cultural foundation[s] of relational interconnectedness [that] actively influenc[e] many aspects of the lives of Ghanaian women" (Dzokoto & Darkwah, 2014, p. 7). The identification and impacts of community, home, collaborative networks, and culture of support are discussed further in Chapter 4. Gender norms in Ghana. The impacts that these extended realms of community have on professional development and how women are embedding them into their professional environments this is discussed in more detail in Chapter 6. Systems of support and Chapter 8. Professional development.

[5] I was first introduced to nego-feminism by Doris, a participant and lecturer in Public Policy. Nego-feminism is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, subsection 2. Nego-feminism.

I want to thank my participants for sharing their experiences, perspectives and culture with such thoughtfulness and generosity. It was extremely difficult to limit the scope of this thesis and determine who and what experiences would be included. I want to acknowledge that a participant's experience not being included in this study does not diminish the value, importance or uniqueness of their participation. All participants have significantly impacted my research. While I have included titles and positions in this study, you will find that participants are identified either by a pseudonym or their first name. This is my decision. In doing so, I have focused on using given names as a method of representing the connected communities that my participants create; connections that extend beyond the formal and professional. In doing so, I have sought to engage with participants as I was invited to do in person, and to acknowledge and present the relationships and systems of support that they endeavour to foster.

As I noted, limiting the scope of this thesis was difficult; ways that I would want to further develop this research would be through an expansion of formal and informal intergenerational accounts of policy and cultural change within prominent universities in Ghana. This expansion would track gender representation in faculties over time, conduct initial and followup interviews with longstanding female faculty, many who were central to the development and creation of the Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA) at the University of Ghana and the Centre for Research, Advocacy and Documentation (CEGRAD)[6] at the University of Cape Coast. An expansion would also track cultural, formal and informal policy changes related to gender needs, experiences and gender equity.

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[6] The gender research and advocacy centres at the University of Ghana and University of Cape Coast. These centres are discussed further in Chapter 8. Professional development and Chapter 9. Reputation and harassment.

This study focuses on the gender experiences of women academics in Ghana, including how gender impacts their ongoing pursuit of development in academia, and how actions promote gender equity, (re)shaping university cultures. I have contextualized my theoretical analysis within a culturally sensitive, ethnographic study that focuses on the lived experiences of participants. Ideas and how they manifest in the world are not "free floating constructs", but exist in "constant interplay with the construction of interests and the incentives" within their sociocultural contacts (Hickey & Nazneen, 2019, p. 27); thus I have applied intersectionality and symbolic interactionism as methods for examining micro-movements, individual actions, and their individualized and ground-level impacts, forming my research within a nego-feminist lens.

Embedding my research in ethnography study mitigates cultural colonialism, and the application of a nego-feminist theoretical framework appropriately bypasses Western-feminist structures which often include covert, subliminal, and/or presumed-to-be-correct world views. White, Western-centred perspectives often dismiss and/or devalue 'othered' non-Western people, including the 'othered' culture's ability to effectively and appropriately develop their own methods, values and beliefs that are equal to, or better than, the ways of thinking and being that inform Western cultures. By focusing on contextualized research, active participants and ethnographic engagement, this study mitigates Western supremacy and racist presumptions of victimhood that are so often embedded in Western research: that women in particular are "passive victims" of "male and colonial oppression" in which white feminism and security feminism validates its own "political and theoretical efficacy at the expense of the agency of the subjects of their discourse" (Andrade, 2007, p. 94).

Culture and social relations are dynamic, transformative, and always in flux. Thus, it is essential to contextualize this research within Ghanaian gender norms and avoid "uncritically projecting the concept of gender, which has mainly developed in Western feminist theory, onto African culture and politics", as the "nuances of gender relations manifest variable factors in different societies, informing gender discourse in distinct contexts" (Tamale & Olaka-Onyango, 2000, p. 2). '"[B]iological existence is reflected in political existence'" (Foucault in Sylvester, 2006, p. 68), and so, my research attends to narratives of ideological internalization, resilience, resistance, cultural recreation and activism. This does not require that the methodologies used by participants be overt, large-scale or highly visible. I focus on they ways participants act individually or collectively to reshape their social environments beyond their gendered constraints. This approach attends to intersectional vulnerabilities, active agency and creative capacity.

It is essential to note the limitations of this study. This study is not intended to present a monolithic or representative analysis of all women or women academics in Ghana, or a study that presents a Ghanaian context as representative of Africa. This study is intended to represent the experiences of participants, who in the telling of their stories, also present the experiences of women. By sharing their personal stories, they render women's, often obscured, experiences visible and demonstrate the impacts of ideological and systemic gender bias, placing personal experience within a broader dialogue.

Ghana is a diverse nation with numerous intersecting ethnic, religious, linguistic and regional cultures. Although my participants work and reside within two Souther regions of Ghana, the Greater Accra Region and Central Region, I refer to this study as existing in a Ghanaian context as participants come from or have lived in regions

throughout Ghana, it incorporates the academic work of women scholars from within Ghana and includes the development of (in)formal networks for women academics in Ghana, both of which are not limited to the Greater Accra and Central Regions.

Within such a technologically connected world and professional sphere that has been dominated by Western academia, it is unreasonable to anticipate that participants exist in a discrete intellectual or professional sphere untouched by Western feminisms. Nor is it desirable to intellectually engage in singularities of ideologies or perspectives. This diversity of influence and critique enables a complex intellectual perspective. As this of this nexus of experiences has not been systematically researched, I have focused on grounding this study in the experiences of participants. I have drawn on institutional, social and cultural and research focusing on gender, gender relations, policy and Ghanaian cultural studies as a method for tying together and mapping the intersectional influences, impacts and experiences of women academics in Ghana. I have embedded this research in nego-feminism, a form of African feminism that some participants actively use and advocate for the use of nego-feminist methodologies, and while some participants do not, their actions can often be deconstructed and analyzed through a nego-feminist lens[7].

I begin the body of this thesis by discussing methodologies and theory, defining gender norms and the impacts of gender hegemonies in Ghana. From this grounding, I discuss how gender impacts women's experiences within the university, the ways that participants render gender bias visible and challenge sexism within their social and

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[7] Nego-feminism's inclusive structure, discussed in further detail in Chapter 3, subsection 2. Nego-feminism does not require participants to restrict themselves to one form of feminism. This enables the use and application of nego-feminist theory and methodologies without demanding exclusivity in action or application.

professional environments, creating social change. To pursue professional development and increase women's representation in universities, participants create and foster systems of support, networks and collaborative development, while safeguarding themselves and their reputations against stigmatization and harassment. In pursuit of equitable professional environments, women work collaboratively with allies to reshape universities, co-creating centres for gender, gender research and advocacy, formally embedding gender concerns within their respective institutions.

My recommendation is that we learn from my participants: the ways they (re)shape their environments, make gender bias and sexism visible, create communities and mentoring relationships, shape new ways of doing work, and create social change. We should compel ourselves to actively reflect on ideological, institutional, structural and systemic biases, critically consider the methods we can engage with to actively promote equity.

Chapter 2. Methodologies

This chapter outlines my reflexive positionality, research design, methods and analysis. It also discusses how participants were recruited, their demography and how methods for interviewing, participant observation and discourse analysis have been used to analyze interview data.

2.1. Reflexivity

Before and throughout my research, the question of why am I researching women in Ghana has been in the forefront of my mind. To appropriately account for my positionality as a cultural outsider, and mitigate the risks of colonizing this research though a Western-centred lens, I have embedded my research in place-based study within Ghana, focusing on African feminist theory, ethnography and participant narrative.

I have sought to perform engaging research that highlights underrepresented and understudied experiences, resulting in the development of new knowledge. As I began my initial interviews, participants often noted in passing how mentoring and support systems impacted their experiences. They also discussed common, informal barriers they experienced within their university environments. As we discussed how these experiences impacted them, and methods they used for navigating issues and barriers, I found a fascinating and under-researched niche. I redesigned my research to include a focus on these areas. Towards the end of my field work, Akosua, a participant and Associate Professor in Sociology noted that she is looking forward to reading my findings; while she and other women academics live these experiences, no one has been researching it. Her interest demonstrates the value of being “seen”, reflected back.

It is essential to distinguish that I am not approaching this research and my participants in a way that defines or determines the participants or findings to be representative of many, most or all members of their social groups. Nor is my study representative of a monolithic culture. The work that I have performed here focuses on embedding research in the experiences of Ghanaian academics, within their sociocultural, academic and professional spheres. I demonstrate and analyze their perspectives and methods, all while drawing upon research produced by, predominantly female, Ghanaian academics. This positionality has stood at the forefront of my engagement with my research, materials and participants.

2.2. Research design

By focusing on in-depth discussions, targeted interviews and sociocultural context, I have concentrated on identifying internal and external constraints, formal and informal gender bias, intersectionality, commonalities of individualized experiences and methodologies for social change.

To best ground this research in Ghanaian cultural and sociological research, I applied for, and was granted, a research affiliation with the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana, Legon where I studied as a visiting student researcher in the Spring Semester of 2018. During this time I was able to network, research in the university library, within the Department of Sociology, Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA), and access research materials, including hardcopies not available though Simon Fraser University.

Arguing that one's study is 'representative' in and of itself is problematic; therefore a scope must be addressed. As Butler (2007) argues, "representation is extended only to what can be acknowledged as a subject"; therefore, "the qualifications for being a subject must first be met before representation can be extended (p. 2). This study, by default, focuses on women who have had the ability to access and develop within high levels of tertiary education; thus, it is semi-restrictive in regards to class[8]. Although the participant pool and scope of this research has significantly narrowed, it still exists within a large population of potential participants. Amongst the participants, with the exceptions of class and gender, no one self-identified as a member of an otherwise significantly marginalized group, including LGBTQIA+. It may be the case that all participants identify as heterosexual; but as homosexual activity is both taboo and

[8] The class background of participants is further discussed in Chapter 2, subsection 6. Participants.

criminalized in Ghana[9], it is unlikely that participants would voluntarily disclose this kind of information, or that my interviews would have the same quality of detail, had I discussed LGBTQIA+[10] identification and/or status, or the interviews might have ended abruptly.

Concerns of bias, internalized racism, Western-centrism, ideological and cultural colonialism, and cultural appropriation have been, and are, of significant importance. To attend to these concerns, critical reflection upon my positionality, intention and theoretical analysis has been part of my daily work. To mitigate cultural colonialism, I

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[9] The criminal code, (Act 29 in the Acts of Ghana), established in 1960 by the First Republic lists homosexuality as a criminal act under Section 104 - Unnatural Carnal Knowledge. This Act criminalizes homosexual intercourse, equating it with beastiality. It classifies non-consensual sex with a person 16 years of age or older as a first degree felony punishable from 5-25 years in prison, and consensual sex with a person 16 years of age or older as a misdemeanour, punishable by up to 3 years in prison.

The retention of this law and the ongoing stigmatization and violence regarding homosexuality in Ghana. makes it difficult for LGBTQIA+ people to publicly identify without facing risks of persecution and/or prosecution, including imprisonment, violence, sexual violence and death.

Concerns about an increase in inflammatory homophobic rhetoric has been raised by the Human Rights Watch regarding the United States-based World Congress of Families (WCF) promotion of anti-LGBT policies at their 2 day (October 31st-November 1st, 2019) summit in Accra.

Further contextual information regarding violence and discrimination against LGBT people in Ghana can be found in the 2018 report and articles (including audiovisual narratives) by the Human Rights Watch.

[10] Discussions about LGBTQIA+ status, identity and discriminatory laws were not included in my research ethics. Given their taboo/criminalized status, and this study's research ethics approval not including research on LGBTQIA+ issues, this subject is beyond the scope of this study.

have embedded this study in African ethnographic research and theory (Women in Academia: Gender and Academic Freedom in Africa, 2000; Africa After Gender, 2007; Achebe, 2013; Andrade, 2007; Bádéjo, 1998; Beoku-Betts & Njambi, 2005; Boris, 2007; Bozalek, 2015; Fashina, 2000; Lynch, 2011; Hickey & Nazneen, 2019; Holm & Cilliers, 1998; Joseph, Gouws & Parpart, 2011; Nkealah, 2016; Nnaemeka, 2003; Reed, 2001; Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000; Wane, 2011; Waylen, 2019), including Ghana-based scholarship, predominantly researched by Ghanaian academics (Gender Training in Ghana: Politics, Issues and Tools, 2001; Allah-Mensah & Osei-Afful, 2019; Anyidoho & Ampofo, 2015; Apusigah, 2004; Baah-Boateng, 2014; Boateng, 2014, 2018; Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2004; Britwum et al., 2014; Cusack, 2009; Darkwah, 2010, 2013; Dillard, 2018; Dzokoto & Darkwah, 2014; Mabokela & Mlambo, 2015; Manuh, 2007; Mekgwe, 2007, 2010; Mordi, 2019; Morley, 2011; Oduro et al., 2011; Oppong, 1972; Prah, 1996, 2004; Tsai & Dzorgbo, 2012; Tsikata, 2007; Yeboah et al., 2014). Although I draw on feminist theory from Western cultures to expand my analysis of systems and power (Alemán, 2014; Baker, 2010; Basford et al., 2014; Becker & Swim, 2011, 2012; Butler, 1988, 2007, 2013, 2015; Elliott, 2017; Fiamengo, 2002; Fontana, 2002; Faulkner, 2011; Greenspan & Bolkosky, 2006; Isaac, et al., 2012; Manne, 2018; Hines, 2019; Hudson, 2005; Paechter, 2006; Pas, 2013; Romito & Volpato 2005; Sue et al., 2008; Swim, 2011; Tickner, 2004; Tougas, et al., 1995, 1998; Young, 2001; Vidali, 2016; Wilson & Donnan, 2006)[11], this methodology appropriately eschews assumptions of working primarily within Western-Feminist frameworks. By focusing on ethnographic research and theory, I embed this research within the perspectives, experiences and context of participants. By grounding this study in a nego-feminist[12] framework, this study emphasizes how

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[11] While I have not sought to exclude researchers on the basis of sex, I have deliberately sought to research and represent women academics in this study. Of the authors (some represented in multiple articles) listed in this study, 78 are women and 26 are men.

[12] This theory is discussed in detail in Chapter 3, subsection 2. Nego-feminism.

participants pursue their own interests and ambitions, as defined by them, within their own context and values.

2.3. Multi-sited ethnographic research

This research is multi-sited, including participants from four public and private universities in Accra and Cape Coast; participants from each site are included in this thesis. Academic research has been performed at Simon Fraser University in Canada, the National Archives of Ghana and the University of Ghana, Legon in Accra, Ghana.

Locations for interviews varied, depending upon interviewee preference and my safety. Most interviews were conducted on university campuses; some interviews were conducted in public spaces and private residences. Most interviews were held in participants' on-campus offices. These spaces were convenient and private, or semi-private, facilitating conversations with minimal disruption. At times when I arrived early or interviews were delayed, I minimized my presence in the area, finding a space where I was visible, but away from the participant, should they not want colleagues or students knowing that I was interviewing them. Some participants were comfortable holding interviews in semi-public or public spaces, such as open seminar rooms or quiet bistros. This enabled them to experience a comfortable balance of privacy both for the conversation and from colleagues. One participant, a Professor, invited me to interview her at her home. As she had an excellent reputation, had spoken with me on the phone several times, and was referred to me by a trusted participant, I felt comfortable holding the interview in her home.

2.4. Risk analysis

The risk, probability and potential magnitude of harm associated to participants of this research has been assessed by Simon Fraser University's Office of Research Ethics as low. To best meet the needs and comfort of participants, I had detailed discussions with them prior to their interviews. We discussed, and they determined their preferred, levels of identification/confidentiality. I offered participants a range of identification and confidentiality, from full identification to maximal confidentiality, including the use of pseudonyms[13] and a scaled exclusion of identifiers (position, title, place of work, department and faculty). Most conversations were recorded[14], all recordings are password protected, and I am the only person with access to these recordings.

Participants were provided with a copy of the consent form prior to, or at the beginning of, their interview, and interview content was discussed with participants prior to their interviews. To maximize their comfort, ongoing and informed consent was used and participants were invited to determine their level of confidentiality at the beginning or the end of the interview. Participants were offered copies of the consent form and any specifics associated with consent not outlined in the form, such as the exclusion of identifiers (IE: department, position, etc.) were manually added to both copies (theirs and mine) and initialed. There were no withdrawals from this study.

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[13] In addition to the option of being identified or given a pseudonym, participants were provided the opportunity to identify their preferred pseudonym. For those who did not express a preference, I have made chosen pseudonyms for them based upon my best knowledge of their personalities and family heritage, attending to the cultural meaning background of names chosen.

[14] One participant requested that our interview not be recorded. She gave permission for note taking.

There were no direct benefits associated with participating in this study as there were no material of financial incentives. Potential indirect benefits included the opportunity to share valued experiences and perspectives, insights and opinions. Participants may also benefit from catharsis, reflection on issues that they otherwise would not focus on, and possibly reconsidering current or future decisions. Participants could also value being part of a research project where the advancement of knowledge, and discussion about their experiences are the primary focus.

2.5. Participant recruitment

To facilitate interview recruitment, I engaged in targeted interview requests, referral sampling, convenience sampling, and community engagement. I researched potential participants and emailed requests for interviews, providing a letter of introduction that included a short biography and details of my research. Some participants were recruited through referrals from participants and one participant, a faculty Dean, offered to allow me to distribute a survey in her department. As part of my research affiliation with the Department of Sociology at the University of Ghana, I was provided with a faculty mentor, Dr. Dzisah who, in addition to connecting me with access to CEGENSA resources, worked with Dr. Darkwah, a faculty member, to connect me with potential participants in various faculties across the university.

In addition to academics, I connected and conducted informal conversations with local women in my neighbourhood, and women associated with women's empowerment organizations and public research. As these were informal conversations, they are not included in the participant pool. However, these conversations have provided context and insight into the intersectional aspects of the lives of Ghanaian women, assisting me in

navigating interviews and identifying potential gaps in knowledge of gender issues in Ghana.

2.6. Participants

My participants come from diverse backgrounds. Some are the children of academics, growing up in university environments of critical discourse and activism, others come from military or working class backgrounds, and some from backgrounds of poverty, child labour and severe hardship[15]. Participants include female faculty members, PhD candidates and administration from a variety of faculties including Arts, Business, Science and Social Sciences. Some participants received their tertiary education in Ghana while others have studied entirely, or in part, in Europe, Canada or the United States. This results in a diverse educational background in which participants have varying lived and educational experiences, expertises and exposures, including Ghanaian and non-Ghanaian contexts.

Thirty-five individuals were interviewed: thirty-one women and four men. Of the thirty-one women, twenty-two are faculty members, nine are PhD candidates and one is an administrator; they work or study at four universities in Accra and Cape Coast. From

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[15] It is important to note that while this study includes participants from diverse class backgrounds, the current class and socioeconomic status of my participants results in a participant pool that predicates a high level of privilege. As class privilege and socioeconomic stability can impact perceptions of risk, my participant's perceptions of class and socioeconomic (in)stability are likely to impact their perceptions of risk, reflexively influencing how they engage within negotiative frameworks. Tenured faculty may be more willing to engage in overt challenges to gender bias and discrimination, while PhD candidates may feel more vulnerable, decreasing their willingness to directly challenge people or systems of power.

within this smaller grouping of twenty-two women, I have focused this thesis on the experiences of twelve participants: seven faculty members, five PhD candidates and one administrator. While I appreciate and value the experiences, insights and participation of all of my participants, I have chosen these participants to show the variety of experiences, methodologies and perspectives that are experienced individually, and as a social grouping, as well as the diversity of experiences across positions.

Total participants included in the field research, categorized by professional/academic position and gender:

Total participants	University Faculty	University Administrators	PhD Candidates	Creche [Preschool (C)]- Junior High School (JHS) Faculty	C - JHS Administrators	Community Members
Female	14	1	8	1	1	6
Male	1	0	0	0	1	2

Total participants included in this thesis, categorized by professional/academic position and gender:

Total participants included in thesis	University Faculty	University Administrators	PhD Candidates	Creche [Preschool] (C) - Junior High School (JHS) Faculty	C - JHS Administrators	Community Members
Female	7	1	5	0	1	0
Male	0	0	0	0	0	0

A survey was dispersed at one of the four universities; of the fifty surveys dispersed, forty-five were completed. As the scope of my thesis has significantly narrowed, these surveys are not included in this thesis as they focus on the perspectives of undergraduate students.

Interviews are "created together; each participant in response to the other, and both in response to what has emerged and is still emerging (to change prepositions again) between them. The yield of their work together—whatever ends up on the transcript or the tape—is also a mutual creation" (Greenspan & Bolkosky, 2006, p. 432). Participants in this research are considered to be guides, in which their insights and knowledge provide rich data for comparative and theoretical analysis. To develop a socially complex study, I focused on building relationships with participants and "open" (Greenspan & Bolkosky, 2006, p.433), adaptive questions to encourage a more fluid conversation. This focused on developing trust, while allowing participants to contribute what they believed to be important.

I anticipated that my race and nationality would raise questions and concerns about who I was, why I was researching in Ghana, and how participants would be represented in my research. As the wellbeing of my participants is my foremost concern, at the beginning of interviews I offered and encouraged participants to ask me questions about myself, my research and background. I hoped that, despite sociocultural and systemic boundaries, differences in personalities and experiences, and my being a white, Western outsider, this approach could assuage some of my participants concerns about themselves, their boundaries and their experiences being respected. They were welcomed to begin and/or end the interview with any questions they may have. Many took this opportunity, often at the beginning.

Although most asked me questions about why I was engaging in this research, none directly expressed concern regarding how they may be perceived and in what context they may be represented. Regardless, I anticipated that this may be a hidden or implied concern. I was being "trusted with the deeply personal stories of others" (Elliott, 2017, p. 27), and so I took a reciprocative approach that incorporated mutual vulnerability. I assured participants that they were defining the degrees of their participation; they were invited to actively engage with me by raising questions, determining, in essence, a sense of my character. While this Q&A exchange utilized valuable time allotted for interviewing, the mutuality of open dialogue often resulted in increased ease, comfort and trust. Although not essential, it was more often than not a significant part of creating a qualitatively dense interview experience.

2.7. Interviews

During formal interviews, I engaged in semi-structured interviewing. All interviewees were encouraged to answer specific and open-ended questions, enabling the interviews to be both consistent and directionally informed by the participant (Greenspan & Bolkosky, 2006). My initial interview questionnaire was designed to be adaptive; there were key areas to be addressed, but it was also flexible enough to enable interviews to direct remarks towards particularities and nuances that I may not have identified. This flexibility also mitigated false assumptions that could misdirect the trajectory of the findings.

The majority of interviews lasted for one hour; some, due to participant constraint, were less, and several were significantly longer, lasting 2-3 hours. Two participants engaged in multiple interviews.

2.8. Participant observation

Rather than assuming a detached observer status in which participants are viewed as "passive, observed objects" and researchers as active observers (Culhane, 2017, p. 10), I considered my engagement as "'observant participation'" (Tedlock in Culhane, 2017, p. 10). I reflected on how I and my participants responded to varying levels of engagement, and how physiological, social and emotive interactions impacted the interviews. I focused on creating a "relaxed" interview that used the questionnaire as a guideline; shaping conversations where participants could respond to questions and provide nuance and insight to a receptive and attentive interviewer (Greenspan & Bolkosky, 2006, p.

441). This process often resulted in engaging interviews where attention and ease allowed me to ask the right question, at the right time.

During conversations, I paid attention to physiological reactions, noted changes in speech, tone and cadence, emotive responses and changes in perceptions of comfort, engagement, behaviour or tone, incorporating them into my field notes. On the occasions when a participant's behaviour shifted, particularly if their voice, movement and dialogue indicated discomfort, I considered whether or not I should continue that part of the conversation, transition to another question, and/or perform an ongoing consent check-in. During ongoing consent check-ins, no participant stated that they found the interviews or the questions uncomfortable, and all wanted to continue the interview. I incorporated post-interview field notes within 24 hours, adding further reflections as they arose.

Interviews have been transcribed and compared to identify variance, similarity, consistency and changing patterns of lived experience. Transcripts have been thickened by field notes (Vidali, 2016, p. 2) enhancing their content by accounting for the individualized reactions, presentations of subjectivities of emotional affects, and emotive representations.

2.9. Discourse analysis

As I mentioned before, during all interviews and conversations, I attended closely to personal histories, changes in physiological behaviours and emotive responses, noting changes in overall demeanour, language, tone and mood. Transcripts have incorporated expressions, pauses, exclamations, hesitations, and other changes in speech and speech

patterns. Using this process, I have attended to signposts that signal ideological vacuums of normalization, including normalized gender roles and expectations.

The subjectivity of personal histories can be problematic as they can incorporate issues related to inaccurate memory, be difficult to verify. Participants may shape narratives to fit what they think are my interests, or represent themselves and their experiences in the way they prefer to be perceived, rather than a strict retelling of an event. To assist in the verification of participant narrative data, I have framed my interviews with participants to attend to specific themes of experiences and challenges, marking (dis)similarities, paralleling them with other participant narratives, and comparing the theory and documentation developed by Ghanaian researchers.

When analyzing interviews, I paid close attention to personal histories and the multisensory ethnographic details (Vidali, 2016; Wilson & Donnan, 2006) from the thickened transcripts. Using this process, I engaged in discourse analysis and pattern-naming, attending to signposts that signal normalized ideologies, including normalized gender roles, expectations and risks associated with deviance from said roles[16]. Few questions were declined to be answered and no obfuscations or vagaries occurred during interviews that would lead me to suspect dishonesty on the part of participants. A few interviews had moments when participants circumvented answering questions; but, as this is a common practice for establishing a polite barrier in Ghanaian culture, it implied a desire for privacy, rather than intentional misdirection[17]. In circumstances where I sensed

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[16] Gender roles, expectations and risks related to deviance are discussed in Chapter 4. Gender norms in Ghana, and Chapter 8, subsection 4. Stigmatization.

[17] Out of respect for the participants and the spirit of my ethics agreement with them, I have not included these moments in the study as they are not necessary to the research, and exclusion of the data is in consideration of their best interests.

I was encroaching on the personal boundaries of participants, I adapted my line of questioning to respect their privacy. The majority of interviews resulted in all questions asked being answered, in detail, with minimal hesitation.

With this perspective and methodological framework, I have situated this study within the context of the lived experiences of participants (Greenspan & Bolkosky, 2006; Vidali, 2016), attending to narratives that they identify as significant; narratives that represent a gap in academic discourse. By seeking participants from a variety of disciplines in multiple public and private universities, I have established a diverse participant pool, creating a sampling varied in academic discipline, socioeconomic background. Varied levels of professional achievement and social power additionally facilitates a strong representation of varied sociocultural experience, while effectively attending to similarities of experiences.

Chapter 3. Theory

In this chapter, I discuss 'African feminisms' and define nego-feminism, distinguishing it from other feminist theories, including its structure of inclusivity and negotiative flexibility, and how and why nego-feminism is both a well-suited and ethically appropriate theory to apply to this research and feminism's pursuit of equity.

3.1. African Feminisms

It is essential to explicitly state that I do not define the term 'African Feminism(s)' in order to present a the existence of a singular, unitary perspective or to present any conception of 'Africa' or 'African' as a categorical unit; but rather, to acknowledge the diversity of feminist perspectives within African contexts, and more broadly, across the a globe. I do this to reject beliefs that feminism(s), including African feminisms exist monolithically, as well as to challenge the tendency of passive and inappropriate implications that 'Western feminism(s)' are default and/or universal, perpetuating divisive 'self' and 'other' perspectives. Ama Ata Aidoo, a renowned Ghanaian writer and storyteller, defines feminism as part of African heritage, saying:

> 'It is not new and I really refuse to be told I am learning feminism from abroad…. [Identifying feminism as 'Western'] erases from memory the long histories of women's resistance to local and imperialist patriarchies. [...] Many women's mutinies around the world predated Western feminism or occurred without any contact with Western feminists'
> (Aidoo in Mekgwe, 2007, p. 172).

Africa is a large and diverse continent and "African women's responses to the inequities of Western feminisms have resulted in theorisations of indigenous feminist

models that aim to speak feminism from (1) an African cultural perspective; (2) an African geopolitical location; (3) and an African ideological viewpoint" (Nkealah, 2016, p. 62). Drawing upon their respective histories, cultures, stories and symbols (Bádéjo, 1998) including "'knowledge of the African worldview as inscribed in proverbs'" (Nnaemeka in Nkealah, p. 67), theorists of 'African feminisms' "resist the label of 'feminism' in its Western sense"; instead, they emphasize indigeneity, inclusion, empowering women and enlightening men to the purpose of improving the material conditions of women (Nkealah, 2016, p. 63). This attention to cultural context and sensitivity raises awareness of the need to attend to diversities of ethnicity, caste, class, excluded or ostracized groups[18] and sociocultural power within social groups or regions while challenging colonialist framings of Africa which correlate diverse ethnic and cultural groups under an umbrella of African sameness.

Prominent broad-scale definitions of African feminisms by African feminist scholars include a "diverse array of politics centred on the pursuit of more equitable gender relations" (Wane, 2011, p. 14), and an incorporation of Indigenous African knowledge and experience that is combined, 'fused' together, rather than detached and "compartmentalized" (Wane, 2011, p. 7). This framing of feminism shapes non-exclusionary participation in regards to gender representation (Boateng, 2014; Dillard, 2018; Hickey & Nazneen, 2019; Mekgwe, 2007, 2010; Nkealah, 2016; Nnaemeka, 2003; Reed, 2001; Wane, 2011). These inclusive structures focus on "communalism, cooperation and collectivity, rather than individualism, shaping techniques for collective wellbeing (Wane, 2011, p. 9).

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[18] I.E.: Despite inclusionary ideologies, advocacy for LGBTQIA+ people, and their heightened social vulnerabilities are underrepresented in African feminist discourse (Nkealah, p. 65).

Amina Mama argues that colonization across the African continent inundated indigenous cultures with European gender politics, including "all-male European administrative systems…insidious paternalism of the new religious and educational systems", that have "affected all aspects of social, cultural, political, and economic life in postcolonial African states" (Mama in Wane, 2011, p. 16). Traditional social, community and economic systems were disrupted, while systems reinforcing inequality were cultivated (Wane, 2011, p. 10). It is from this history that African feminism reengages with its indigenous roots, decolonizing compartmentalized feminism to foster collaborative feminism (Wane, 2011, p. 8), creating the need for dialogue on how historical, colonial experiences have "resulted in renegotiation, reconsideration and remaking of the African gender construct"[19] (Mekgwe, 2010, p. 193).

While women in Africa have traditionally played central roles in political organizing and forms of resistance, patriarchal social structures have resulted in women occupying "very subordinate roles in society" (Wane, 2011, p. 18-19). And so, African feminism identifies with emancipatory feminist struggles on a global scale: it is a "struggle for the liberation of women, and encompasses epistemologies, methodologies, theories, and modes of activism that seek to bring an end to the oppression and subordination of women by men" (Wane, 2011, p.14). It is from this broad understanding of inclusive, collaborative African feminism that Nnaemeka has shaped the theoretical and methodological framework of nego-feminism.

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[19] Colonization and its effects on perspectives of gender, gendered power relations and the necessity for decolonizing systems and institutions are discussed further in Chapter 9, subsection 1. Power, Reputation and equal harassment.

3.2. Nego-feminism

Nego-feminism is an African feminist theory and methodology coined by Nnaemeka (2003). It functions as an inclusive feminism in which the removal of **ego** from the **negotiative** process engenders a focus on broader issues and their impacts. It emphasizes the development of empathy and creates opportunities for a diversification of methodologies and perspectives. This heterogeneity underpins nego-feminist theory, effectively structuring a methodology that attends to the subjectivities of individual, community and cultural values, as well as individual experiences and circumstances. While focusing on the needs of women, its grounding in the inclusivity of African feminism, rather than detached individualistic ideologies, defines the wellbeing of women within a community identity where all are considered collectively and communally, rather than dichotomously. This intentionality shapes nego-feminism as an inclusive feminist theory and practice: “African patterns of feminism can be seen as having developed within a context that views human life from a total, rather than a

dichotomous and exclusive perspective. For women[20], the male is not 'the other' but part of the human same" (Steady in Nnaemeka, 2003, p. 379-380).

Nego-feminism's framework challenges systems, power and norms through discourse, negotiation and compromise (Nnaemeka, 2003, p. 377-378); its decolonizing construct of nego-feminism attends to the community-based origins of African feminisms in which "the inclusion of women was evident in the social, economic, ritual, and political spheres" (Steady in Wane, 2011, p. 9). By focusing on inclusion, nego-feminism encourages activism and allyship though non-violent, non-divisive methodologies that render visible and challenge, often opaque, deeply embedded sexist and misogynist ideologies. Through these methodologies, nego-feminism challenges power, and redefines it as inclusive rather than divisive. Collaborative, individualized and co-created feminist actions enable women, and allies, to act within their social, professional and familial spaces, to create micro and macro-level change, (re)shaping social geographies, relationships and systems to become increasingly equitable. African feminism, "is what they do for themselves and for others" (Nnaemeka, 2003, p. 378); the wellbeing of all are

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[20] While there are LGBT advocacy groups active in Ghana, Ghana's culture holds an essentialist, cis-hetero understanding of gender that is generally untroubled. From this point on, I will be referring to this definition of 'women' within the context of this study.

The clear and embedded roles within Ghanaian society results in LGBTQIA+ people existing the margins, which is problematic for human rights and the application of inclusive nego-feminism theory and methods. Just as first, second and third wave feminism actively and ideologically excluded groups of people (discussed further in this chapter), the exclusion of women who do not fit essentialist, cis-hetero classification within contemporary Ghanaian contexts is a challenge for nego-feminism and feminist activism overall in Ghana.

This study is not intended to force Western theory and application into an African context. Bridging anti-essentialism within Western feminism with the essentialism contextualized within this study is not possible in this context.

considered, and invited into the process of pursuing equity. This is done by increasing the visibility of women and systemic gender bias, shifting who is included and excluded within the imagined communities of academia. In doing so, patriarchal powers of dominance and marginalization are challenged through women's representation and recognition.

Nnaemeka grounds her theory in a foundation of negotiation, balance and inclusion in which negotiation has the double meaning of "give and take/exchange" and "cope with successfully/go around" (Nnaemeka, 2003, p. 377-378). Thus, it is essential to note that nego-feminism's flexibility enables individuals to self-determine the method and extent to which they engage in challenging power and renegotiating social hierarchies. This sensitivity is essential, given the impacts of intersectional vulnerabilities of class, gender, financial and professional (in)stability, etc.. It also acknowledges that social change is a process of negotiation, requiring lengthy collaborative processes for the development of cohesive understanding, and the embedding of social change. This attention to inclusion, risk and lengthy processes is forward-thinking, versatile and grounded; while negotiation enables the circumventing of common barriers, allyship, collaboration and engagement encourages the "power of collective responsibility to tackle social issues" (Wane, 2011, p. 8). Working within oppressive systems requires navigating around biases and barriers in order to continue to function within the systems, while advancing effective change. This often requires cost-benefit analyses in order to assess risks, comparing them with potential setbacks to overall agendas and ambitions, implying complicity and support for oppressive power structures. Those who are unbothered by gender inequality may align their beliefs with dominant power structures; however, it is essential to avoid assumptions that those who

are working within systems are supportive of embedded inequalities, as it is often a necessary process for creating effective, meaningful change.

Engaging in negotiative methods can be critiqued as a softening of feminism by making it more palatable for men and women who have internalized patriarchal ideology. This kind of reflexive critique is important to reevaluating and reengaging with feminist ideologies, but it is important that it not be utilized as dismissive. Negotiative dialogue is part of everyday social negotiation and is essential for building allies. This, combined with the knowledge that systemic change does not happen simply because unfairness has been declared, but is instead a lengthy, intergenerational process of deliberation, conversation, activism and (re)creation, is needed to temper excessive critiques. Nego-feminism's ideological frameworks is based in the long-term activist goals of gender equity and inclusionary practices; resistant audiences and risk to activists must also be included within the analysis of negotiative of methods.

Existing as a theory and methodology for facilitating social change, nego-feminist methods are often performative. Activists challenging tacit and inferential biases which result in confronting long-standing ideologies are often met with denial or resistance to belief in the existence of unjust inequalities; demonstrative methods which make gender inequality visible are often necessary means of illuminating and defining discriminatory practices and ideologies[21]. Performative actions illustrate, represent and humanize the often depersonalized impacts that ideologies of gender inequality perpetuate. Nego-feminism's attentiveness to risk is central to its inclusive structure; it enables actors to

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[21] This is discussed throughout the study, particularly in Chapter 5. Impacts of gender expectations in Academia, Chapter 6. Sexism: making the hidden visible, Chapter 8, subsection 4. Stigmatization and Chapter 9. Reputation and sexual harassment.

self-determine their own level of potential risk[22] in relation to their personal circumstances and individual risk threshold. Gender roles and behaviours condition women and men to perceive male superiority and patriarchal power as normal, rather than normalized, where cultural defaults, and gender performances are created within these structures. Nego-feminism accommodates concerns regarding the varying degrees to which individuals and groups internalize patriarchal gender hegemonies through its focus on inclusion and the removal of ego from the process. This removal of ego, combines with negotiative discourse to shape an environment that can focus on problematic ideology and inequality, rather than tone and ideological hypersensitivity. Inclusion, discourse and empathy are essential for diminishing resistance, enabling nego-feminism to challenge systemic discrimination while minimizing the defensiveness that can impede social change[23].

Focus on negotiation can be considered to reinforce the ways women are positioned to argue for their best interests: emphasizing approachability and discourse parallels gender expectations that women be friendly and approachable, rather than direct and firm. This can be interpreted as seeking permission to challenge power and systems of inequality, ultimately reinforcing systems of patriarchal power. However, this is too narrow an interpretation of nego-feminism. Although nego-feminism's structure is negotiative, it is not apologetic: it enables women to engage in feminist activities relative to their inclinations, needs and circumstances. Women's standing within masculinist stratums does not necessarily represent complicity, it represents capacity; wherein such women can also be the activists in the room.

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[22] Risks associated to challenging patriarchal hegemonies, gender roles and established systems of power are discussed further throughout this study.

[23] These issues are further discussed and problematized in Chapter 4. Gender norms in Ghana and Chapter 6. Sexism: making the hidden visible.

The emphasis on the removal of ego from negotiation is designed to negate ego-driven argumentation, facilitating inclusivity in a discursive environment where diverse perspectives can be heard and understood. This inclusion is central to feminist arguments that the perspective of women be taken seriously, and follows the conviction that knowledge is developed by engaging in meaningful dialogue with those whose ideas diverge. Feminism and feminist activity is heterogeneous: to demand a singularity of perspective, engagement or ideology embeds exclusion into what ought to be an inclusive framework. To negate this would be to repeat the errors of the past in which people due to sex, gender, sexual orientation, class, caste and ability have been excluded from processes of engagement and sociocultural movements. This form of restriction further underrepresents underrepresented groups of people. Inclusion and heterogeneity is essential; equality is not served when policies of exclusion are practiced.

While nego-feminism can, and ought to be critiqued, favouring and applying a Western-feminist framework would be inappropriate and ill-advised. Although feminisms advocate for women's rights on the basis of the equality of the sexes, feminist theories can be problematized by deconstructing how, and by whom, feminism is defined. Within the context of Western feminist theory, intentional and unintentional exclusionary practices have been embedded in the racialized, classist, queer phobic and transphobic history of the feminist movement. In a Western feminist context, first wave feminism predominantly excluded racialized, lower-class and queer people (Fiamengo, 2002). While second wave feminism unevenly pushed for inclusion of racialized and lower class women, it did so by entrenching feminist ideology within essentialism, where ‘woman’ is distinct from ‘man’ (Hines, 2019, p. 149), perpetuating the ongoing dehumanizing 'othering’ of LGBTQIA+ people. During third wave feminism, the feminist movement

transitioned towards a more inclusive ideology; however, in spite of its expansion to include the rights of lesbian, gay and bisexual people, transphobia remained a divisive problem, due to the continued ideological dominance of binary "'sexed'" bodies (Hines, 2019, p. 155). Although, through an emergent fourth wave of feminism, this tension has decreased in response to increased inclusion of the trans community, transphobia remains a line of devision. The intergenerational change, alongside the ongoing conflict demonstrate how ideologies of gender identity and inclusion transition over time through inclusionary discourse, yet remain deeply impacted by the purview of long-standing power-holders.

In order to mitigate a cultural colonialist and cultural imperialist framework of feminist theoretical application, gender discourse must be contextualized within the white-centredness, cultural and social environment being discussed. Westernized feminism is problematized by classism, and a historical and cultural embeddedness of white, Western superiority, further enabling an imperialist, hegemonic internalization of the 'right ways to do things' on a global scale. From this standpoint, Western feminism structures feminist "emancipation" through consumption (Mohanty, 2003, p. 9). Within this context, mobility, rights and freedoms are embedded in the capitalist ideologies of security feminism, and structured in physical, economic and cultural colonialism (Pas, 2013; Tickner, 2004). Through this viewpoint, Western feminism can be argued to exist and negotiate within dominant ideologies of power, embedding and embracing a white, Western way of perceiving its place within the world, rendering a favouring of Western feminisms within an African context highly problematic. Doing so could embed and impose white, Western ideological and cultural supremacy, making assumptions about the (in)ability of 'othered' cultures to effectively and appropriately develop their own

methods, values and beliefs that are equal to, or better than, the ways of thinking and being that inform Western cultures.

Contrastingly, nego-feminism mitigates racist presumptions of victimhood, focusing instead on cultural differences and variable forms of theorization; it circumvents assumptions embedded in notions of white, Western supremacy, white saviour complexes and the 'othering' that is prevalent in Western feminism. In nego-feminism, 'women's interests', are a self-defined position that attends to a "'social reading [of] gender-related concerns'" (Hickey & Nazneen, 2019, p. 33). This creates a self-organizing and self-defined group of non-homogenous interests that are "shaped by class, caste, ethnicity, religion, race, and other group identities", while avoiding the monolithic defining of 'women's interests' within a "'naturalist' or 'essentialist'" purview (Hickey & Nazneen, 2019, p. 33-34). In this sense, women self-define the methods and interests for which they choose to mobilize, within given "temporal and spacial contexts" (Hickey & Nazneen, 2019, p. 34). It is from this grounding that Nnaemeka seeks to create a "radical critique" that can "free feminist theory from the necessity of having to construct a single or abiding ground which is invariably contested by those identity positions or anti-identity positions that it invariably excludes" (Nnaemeka, 2003, p. 365). This intentionality underpins nego-feminism as an inclusive theory and practice.

3.3. Equity

While negotiative frameworks can be effective, they are continually challenged by existing within systems of power that relegate women's interests to the periphery. Sociocultural environments that regard women's role and identity in relation to domestic labour and family care, work that is necessary for the health and survival of a family and

economy, disproportionally burden women. They create barriers to women's equal participation within broader systems of governance, professional development and economics. As power shifts, patriarchal systems often rely on an absence of response in order to "peacefully" maintain their power through "social-norm enforcement mechanisms…and hierarchal social moves" (Manne, 2018, p. 68-69). Challenges to ideologies often result in resistance, dismissal, and a rejection of ideas that question their power and veracity; actions that are "dismissive and disparaging in specific social contexts" (Manne, 2018, p. 68), necessitating a focus on equity.

When considering methodologies for promoting equity, liberal ideological frameworks that favour negative rights - the freedom to act without interference - must be confronted if equitable practices are to be achieved. To do so, it is essential to distinguish between equality, where everyone is treated the 'same'[24], and equity; fairness requires everyone to be provided with what they need to be successful. Perceptions of equality and 'sameness' in opportunity fail to adequately account for difference in circumstances, and the myth of meritocracy ignores institutional, systemic and cultural biases that perpetuate gender barriers; falsely implying that the absence or removal of formal barriers creates environments of equal opportunity. Circumstances vary even within

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[24] Sameness is subjective, and is most often determined in relation to who/what group holds the power to define how groups are determined. Within masculinist, patriarchal power structures, assumptions that centre masculinity as the baseline for social experience are likely to ignore the gender experiences of women. Similarly, class status leads to assumptions regarding education, financial stability, professional opportunities, levels of risk, etc.. Under this framing, 'equality' based upon 'sameness' of opportunity is likely to favour liberal frameworks of negative rights of non-interference, enabling those who hold more wealth, social status, education, network connections, etc. to benefit more than those less connected to means of mobilization. These opportunities for social mobility can be framed as meritocratic under a system of equal opportunity, regardless of the inequality inherent the socioeconomic and cultural contexts.

defined contexts, making strategies and practices for equity "differ according to the specific nature of political power and institutions in given contexts" (Nazneen & Hickey, 2019, p. 3). Formal policies that exist without a culture of gender sensitization enable the continued difference in gender experiences, expectations and (in)formal restrictions[25]. As those who shape, write and institutionalize policy can be resistant to acknowledging ongoing, embedded and covert biases, detached, passive approaches to 'equality' can perpetuate vertical segregation (Brym, 2017, p. 178) by creating informal barriers to the discussion of ongoing inequity. Such deafening silence emphasizes the need for discourse as an essential part of ameliorative policies. To shape equitable policies and environments, contextual consideration for special circumstances (IE: gender, ability, class, etc.) must be recognized, and practices for equitable measures must be embedded into systems and institutions in ways that make said systems and institutions responsible for enacting equitable standards.

The gender gap existing between professional gender representation in academia in Ghana represents the deep sociocultural and economic differences between the experiences of men and women. Institutionalization of 'formal' equalization policies has the potential to enable covert biases under the institutionalization of blind and impartial 'equality'. Deeply internalized and preexisting biases are subject to ideological oversight; institutions and cultures can be indifferent or ignore the gender experiences, creating a false perception of a post-sexist workplace, profession or culture.

Within discourse regarding methods for gender equity and power existing within sociocultural spaces, institutions and politics must be a focus, and transformative changes

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[25] This is discussed further in Chapter 5. Impacts of gender expectations in Academia and Chapter 6. Sexism: making the hidden visible.

to gender relations must be made by challenging patriarchal structures (Htun and Weldon in Nazneen & Hickey, 2019, p. 12). These domains of power "offer a more comprehensive view of the multiple forms of politics that shape gender equity"; they enable "a focus on the role of ideas as well as incentives" and connections between formal and informal institutions (Nazneen & Hickey, 2019, p. 7). They also connect activists with power holders, opening doors and creating discourse with people, often men, who have the authority and connections to set formal change in motion. While representation is essential, it must be supported by alliances. Interconnected systems of support, combined with women's representation and institutional allies, form strength in coalitions, linking women's movements to institutional machinery (Nazneen & Hickey, 2019, p. 7) and connected/high-ranking advocates and allies.

Nego-feminism is embedded within decolonized traditional African feminism that focuses on "systems within a framework of wholeness rather than isolat[ed] interacting parts" (Capp in Wane, 2011, p. 8). Change exists within the context of relationships and Nnaemeka's structuring of nego-feminism within a no-ego feminism of negotiation shapes an inclusive theory and methodology that focuses on the feminist pursuit of equity that attends to individual subjectivities, discursive relationships and collaboration. This emphasis on inclusion, rather than division, enables meaningful micro and macro level change, gender sensitization and the creating of allyship with institutional power holders. Working within systems enables feminists to pursue equity principles though representation, advancing a tangible understanding that is crucial to evoking the empathy necessary for challenging systemic inequality and (re)creating sociocultural and institutional systems that engender formal and informal equitable ideologies and practices.

Chapter 4. Gender norms in Ghana

In this chapter, I discuss how gender hegemonies configure domestic responsibilities, rendering women's domestic work predominantly unpaid and invisible. Additionally, I discuss how it negatively impacts the professional development of women while fostering the "privileged irresponsibility" of men (Bozalek, 2015, p. 85). To contextualize these issues, I deconstruct participant experiences of gender expectations, bias and discrimination are examined, and participants challenging of gender scripts through nego-feminist methodologies.

4.1. Gender hegemonies

Prior to the formal establishment of Ghana as a British colony, age, gender and social hierarchy strongly influenced political and economic power in southern Ghana; this resulted in senior men and women both holding control over the labor of their junior kin and community members (Miescher, p. 254) However, colonization shaped a "masculinization of the Asante political realm" and the failure to "recognize female elders and their courts" contributed to their marginalization, shaping a transition to gender, rather than age, becoming the primary determinant in access to resources (Miescher, p. 254-255). Patriarchal power relations are further accentuated by women's advisory roles being "less public than that of [their] male colleagues" (Miescher, p. 256) and the tendency for women only supersede male elders during moments of national crisis when inaction or "malaise" in leadership created a space for women to take on a

position of public military leadership[26] (Obeng in Miescher, p. 256). This does not mean that women lack social influence and power; but, the sociocultural structures that included higher levels of gender, were disrupted by colonization, resulting in a disenfranchisement and marginalization of women that continue to be problematic. The continuation of women's underrepresentation in post-independence governments and the decision-making levels of politics, finance, and governance (Mama in Beoku-Betts & Njambi, 2005, p. 117) demonstrates the establishment and internalization of patriarchal ideologies as well the disinclination of power-holders to dismantle systems that maintain their power. This systemic and ideological patriarchal inequality is challenged by women academics who work diligently and rigorously within and beyond their respective

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[26] In 1900, Yaa Asantewaa, the Queen Mother of the Ashanti Empire, led the Ashanti War of the Golden Stool against the British Empire (Dillard, 2018, p. 620). This was is also known as the Yaa Asantewaa War. The British insisted that their Governor-General be given Golden Stool, the symbol of the Ashanti nation, its royal governance and is said to hold the spirit of the Ashanti people. Inaction on the part of Asante chiefs to fight the British led to Yaa Asantewaa protest their indecisiveness, invoke a call to arms and be chosen to lead their armies against the British:

> Now, I see that some of you fear to go forward to fight for our king. If it was in the brave days of Osei Tutu, Okomfo Anokye and Opoku Ware I, chiefs would not sit down to see their king to be taken away without firing a shot. No European could have dared speak to chiefs of Asante in the way the governor spoke to you this morning. Is it true that the bravery of Asante is no more? I cannot believe it. It cannot be! I must say this: If you, the men of Asante, will not go forward, then we will. We, the women, will. I shall call upon my fellow women. We will fight! We will fight till the last of us falls in the battlefields (Dillard, 2018, p. 620).

institutions to illuminate inequalities, engage in advocacy and collaboration, while also shaping effective, necessary policies and measures for equitable practices[27].

Gender is “an identity tenuously constituted in time - an identity instituted through a stylized repetition of acts” (Butler, 1988, p. 519), and women are "thoroughly integrated into prototypical patriarchal households, where they are tasked with a wide range of critical domestic, social [and] emotional” services (Manne, 2018, p. 53). Boris (2007) notes the sexed body as subject to "regulatory discourses” in which bodies are also “marked by class and nation” impacting sex roles and even the sexual division of labour (p. 192). She argues that Africa’s diversity challenges any attempts to create a singular presentation of gender, raising the fundamental question of how gender is defined in terms of women's studies. To do this, she raises three key areas of critical analysis: (1) “unsettling of the relationship between the biological and social that reinforces trends within feminist thought”, “questioning of the privileging of gender over other social attributes, especially age, lineage, kinship, and wealth” and revealing “gender as an expression of power through historical struggles over colonization and liberation” (Boris, p. 192). Although gender and gender relations are dynamic and never static, current hegemonic values and behavioural constructs are embedded in biological essentialism and cultural practices, embedding expectations regarding gender roles that significantly impact women’s experiences within their social and professional environments.

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[27] Methods and practices for advocacy and instituting policies and practices to promote gender equity are discussed further in Chapter 4, subsection 2. Challenging gender hegemonies, Chapter 8. Professional development and Chapter 9. Reputation and sexual harassment.

Gender roles shape different social expectations for women in Ghana in comparison to those ascribed to men. They centre women's sociocultural identity around being a good wife and activities of intensive motherhood (Brym, 2017, p. 186) while men are encouraged to "aspire [to] various careers" and "occupy the powerful position of the head of [the] household" (Apusigah, 2004, p. 13-14). Ascribed roles as wife and mother inculcate an expectation of support and caretaking of others: "the setting aside of personal interests, self-fulfillment goals and career aspirations in order to concentrate on the needs of the family, real or imagined" (Apusigah, 2004, p. 13), shaping culturally promoted expectations and aspirations for women to be support systems for men. While these cross-cultural expectations are ideologically normalized, reality is more complex. Such binary roles and concepts ignore activities and relations that exist outside of said normalized roles and identities.

Gender hegemonies, embedded in gendered divisions of labour, are reinforced through gender roles and moulding behaviours that exist within private (domestic), public and professional realms (Cusack, 2009, p. 25). The assignment of domestic labour to the private sphere often silences recognition of the ascribed, overlapping the realms of women and domesticity. It reinforces hegemonic patriarchal power structures in which male power holders and male supremacy are legitimized and affirmed though connections to formal, external power outside the home, reflexively reinforcing power within the home. These power structures are internalized and normalized though long-standing continuation.

Internalized concerns regarding socialized pressures to fulfill ascribed gender roles was common among my participants. A few noted that they and their spouses have actively constructed collaborative relationships and family dynamics that focus on

dismantling gendered expectations regarding domestic work and child rearing[28], most participants noted that expectations result in social pressures and excessive work loads. Many participants spoke of exhausting work loads. It was not uncommon to hear descriptions of days that begin at 4 or 4:30 in the morning cooking cook and preparing their families the day, and of leaving the university in the afternoon to pick up their children from school, prepare dinner, clean, help with homework and, once their children are in bed, work at grading and preparing lectures until midnight, before beginning the same routine the next morning. The frequency and commonality of these experiences with participants demonstrate that, even though gendered expectations are complex, negotiative and exist in a state of flux, roles and expectations significantly impact womens lives in ways they do not impact the lives of men.

Akosua[29], an Associate Professor of Sociology, is a sharp, analytic theorist, who notes how challenging these structures and gender roles often result in labelling, where stigmatization reinforces overarching cultural ideals and systems of power[30]:

> [W]e definitely have this thing where we are supposed to be a goody two-shoes and all these rules and regulations about how we should behave and not behave. I mean I have only one child, which is a problem. It is also a problem because for Akans[31], you should have a girl and I don't; I have a boy. But I'm not going

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[28] Examples of dismantling gender roles and expectations are discussed in detail in Chapter 6, subsection 2. Gender sensitization at home.

[29] Interview date: March 13, 2018.

[30] Labelling, stigmatization and power are discussed further in Chapter 8. subsection 4. Stigmatization and Chapter 9. Reputation and sexual harassment.

[31] Akans are a large ethnocultural community in Ghana; their social systems are characterized by "matrilineal succession to political office, inheritance of property and descent" (Oppong, 1972, p. 211).

> to be fulfilling that for others. And it's not particularly of concern to me, I mean it's not even on my radar screen as a problem. So be it. And it's always something; first it's that you are not married, then it's that you are married but don't have kids, then it's that you do not have enough kids, or if you have then kids, they are not of the right gender
> (Akosua).

> I don't know what the students would think if they realize I didn't have a second child… that I'm unconventional
> (Akosua).

Akosua's rejection of cultural expectations is unusual as pressure to fulfill gender roles is a prominent experience for women throughout this study[32]. However, her references to the common expectations that women experience, and how non-conformance requires explanation, demonstrates the prominence, influence and embeddedness of social expectations regarding gender norms.

> I don't cook much, and I'm not even embarrassed by it. I don't do it much and I know where to get all kinds of food in this country without having to cook it. And I tell some students that; I mean, on Friday, I met a young woman who's doing physics, or wants to go and do physics in the States. So she's got into Wellesley college and because I went to Vassar she was asking (about her experiences there), and I put her in my car and I said, "well this is me. Let's find first the sauce and take it home for the weekend, 'cause I didn't cook it". And I was very upfront about it, and [do] not really care…. I think that if you are not married, it's a big problem for people….especially if you go to church, which I don't. I think I've circumvented that, by not being in spaces where my social life is up for debate
> (Akosua).

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[32] Social pressures to fulfill gender roles and expectations are discussed further in Chapter 6. Sexism: making the hidden visible and Chapter 8, subsection 4. Stigmatization.

That Akosua is not embarrassed implies an expectation that women ought to be embarrassed for buying food, rather than preparing all from scratch; her discourse indicates the commonality of shaming rituals attached to gender non-conformance. Concerns regarding stigmatization are a pressure felt by most women, and labelling, which can lead to varying levels of social exclusion and stigma, is an effective tool for maintaining patriarchal hierarchies. Women, like Akosua, who openly eschew and challenge expectations, present a different representation of 'normal' within her social environments. Her actions normalize alternative actions and gender role conformity, and her sociocultural status lends veracity and respectability to actions and ideologies that reject conscription to cultural norms. Embodied representations like Akosua's are essential to challenging respective norms, particularity as women face complaints regarding how pursuits beyond being a full-time wife and mother promote the breakdown of families and cultural values (Apusigah, 2004, p. 14).

The pressure women face to self-identity their primary social value in relation to being a 'good girl', 'good wife' and 'good mother' is instrumental in reinforcing dominant power structures (Bozalek, 2015, p. 86). Internalization of these expectations combines with "coercive enforcement mechanisms vis-à-via patriarchal norms and expectations, and the social roles they govern" (Manne, 2018, p. 47). They intensify women's self-policing of their own behaviour and expectations in relation to sociocultural expectations and the perceived looking-glass self (Macionis & Gerber, 2011, p. 110) perceptions of others. Despite their central role and visibility, "women are confronted with marginalization as their roles are undervalued and hardly rewarded" (Apusigah, 2004, p. 13), ignoring the extent to which economies run on the unpaid and undervalued work of women. Patriarchy enables men to benefit from "unearned social and structural advantages" at the expense of underrepresented women (Bozalek, 2015, p. 83),

developing their professional advancement and social power. This position of power further enables men to have their needs met "without acknowledging that they are able to function because of the care they receive from others" (Tronto in Bozalek, 2015, p. 85). This position lacks acknowledgement of privileged irresponsibility, enabling men to maintain their positions of privilege and embed their status as 'justified' by meritocratic ideology, rather than an acknowledgement or understanding of the collaborative, co-dependant nature of lived existence (Tronto and Plumwood in Bozalek, 2015) and debts of labour, recognition and appreciation owed to women.

Gendered beliefs regarding women's supposed belonging to the private sphere artificially restrict issues that are of importance to women as being limited to the private realm (Fashina, 2000, p. 124-125). Such perspectives isolate gender issues as women's work and obstruct women and the inclusion of women's issues from public discourse. Doing so obscures women, domestic issues, domestic labour, women's labour, and the informal barriers that impact the personal and professional development of women from broader, public dialogue. While the home is the heart of Ghanaian life, centring the locus of gender issues within the private realm relegates gender to the periphery. Advocacy for women has resulted in increasing formalization of women's issues and gender within political institutions; changes that have been essential to moving gender and women's issues from the recesses[33]. In 2003, Ghana established the Ministry of Women and Children's Affairs (MWCA), renaming it the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (MGCSP)[34] in 2013. This ministry is essential to the formal embedding of the importance of gender issues in politics, policy and public discourse. However, the

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[33] The establishment of university gender centres and anti-harassment policies is discussed further in Chapter 9. Reputation and sexual harassment.

[34] For further information on Ghana's Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, see: http://mogcsp.gov.gh

categorization of women and gender with children and social protection demonstrates the ongoing association of women with domesticity and the private realm. The inclusion of social protection centres protections for women within the domestic realm, framing governance towards women paternalistically, rather than challenging patriarchal systems of power. This combines with women's unequal political power to stifle women's issues and representation.

Challenging divisions and valuations of labour in relation to the unpaid 'voluntary' domestic labour of women and the paid labour of masculinized work, Dzokoto and Darkwah (2014) argue that the notion of a "stay-at-home mother…does not make sense" in a Ghanaian context, as women are always working, moving to perform some sort of labour (p. 4). The diminishing of women's gendered labour demonstrates a limited conceptualization of valuable work, separating men's 'work life' from women's 'domestic life'. Doing so valourizes masculinized forms of work while delegitimizing labour that is most associated with women. It also ignores vital bonds of kinship and community: reciprocal support systems where women's paid and unpaid labour has been, and is, an essential component of cooperative networks:

> Work in the traditional Ghanaian setting was as crucial for women as it was for men and was crucial for purely instrumentalist purposes. Women needed to work to be able to fulfill their obligations to both their families of origin (parents, siblings) and their families of reproduction (children especially) (Dzokoto & Darkwah, 2014, p. 4).

These reciprocal support systems were, and are, essential to familial and community survival and wellbeing within these communities. Increasing internalization of individualistic ideologies have combined with increasing rates of education, modernization and urbanization, resulting in a movement away from kinship security

(Tsai & Dzorgbo, 2012, p. 216). These new formulations of identity and the narrowing definitions of family, home and community have disrupted traditional understandings of deep, reciprocal connection.

Dzokoto and Darkwah (2014) define the "traditional expectation[s]" of female economics" as being embedded in "reproductive responsibilities" (p. 4). Social pressures to be 'successful' wives and mothers double labour burdens with household work and child minding, precluding women from many potential occupations. When faced with social pressures that emphasize a 'traditional' role of women, women often opt out, or seek out occupations that have been feminized: work that utilizes, or takes advantage of, their skill at domestic work and child rearing, employment that may be easier to attain rather than breaking into more masculinized professions:

> The spatial relation of residences to the space of other activities means that women's care work often consists in traveling to schools, after-school activities, health providers, etc. If she wishes or needs also to have paid employment, the physical organization of her unpaid work tends to restrict her choices to close to home or one of these other activities. These facts make mothers of school-age children something of a captive labor force for part-time suburban retail and service work, and often make the workers more willing than others to work for lower wages
> (Young, 2001, p. 14).

These conflicting work and family responsibilities pattern some occupations to be 'feminized', prompting horizontal segregation (Brym, 2017, p. 178) and occupational "crowding": a concentration of women in particular occupations, occupations where the overrepresentation of women shapes, and is shaped by, "past and current barriers to alternative occupations" (Bergmann in Baah-Boateng, 2014, p. 653). Gendered expectations for domestic labour and childrearing combine with paid work to create the second shift, doubling women's work days. This is further burdened by the motherhood

penalty. The motherhood penalty exists where gender bias combines with sexist questioning of women's professional ability and commitment to negatively effect employment prospects and potential for promotion. These impacts, individually and collectively are experienced intergenerationally, significantly diminishing women's income, social status, mobility and representation in comparison with their male counterparts.

Women are burdened to pursue their academic and professional interests while meeting traditional, cultural expectations, often while receiving little or no help from their male partners; when professional outputs are compared, this difference in gendered labour is not taken into account (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000, p. 5). While employment conditions and requirements do not "force a stark choice between work and family, they [are] not conducive for women getting ahead" (Tsikata, 2007, p. 35). Perceptions of 'equality of opportunity' and a lack of formal restrictions on women's employment create occupational segmentation, informally creating 'female' and 'male' occupations (Baah-Boateng, 2014, p. 653). Occupational segregation combines with overarching patriarchal systems and intergenerational male dominance within systems to masculinize structures, enabling an ongoing inequality and gender gap within tertiary education employment. Men's desire to reinforce their status and assert their authority impedes women's entry into occupations dominated by men, contributing to ongoing occupational segregation (Brym, 2017, p. 178). This is compounded by sex-role socialization (Brym, 2017, p. 178), in which gender roles associated with occupations influence job/role preferences, compounding unequal occupational gender representation. Women are "positioned as human givers when it comes to the dominant men who look to them for various kinds of moral support, admiration, attention, and so on. She is not allowed to be in the same ways as he is" (Manne, 2018, p. xxi). Men view work as an

expression of masculinity and as a result, the introduction of women can be perceived by men as a threat to their masculine identity, labelling women's professional development as an invasion of the spaces that define their gender (Cohn in Baah-Boateng, 2014, p. 653). Thus, "men's work" is perceived as better than "women's work" and observing a woman doing a man's job signal[s] that the man's job has been downgraded" (Baah-Boateng, 2014, p. 653), perpetuating ongoing gendered norms, realms and systems of patriarchal power.

Despite their familial and cultural importance, there is a false perception that women are often left with little room for negotiation; however, women's actions and intentions are often discounted or rendered invisible due to lack of attention. Their roles as wives and mothers are held in high regard, positions of power remain regulated within patriarchal social hierarchies, yet in "female headed households, women tend to play subsidiary roles as advisors, intercessors and mediators as they hardly ever become heads of households, clans or communities" (Apusigah, 2004, p. 14). Women's engagement with navigation and negotiative methodologies manifest in micro and macro levels across all social spaces and systems; their actions demonstrate complex, under-acknowledged and undervalued social action that challenge gender binaries and (re)shape cultures[35].

4.2. Challenging gender hegemonies

University environments differ from other social environments. The focus on analysis and experimentation encourage universities to be intellectual and social spaces where sociocultural ideologies, conventions and norms are questioned. While this can result in the development of less socially conservative environments, dominant

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[35] This is discussed further in Chapter 6. Sexism: making the hidden visible.

intragenerational ideologies of male supremacy combine with embedded systems and norms that make universities sites of institutionalized patriarchy. The work that has been engaged with by women academics in Ghana is innovative and groundbreaking; they challenge gender bias and inequity as well as shaping and institutionalizing measures, policies and provisions for gender equity (Women in Academia: Gender and Academic Freedom in Africa, 2000; Gender Training in Ghana: Politics, Issues and Tools, 2001; Achebe; Allah-Mensah & Osei-Afful, 2019; Anyidoho & Ampofo, 2015; Apusigah, 2005; Boateng, 2014; Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2004; Britwum, Oduro & Prah, 2014; Darkwah, 2010, 2013; Dzokoto & Darkwah, 2014; Manuh, 2007; Mabokela & Mlambo, 2015; Oduro, Baah-Boateng & Boakye-Yiadom, 2011; Oppong, 1972; Prah, 1996, 2004; Tsai & Dzorgbo, 2012; Tsikata, 2007; Yeboah, Ampofo & Brobbey, 2014).

It is essential to acknowledge the work that Ghanaian scholars have engaged in to promote, facilitate and amplify the necessity and importance of gender issues and gender studies within their professional, political and social environments, as well as feminist and academic discourse on a global scale. Women academics pursuing gender equity in Ghana are part of a larger, continental movement that gained momentum during the mid-1970's, focusing on diaspora and Africa-based research to create complex feminist, activist scholarship emphasizing decolonizing research on African women, and "undertaking research, training, and advocacy from an African and gender perspective" (Manuh, 2007, p. 127; Prah, 1996). This has resulted in the creation of national[36], regional and continental groups and networks that focus on "women's rights and access to resources, political voice, participation and power, gender violence, HIV/ AIDS and new technology" (Manuh, p. 127). This connecting of African scholars,

[36] Ghanaian networks and gender and advocacy centres are discussed further in Chapter 8. Professional development and Chapter 9. Reputation and sexual harassment.

increases interdisciplinary work and collaboration, and minimizes fragmentation of African and diaspora scholarship coordinating, inspiriting and dispersing feminist research across and beyond the African continent.

These networks, be they community, university, nation, region or continent-based are strategic spaces where knowledge and its power can shape and inform policy, establish and open positions for women and encourage the teaching and development of gender-based research (Manuh, p. 138; Prah, 1996). Active, gender sensitized academics have focused on critically engaging with gender discourses in broader systems and structures, playing essential roles in establishing women's studies and gender sensitivity within their respective universities by conducting research, creating courses, departments, institutions and gender centres (Prah, 1996, p. 417). The ongoing expansion and development related to womens studies, advocacy and equity nurtures women's academic and professional pursuits, simultaneously validating and elevating the work and worth of the research and researchers. Academic, activist networks and relationships build and shape the presence and prevalence of dialogue; gender activists within these networks utilize their connections with and within governance and institutions to shape and encourage gender equity reform (Gender Training in Ghana: Politics, Issues and Tools, 2001; Allah-Mensah& Osei-Afful, 2019; Apusigah, 2004; Beoku-Betts & Njambi, 2005; Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2004; Britwum, Oduro & Prah, 2014; Manuh, 2007; Nnaemeka, 2003; Oduro, Baah-Boateng & Boakye-Yiadom, 2011; Prah, 1996; Tsikata, 2007; Yeboah, Ampofo & Brobbey, 2014). By engaging in feminist discourse and scholarship within African contexts, women academics challenge essentialist conceptions of gender, embedded and institutionalized gender bias and bring dialogue and activism regarding gender inequity into formal and informal discourse.

Although gender sensitization and discourse continues to increase, as has women's representation amongst faculty, gender roles and expectations continue to have significant impacts on women. Many participants discussed disappointment and frustration regarding how some family and community members perceived their academic studies. While it was normalized and expected for them to pursue basic education, and their success as undergraduate and Master's students was respected, many navigated tepid and dismissive responses to their doctoral studies. Serwa[37], a focused and driven PhD Candidate, discussed with frustration how her studies were treated with disinterest by her family and community. Rubbing her forehead and crossing her arms, she exhaled in frustration. She told me about how, when she passed her qualifying exams, and nearing the end of her PhD, her studies have been dismissed or described as a waste of time, while her engagement and recent marriage were honoured and celebrated by her family and community. Serwa demonstrates a clear frustration with patriarchal gender roles and the socialized constraints placed upon women. When asked if she tries to have conversations with her family about this difference in perspective Serwa shrugs shakes her head 'no'. In spite of her frustration and a lack of expressed support, she continues in her pursuits. Close to defending her dissertation, Serwa intends to be a university teacher, regardless of the pressures that she feels to focus on domesticity and childrearing.

Cynthia[38], a PhD Candidate in Sociology discussed the challenges that she has faced as a wife, mother and graduate student. Intense time management is essential and, like most mothers, she is up early in the morning to prepare food for her family and get them ready for the day. Once that is managed, she spends her day at the university before

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[37] A pseudonym. Interview date: March 9, 2018.

[38] Interview date: March 14, 2018.

heading home in the afternoon to pick up her children and begin preparing dinner. To help manage her time, she spends Saturdays batch cooking, so she has more flexibility during the week. These efforts, however, do not make up for what she believes to be a significant disadvantage in networking and development; when comparing the opportunities that male counterparts experience, she experiences a distinct inequality. Cynthia notes with frustration that this impacts her professional development. Finding time to fulfill all of her obligations is impossible, but her perspective as a mature student who recognizes her own, complex ambitions, assists her in navigating these chronic challenges. Gendered organizational cultures, participants, space and time, authority structures, and incentive and accountability systems (Goetz in Joseph, Gouws & Parpart, 2011, p. 13) are embedded within institutional and organizational histories. Within these structures are a "collection of values, history, culture and practices that form [an] unquestioned, 'normal' way of working" (Goetz in Joseph, Gouws & Parpart, 2011, p. 13); these deep, masculinist ideologies are primary root causes of institutional gender inequality.

When facing similar microinvalidations that "exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiences" (Basford et al., 2014, p. 341), Dzifa[39], a calm and reflective PhD Candidate, strives to not let opinions bother her. She discussed how members of her family and community ask her if she is continuing her studies because she has 'failed' at marrying: "are you studying, or going to school to make up for not being married?" Noting that she prefers to move on from these moments by focusing on what is valuable to her, she does answer questions regarding her education; but only when those who ask her do so respectfully, ignoring those who are ideologically dogmatic or impolite. How Dzifa manages these situations is respectful, compassionate

[39] A pseudonym. Interview date: March 23, 2018.

and strategic. Whether intentionally or not, she uses nego-feminist methods: she removes her ego from the process, and engages in emotional labour that focuses on an inclusive, respectful dialogue; she engages in developing deeper understanding and redefining what is 'normal' for women within her culture. Dzifa allows others the space and right to their own belief systems and opinions; space that she herself seeks from others and creates for herself. Her process of respect diminishes arguments that she should be disallowed her own beliefs and self-determination. She acts with respect, thus encouraging reciprocal treatment while avoiding discussions with those who do not converse respectfully with her. By encouraging fruitful discussions on gender and women in academia, and circumventing discussions that are unlikely to be productive, she saves herself time and frustration while still engaging with people who are willing to listen. Although Dzifa's politeness could be argued as representing gender conditioning and performance, it presented itself as a central aspect of her character and personality during our conversation. Her demeanour with me and according to her reports, with others is calm, contemplative and respectful.

Nego-feminist methodologies are actively used by a number of participants in my research. Doris[40], an engaging and vibrant lecturer in Public Policy, notes that, at work, "three or four of us can come together, and we say, why don't you allow us to do this? Why don't you give room for this to be done?" Doris clearly problematizes the issue of resistance wherein underrepresented people seek to effect change within overarching systems and hegemonies. However, she engages in a nego-feminist, conversational methodology that seeks to include everyone in recognizing and challenging systemic and ideological inequality. These actions, particularly when collective, can create a "'reflective solidarity'" (Dean in Mohanty, 2003, p. 7) in which the achievement and

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[40] Interview date: February 23, 2018.

representation of collective solidarity creates an inclusive "third voice" actively challenging systemic inequality (Mohanty, 2003, p. 7). This praxis can produce "determinate effects on the physical and cultural environment…condition[ing] future action in specific ways" (Young, 2001, p.13) by reshaping how and by whom protocols, systems, institutions and ideologies are formed. Doris' use of permissive language can be considered problematic, as it implies a reinforcement of male supremacy and women's secondary status in which permission is necessary for action; but its use must be understood by the effect that it has and the context of the statement. Doris is changing the tone of discourse related to women's rights of action, access and position; she questions why (in)formal processes and expectations have been shaped a certain way; she also implies that she expects an explanation should she be told that changes are not possible. This method makes systems and power holders accountable; by raising questions collectively, Doris and her associates create solidarity and visibility while humanizing gendered impacts that they may not have considered.

Doris' engagement with nego-feminist methodologies enables her to act directly and with reciprocity: she and her associates negotiate increased opportunities and power holders are invited to give up restrictive barriers. Rather than escalate conflict via argumentation, Doris challenges power by inviting power holders into conversations about inequality and makes them responsible for justifying inequalities, or acting to change them. She shapes the conversation to focus on what is being withheld from women, asserting that the women experience unjustifiable, unequal treatment, creating an argument that is difficult to negate and providing clear grounds for change.

Hickey and Nazneen (2019) note that "gender equity is first and foremost a question of power and how it operates" (p. 29). The, often informal, limitations to which women can "freely exercise their academics skills in a context that emerges from

sociocultural, political and religious systems" shapes "gender roles that subordinate women to men" (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000, p. 2):

> The concept of academic freedom itself has not been free of gender bias particularly since women have not only been discriminated against in access to institutions of learning, but also with regard to what they can study and research. This basis of such an insidious demarcation is deeply rooted in the colonial history of our continent. Women in Africa (as is the case the world over) generally entered academics later than their male counterparts. A systemic and deliberate colonial policy ensured that African women were excluded from the various 'ivory towers' that dotted the continent
> (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000, p. 3).

Colonial institutional and organizational history configured the initial and ongoing development of academic culture in which masculine gender shapes the social geography of organizational culture. In this, gendered participants experience space, time, occupation and power, visibility and dialogue differently. Masculinized spaces, supported by the under acknowledged labour of women, create social and professional environments that are shaped by "hegemonic masculinities, male privilege and masculinist power," giving men access to power and positions that "favours men, and is in turn supported by men", reinforcing "unequal gendered power relations" (Hooper in Joseph, Gouws & Parpart, 2011, p. 12).

"[M]isogynistic social forces" often target women for "actual, perceived, or representative challenges to or violations of applicable patriarchal norms and expectations" (Manne, 2018, p. 63); thus shaming rituals, internalized gender barriers and norms, and stigmatization combine with systemic institutional barriers to create risk aversion and perpetuate ongoing, continued gender oppression. This can engender the development of panoptic (Foucault in Paechter, 2006, p. 20-21) self-policing in which

women, concerned about deleterious personal, social and professional impacts that may arise from challenging gendered norms and institutional bias, are increasingly likely to self-police and modify their behaviour as a methodology of self-protection. “Structural inequality, then, consists in the relative constraints some people encounter in their freedom and material well-being as the cumulative effect of the possibilities of their social positions, as compared with others who in their social positions have more options or easier access to benefits” (Young, 2001, p. 15). Masculinist structures favour hegemonic masculinity and power, creating gendered authority structures and gendered incentive and accountability systems. These structures provide male participants with space, time and opportunity for personal, professional and networking development, while women self-police and navigate ‘masculine’ disciplines and professional structures, to carve pathways for themselves and other women.

Institutional and discursive gender mainstreaming focuses on gender equity through policy, discourse and implementation:

> Even assuming that all the individuals being compared have a sufficient base line, each of these inequalities, I suggest, probably signals injustice. Simply by focusing on comparing the situation of individuals, however, without any reference to attributes or affinities they share with others or generalized social relations in which they stand, we have no reason to call these inequalities injustices
> (Young, 2001, p. 8-9).

The emphasis on gender neutral policies creates informal barriers to women’s professional development as women’s familial obligations are systematically unaccounted for. Institutional gender oversights contribute to ongoing inequality of representation and position, making institutions complicit in ongoing inequality (Tsikata, 2007, p. 31); it ignores the impacts of gendered labour, which not only requires

significant time, but does so at career points in which networking and publication are essential to recognition and promotion (Tsikata, 2007, p. 36). These experiences contribute to the compounding of inequality of opportunity in professional development and the intergenerational reproduction of unequal gender representation in universities that perpetuate masculinized sociocultural spaces facilitates ongoing inequality (Tsikata, 2007, p. 27).

Gender roles and socialization are embedded with cultural values and constraints. Emphasis on domesticity identifies women's primary social value in relation to being a "good" girl, wife and mother. Hegemonic patriarchal structures reinforce ideologies of male supremacy within domestic, social and institutional environments; labelling, stigmatization and microaggressions spur women's ongoing self-policing and the reinforcement of masculinist power systems. Women, however, challenge these systems through visibility, persistence and through nego-feminist methodologies. They challenge inequitable systems and unearned social and structural advantages. Through discourse and action the move gender issues from the periphery by making inequality observable and transparent, while inviting power power holders to engage in social change, or choose to perpetuate inequitable standards.

Chapter 5. Impacts of gender expectations in Academia

In this chapter, I discuss how microaggressions and informal barriers shape differences in the treatment and experiences of women, perpetuating gender inequality within Academia. By deconstructing participant experiences, I show how they challenge microaggressions and (re)shape their social and professional spaces to recognize and reject covert and overt gender bias.

5.1. Microaggressions

Microaggressions manifest as subtle, brief, indirect and/or unconscious comments and behaviours that communicate prejudicial, hostile or degrading beliefs about a group of, often marginalized, people. They act and function in ways that are "pernicious", enabling individuals and systems to act with "subtle discrimination", covertly infusing into social, cultural and professional environments (Basford et al., 2014, p. 341). This includes microinvalidations and microinsults which are ‘‘most often deliberate on the part of the microaggressor, whose intent is to hurt, oppress, or discriminate", convey with insensitivity, beliefs and opinions that are rude, and/or directly demeaning (Basford et al., 2014, p. 341). Microaggressions also exist in shaming rituals; they police patriarchal expectations by reinforcing social control and unequal power relations, discrediting, dismissing, denigrating and stigmatizing the perspective and activities of the one being shamed.

Active within larger systems and institutions, microaggressions have "distributional effects: they reflect, reproduce, and magnify particular patterns of power’" (Waylen in Hickey & Nazneen, 2019, p. 24). When combined with meritocratic

ideologies and the removal of formal gender barriers, they are effective at masking differences in the treatment of women within the university environment (Sue et al., 2008, p. 238). Microaggressions reinforce systems of power, not by loudly or violently oppressing, but by acting intentionally and unintentionally to diminish position, agency and social influence (Basford et al., 2014, p. 341). A student who refers to his female professor as “Auntie” or “Mummy” in a Ghanaian university context, for example, is not necessarily demanding that she return to the home, or questioning why she is teaching; they are, however, undermining her authority, credibility and reinforcing that her primary role is that of a caretaker. This contrasts with the treatment and deference given to her male colleagues, none of whom are referred to as “Daddy" or “Uncle”, but rather “Professor”, “Dr.” or “Sir”. The difference in treatment is systemic, and often reinforced by silence; it is so ubiquitous, it is often not noticed at all. It is important to note that the terms “Mummy” and “Aunty” are not terms of disrespect and are of common use in Ghana. They function as terms and salutations that show deference when the use of first names is not appropriate. While they denote respect, their familiarity combines with the gendered nature of the terms, and their associations with care-taking create attitudes and behaviours that would not be considered appropriate with male faculty. These microaggressions and microinvalidations indicate internalized prejudices regarding female faculty, diminishing the social and professional status of women in comparison with their male counterparts; they reinforce gender norms and patriarchal hierarchies of power. These commonly used terms and identifiers first and foremost identify female faculty by their gender rather than their status, reinforcing gender roles and marking a professional role and position by gender, rather than achievement; they also act as part of broader systems of gendered expectations which act to reinforce gender norms within patriarchal contexts.

During conversations with participants, I asked them if they had felt, noticed, experienced or witnessed a difference in the treatment of men and women faculty in the classroom. Several said no, noting that female faculty are respected. Reiterating ideas of equality, they argued that women belong in the university and should be treated without difference. When I probed further, asking questions about expectations of emotional labour, compassion, ease of marking, or difference in the deference with which male and female faculty are treated, discrepancies materialized. For the few who initially noted no distinct difference, most began noting distinctions after critically analyzing their observations and experiences. They expressed clear surprise at differences in behaviour and expectations, as well as their prior lack of observation. To further deconstruct what they were observing, we discussed role reversal and the role of male faculty in subjecting gender norms on female faculty, questioning whether or not these patterns would or could be reversed, and what the expectations behind them look like. Engaging in these thought experiments with participants was highly productive. Assumptions of equality, based upon ideological belief, were challenged and the unequal treatment of women faculty was elucidated via this method of interviewing.

Gender roles result in expectations of women performing a significant amount of "counselling and welfare-type work with students and staff" (Manuh, p. 140), expectations not associated with male faculty. When I first spoke with Mawusi[41], a calm and reserved PhD Candidate and Sessional Instructor in the Sciences, she was quietly adamant that there is no difference in the treatment between male and female faculty in the classroom; but when we discussed interactions within the classroom, she began to note distinctions: female faculty were expected to be obliging, care-taking and flexible, and male faculty were perceived as stern, professional and strict. When discussing how

[41] A pseudonym. Interview date: March 23, 2018.

students interact with faculty, Mawusi noted the casual familiarity of referring to female faculty as “Mummy” or “Auntie” and requests for leniency would not be extended to male faculty. Similarly, expectations of leniency would be perceived as an exception rather than an expectation from male faculty. Differential treatment of faculty reinforces a sexist, dichotomous framing of gender and from social and cultural traditions into the university and classroom. This process and divergence, demonstrates the accretion of gendered influence, on social and cultural capital. Emphasis on formalized recognition of professional status distinguishes and reinforces patriarchal hierarchy and difference. Mawusi’s initial dismissal of the difference in treatment of female faculty reinforces how taken for granted socially constructed power dynamics permeate culture.

These microaggressions towards women faculty members act as part of a system of reinforcing and perpetuating the normalization of difference between men and women; this in turn perpetuates a normalized false belief in essentialist gender roles and responsibilities. The collective reinforcement of patriarchal structures seemingly ‘justifies’ the inequality experienced by women though its own reiteration (Basford et al., 2014, p. 243). Reinforcement increases the likelihood that the manifestations and impacts of microaggressions will be dismissed, making the need for the development of critical consciousness essential. Identifying microaggressions as discriminatory and unacceptable through a process of critical reflection, combined with dialogue, can encourage insight, empathy and reshape behaviours and environments by halting inappropriate activity when it occurs.

5.2. Challenging microaggressions

Some participants challenge the microaggressions they experience directly. Akosua refuses to accept this kind of discourse in her classroom. She described how students have mistaken her for a TA, referred to her as "Mummy" or "Auntie", and have expected her to be an academic caretaker to them. These gendered and ageist microinvalidations represent and enact expectations that would be unthinkable to extend to a male faculty member. To challenge this, Akosua engages in a "pedagogy of discomfort" in which students are invited to critically engage with their assumptions and "destabili[ze] their views of themselves and their worlds, reconstruct previously held views and, by doing so, to move to new insights and dispositions" (Bozalek, 2015, p. 94). In doing this, Akosua engages in critical sociological discourse and the cultural deconstruction of embedded gender roles and inferential sexism. She challenges her students to critique the deeply internalized beliefs that they are demonstrating and reinforcing. Her engagement in these informal conversations within the formal educational setting of the classroom has multiple impacts: it transitions informal, inferential sexism from a social and cultural expression into a formal academic discussion. This transfers social comments from casual utterances into in an analytic critique within a professional environment where she is the intellectual and professional expert and power holder. This process enables a shifting of gendered power dynamics in which traditional norms are challenged: "all people are regarded as being implicated, and we are all subject to hegemonic discourses" (Bozalek, 2015, p. 94). These methods create Foucaultian environments in which people are invited to engage in the critical, analytic analysis of transforming cultures, requiring them to not only "'discover what we are' but, rather, that we 'refuse what we are'" (Foucault in Bozalek, 2015, p. 93).

Unlike most women, Akosua grew up in a family and community of university intellectuals, and so was immersed in a critical, deconstructive analysis and environment that focused on intellectual development:

> I didn't grow up being censored, being told what you can and cannot do because you are female; so I don't know that I'm not supposed to do such and such a thing. So I just do it and it's when people respond that I realize, oh, maybe I wasn't supposed to do this this way; so in that sense, it's a learning curve
>
> [I]f I recognize that I should censor myself, in terms [of] thought process, it's usually not because of my gender
> (Akosua).

Acts of microaggression are not limited to the student body and Akosua's minimal self-censorship has resulted in shaming and censure from male colleagues. When discussing difference in treatment, Akosua noted a seminar that included a District Assembly official:

> I've gotten in trouble in this department because a District assembly official came to do a presentation…. [W]hen he presented, I actually sat there wanting to see if his colleagues could see the problem and fix it. So they commented. Then he started getting defensive, which is the point at which I said "actually your colleagues are right". He reported me to a colleague as having disrespected him. But for me, what was interesting about that encounter [was] … that my colleague, [a] male colleague, actually thought he should call me on it
> (Akosua).

While she and the official's colleague argued and agreed that the official's argument was flawed, it was Akosua who was chastised by both the official and her male colleague for challenging an authority figure and not showing sufficient deference. While they did not explicitly state that her gender impacted their perception and behaviour, that the official's male colleague was not chastised demonstrates a clear difference in treatment,

expectation and power, expressing a "resistance to role modifications and support of a differential view of men and women" (Tougas et al., 1998, p. 1497); the actions of the officials and Akosua's colleague highlight an embedded emphasis of deference within relations of power, power that is not equally shared. Their actions act as shaming rituals where they attempted to neutralize her opinion, police her activities and reinforce dominant patriarchal power structures.

Microaggressions find spaces to exist in sociocultural environments where overt hostility and punitive retribution is no longer tolerated. The rebuke that Akosua received is bureaucratic, gendered and patriarchal, demonstrating the social and cultural bias embedded within university and political structures. Akosua considers this example of gendered politics within the university a clear example of gender bias, as well as a learning opportunity regarding the benefits of practical self-censorship. She notes that when she does engage in self-censorship, it is usually on the grounds of whether or not it will be productive, or hurt an overall agenda of promoting gender equality: "in spaces where sexism is at work [I make] a decision as to whether, in this particular context, what difference [will] it make or not" (Akosua). These 'lessons' that she experiences in practical self-censorship are lessons that she says she does not always utilize: "I'm not sure if I'm very good at that … it's only when, people respond that I realize, oops, I was supposed to have not done this" (Akosua). Performative challenges to power are reflexively linked to relative power and resources, wherein power dynamics, risk to financial, familial and employment security directly impact decision-making processes; these power imbalances combine with risk to perpetuate ongoing systemic inequality. As people who are disempowered by the systems of power they are immersed in, women must develop a complex understanding of said systems in order to assess the professional and reputational risks associated with speaking out and challenging power.

Microaggressions reinforce gendered power structures by punishing non-conformity. Conversely, punishing nonconformity reflexively implies that gender conformity can facilitate inclusion within patriarchal structures. But this is only effective if women self-police, constraining their ambitions and opinions so as not to threaten or make power holders uncomfortable; even then, women's position and status remains subject to overarching systems of power. As in all masculine organizations, "inequality regimes" enact "interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings" that maintain gender inequality (Acker in Alemán, 2014, p. 124) while "[h]omosociability", "fratriarchal loyalties," and "authoritarian and entrepreneurial masculinities" characterize the university environments concerned with efficiency, production, and prestige (Prichard in Alemán, 2014, p. 124). These systems present significant informal barriers to women whose ideologies, ambitions or research interests challenge dominant ideologies and power holders; this inhibits the ability of women academics to receive the support necessary for achieving equal research, professional development and institutional success. These barriers, combined with gendered domestic and familial labour, create significant constraints on women's professional development. Feminist research can be doubly impacted when met with resistance, ridicule or dismissal from peers and within the university (Manuh, p. 140).

There are no formal preclusions keeping women from pursuing professional development in academia, but bureaucratic methods for 'equality' that place emphasis on meritocracy and the removal of formal barriers are insufficient as they focuses on box-ticking, enabling tokenism rather than meaningful cultural transition. Emphasis on bureaucracy enables professional environments to have minimal representation of women, particularly at higher levels. This reinforces, normalizes, and 'justifies'

exclusionary stereotypes that women are represented as much as can be, or seek to be, within professional academic spaces[42]. Ideologies of individualism and meritocracy present personal achievement as a personal attribute "rather than group membership" (Taylor and McKirnan in Tougas et al., 1998, p. 1488), muting and masking the acknowledgement and critique of systemic disadvantages. This can result in a tokenistic 'proof' of opportunity, that can be used to argue that systemic change is not necessary, enabling ongoing systemic inequality under false perceptions of equality. To challenge this, it is crucial to view women's representation as part of a critical, overarching process of inclusion, rendering it essential rather instrumental (Nazneen & Hickey, 2019, p. 8). To preclude this denies that their inclusion is valuable in and of itself, thereby reinforcing patriarchal hierarchies of power.

Microaggressions act as informal barriers that represent and reinforce differences of treatment, shaping differences of experience; overt, covert, and subconscious, inferential biases based upon gender, perpetuate gender inequality. Microaggressions and informal barriers impact women's experiences, diminishing perceptions and enactments of women's power, authority, capacity and place, reinforcing patriarchal power dynamics. Participants challenge biases, discriminatory actions and professional barriers by

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[42] It is essential to acknowledge the sexist presumptions that have systemically limited the development of women in all professions across the globe. Gender roles, stereotypes, assumptions and expectations have combined with formal barriers to systematically hinder and obstruct women's development throughout time immemorial. This difference in the treatment and experiences of women is embedded in misogyny, in which patriarchal hegemonies, systems and power holders fail to acknowledge or "recognize women's full humanity" (Manne, 2018, p. 22). Women's capabilities highlight them as targets within fragile, masculinist ideologies and systems, where women's abilities, demonstrated on the "historical turf" of men, are perceived as a threat to "*take something from [them]*" (Manne, 2018, p. 24). The patriarchal and misogynist response is often to emphasize women's purpose as being a "social rol[e] in service to men's interests" (Manne, 2018, p. 76) in order to maintain patriarchal relations of ruling.

engaging in critical dialogue. Their emotional labour humanizes impacts and makes gender hegemonies, and their impacts, tangible. By encouraging actors to engage in identifying and confronting overt and covert biases, they make actors responsible for their (in)actions and their impacts on others, (re)shaping social environments towards more equitable practices. However, informal and ideological barriers continue to significantly hinder women's professional development and achievement. Sexist beliefs and ideologies permeate social environments and institutional systems, reinforcing informal barriers which act as a means of maintaining the status quo. Sexism, and its impacts will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Chapter 6. Sexism: making the hidden visible

In this chapter, I define forms of sexism and demonstrate how sexism and gender hegemonies permeate academic institutions in Ghana. By explicating participant experiences, I demonstrate how participants apply nego-feminist methodologies to challenge gender inequality, redefine gender roles, and sensitize work environments to women's experiences and gender bias.

6.1. Forms of sexism

Sexism manifests as discrimination, prejudice or stereotyping on the basis on sex. It influences and 'justifies' gendered power imbalances and subverts actions and ideologies that pursue equalization of social, cultural, political and economic power. Typically experienced by women, sexism reaffirms patriarchal inequalities through methods of benevolent, modern, inferential and neosexism (Tougas et al., 1998). Benevolent sexism frames a 'justification' for gender inequality upon beliefs that define women as caretakers, reinforcing a 'natural' role of child rearing and domestic labour. Defining these traits as 'natural and principal to the gender identity of women, this ideological emphasis on the role of mother, wife and caretaker, reinforces patriarchal power imbalances and "diminishes women's cognitive performance" though patronization (Becker & Swim, 2011, p. 228). The internalization of benevolent sexism increases the propensity for women and men to accept discriminatory acts. It increasing their perception of satisfaction with their sociocultural environment and "undermines women's participation in collective action to counter gender discrimination" with an easiness less likely to manifest under hostile forms of sexism (Becker & Swim, 2011, p. 228).

As institutional systems remove formal gender barriers to the professional development of women, and formal environments of equality become the ideological norm, sexism transitions from the overt sexism of the past to subversive, more covert, 'modern' forms of sexism. The prevalence of modern sexism within structures that formally promote equality are likely to be endorsed in part due to a lack of awareness of the "overall prevalence and extent of sexism" (Becker and Swim, 2011, p. 227) as well as the "perception that gender discrimination is a thing of the past" enabling continued prevalence and an implied endorsement of modern, covert sexism (Becker & Swim, 2012, p. 128). Neosexism, Tougas et al. (1998) argue, develops alongside the development of egalitarian values and their supporting laws (p. 1488). As society challenges explicit gender prejudices, making overt sexism less socially and legally acceptable, neosexism develops within the social, cultural and institutional space where remaining conflict between "egalitarian values and residual negative feelings toward women" is revealed (Tougas in Tougas et al., 1998, p. 1487). As conditions that people act within are 'socio-historical', they are impacted by the accumulation of previous, intentional and unintentional, coordinated and uncoordinated actions; these actions, "mutually influenc[e] actions over them" (Young, 2001, p.13).

Inferential sexism is inherent in modern and neosexism; it permits social and ideological environments to include taken for granted assumptions and biases to enable and 'justify' continued, unequal social relations and systems that (re)enforce an unequal distribution of power. It exists covertly, immersed in the body of its environment. Gender sensitization (Yeboah et al., 2014), particularly through nego-feminist methods, seeks to elucidate overt and covert forms of social, cultural and structural sexism by raising awareness, modifying behaviour and effecting structural, social and cultural

change, thereby developing broad-scale equality through formal and informal methods that incorporate equity practices. As these formal and informal methods are used to shape broader ways of understanding one's sociocultural environment, individuals can become aware of the harm that overt, covert and inferential sexism creates.

Nego-feminist methodologies are actively used by a number of participants in my research to challenge the sexism in their daily lives. When discussing women's day to day interactions with sexist ideologies, Doris noted the effectiveness that nego-feminist methods can have in challenging sexist norms:

> [N]ego-feminism "can be practised on an individual basis and it can also be practised on a community or group basis….[I]t becomes bigger and it has much more impact then to just get up and say one day that 'I think all you men are crazy to be taking privileges that don't even belong to you' and start denigrating them; it wouldn't work
> (Doris).

Doris notes the commonality of resistance to women's inclusion or actions; this demonstrates the pervasiveness of sexism and the resistance women experience when they to try effect change within overarching systems and ideologies, to disrupt the social order. This methodology recognizes systemic and ideological inequalities while engaging people in conversation rather than argumentation. Doris believes that antagonistic discourse would not only be ineffective, it would create adversaries rather than allies and end dialogue rather than encourage it. This demonstrates nego-feminism's radical potential to challenge existing power relations. Its discursive methodology combines with its inclusive, feminist ideology to engage in critical analysis of ideological and systemic gender biases, challenging gender inequality on the ground in interactions that directly impact perceptions, beliefs and day-to-day living.

6.2. Gender sensitization at home

Most participants have, or have had, children at home, and gender roles and responsibilities regarding childcare and domestic labour significantly impact women academics, requiring a shift in attention and an output of 'voluntary' labour that is neither expected, nor required, from their male counterparts. To facilitate equality in their domestic environments, some participants have sensitized their home environments, resulting in shared labour between household members.

Doris believes in an equal division of labour: "[i]f you know how to eat, you should know how to cook." She, her husband and their children all participate in food preparation and cooking, taking part in teaching, cooking and washing, according to their age and abilities. When her nephew stayed with her family for six months, he was shocked to find this difference in social behaviour: "he looked at me like I have just sprouted an extra head or something" (Doris). After a few months, he could cook and now does the cooking at home:

> My sister called me and said 'what have you done to my son?…. Now, he's cooking; he is giving me a break', and she was so impressed…she doesn't have to rush back home to cook, because by the time she gets home, he's cooked (Doris).

She notes that "[h]e didn't know how to do anything until he came to my house. I don't blame my sister; it is the way she was raised". In comparison, Doris has made a conscious effort to challenge benevolent sexism by normalizing gender sensitization and removing gender stereotyping from domestic and professional work. She has created an equalized dynamic, redefining 'normal' for her, her family, and now her nephew and sister.

> It is something that you have to do consciously…. We need to get people to be conscious of certain things. We are unconscious about things, so we are raising our daughters to be good wives; but we end up raising our sons to be bad husbands…. [We] need to, as the people, as a country, begin to have conversations around such issues, so that whether it's on radio or TV, we are telling people that, you know, as [you] put fear in a girl, you are invariably putting some undue power in a man or in a boy
> (Doris).

Jensen (2005) argues that radical actions aim for the root structures of unjust systems and ideologies (p. 8). The methods engaged within by Doris, and other participants, focus on radical change effecting the root structures of ingrained gender biases and cultural norms. While she does not explicitly state it, Doris advocates for a radical approach to carving out the root of gender inequality through nego-feminist methods. She emphasizes discourse and community engagement about unjust power imbalances, and the risks[43] associated with perceived rights to power. Her argument seeks to carve out the ideological roots of gender inequality.

Doris' methods of challenging inferential sexism and the unequal division of domestic labour extends into her community to the people that she hires to assist her in maintaining her household. Many Ghanaians hire 'house help' to assist in domestic chores such as laundry, cleaning, cooking and childrearing, and Doris has hired someone to assist in cleaning her home. Unlike most, she hired a man, challenging gender norms about domestic labour. He sought work from her, and she has a need for the work to be managed by another. This in and of itself is a negotiative methodology, going beyond a negotiation of employment: they have engaged in a discourse that has negotiated and

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[43] Doris' reference to "putting some undue power in a man or in a boy" implies not only systemic, institutional and political power, but also physical and sexual violence.

redefined traditional gender roles, (re)shaping how the domestic environment of Doris' home is composed. Through her engagement, Doris has spurred normalizing practices that redefine roles and dissolve the shame of emasculation that is affiliated to domestic labour. This transformative representation of domestic labour performance, in which 'typically female' labour is undertaken by a man, actively de-stigmatizes domestic work, imbues value and recognition, and furthers the ideology that work does not exist within a gender binary.

This removal of correlating a gender with forms of labour renegotiates and redefines gender roles, identity and work; it ascribes value to all roles and labour as being important, dismantling constructed labour barriers and establishing a connective, collaborative work model in which domestic work is everyone's responsibility[44]. This destigmatization has the potential to shape how domestic work is perceived beyond her household, into the community. Doris' actions and methods also create time and space for her to pursue the rigorous work of an academic professional. She shapes her familial environment, transitioning sexism and rigid gender roles from being conventional norms to being identified as inappropriate sexist ideologies and behaviours that ought to be challenged.

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[44] This "social connection model of responsibility" (Young in Bozalek et al., 2015, p. 93-94) is discussed further in Chapter 6, subsection 4. Gender sensitization in university systems.

6.3. Gender sensitization in professional relationships

Peace[45], a Lecturer in Sociology, is a thoughtful, energetic and welcoming person who regularly challenges gender inequality in her social and professional environments. She challenges covert, inferential sexism by pressing her colleagues and work environment to be gender sensitive, paying particular attention to the opportunities that her male colleagues experience for professional development through writing, research or networking, while she and her female colleagues leave the university by 3:30pm to start domestic work. It is common for Peace to actively announce her departure, audibly reminding those who are within earshot that she is leaving to begin her second shift. While some colleagues laugh at, or ignore her when she does this, she considers it a political act as it announces the normalized inequalities of gendered domestic labour and the inequalities of opportunity that it enables:

> 'Guys, I'm going on to my second shift. You are still within your, you know, first shift', and this is where it is not an equitable space. So as I start that, they all start laughing, you know
> (Peace).

But for Peace, regardless of ridicule, it is essential to raise continuous attention to issues of inequality; her day-to-day living embraces this kind of approach:

> I remind them and I tell them, 'you have sisters, you have wives, you know, and so when they are given a certain treatment imagine that your sister is also working somewhere and you are here, your wife is home, perhaps some person or boss allow her to go to manage the home that allows you to be here to work' (Peace).

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[45] Interview date: March 21, 2018.

Peace's actions make inequality more difficult to ignore. She challenges men to acknowledge their privileged assumptions that their needs will be met, without considering how they benefit from women's work, all while being simultaneously oblivious to the struggles of women (Bozalek, 2015, p. 90). Doing so makes economics of gendered labour visible; how all economic systems, including formalized and respected institutions, depend upon the undervalued, under-recognized and often unpaid labour of women to facilitate their wage structure, productivity, innovation and development. Peace's practice of public declaration is also performative. She engages with an active embodiment that connects affect to political relevance, together in a step towards a connection of the "power, persuasion, and politics" (Csordas in Culhane, 2017, p. 55) of her feminist ideology. Peace forms a practice that is inextricably attached to herself and her identity, risking the stigmatization that arises when one visibly challenges ideological gender biases and practices. This personal, visible feminist performance humanizes gender discrimination, making it difficult to ignore and more viscerally experienced, encouraging the development of empathy.

One afternoon, I was having a conversation with a male faculty member in the Department courtyard when Peace, passing through the courtyard, announced that she was leaving to pick up her children and begin her second shift. Some faculty ignored her while others laughed. Shortly after, the faculty member I was talking to mentioned how he shares childcare with his wife. While childcare is not something that he does every day, what he was communicating to me was a shift in perception and action. Without explicitly stating it, he was expressing a gender sensitization and a shift towards more equitable care-taking responsibilities; representing an internalization of the inequality experienced by women as well as a need to self-identify as a 'modern' husband who participates in childrearing, demonstrating how Peace's action encourage others to be

accountable. While the question was not raised, he also did not note any challenges, special circumstances or questions as to his professional commitment when leaving the university to pick up his children; persistent issues for women faculty. This is significantly different from Peace's experience, as well as the experiences of other female faculty. Both Peace and male colleagues are making their experiences visible; but, it is important to distinguish between their experiences and anticipatable reactions. His communication is unlikely to have anticipated any negative effects in relation to his choices, or dedication to his job; his efforts are more likely to result in acknowledgement, attention, praise and even an increase in prestige, in regards to his declaration[46]. Peace's making her work visible results in microaggressions, laughter, ignoring, derision, claims of special privileges and questions regarding her commitment to her job.

Sexism permeates academic environments, often manifesting as a dismissiveness towards gender issues and gender representation. Peace discussed the tokenistic approach some faculty members have towards women faculty. When departments prepare for recruitment, the area of expertise within the faculty and that of a recruit is always of consideration. Peace, arguing for an equitable, affirmative action approach to hiring female representation in her department was told by one of her male colleagues: "'[O]h you have too many women'". When she challenged this, he backtracked, arguing that there were too many faculty members teaching gender: "as far as he's concerned, we had a total staffing; we have five of us, compared to seventeen males. And as far as he's concerned, five is enough; we don't need too many" (Peace). Peace, engaging in a nego-feminist dialogue to sensitize the department to women's underrepresentation and initiate a conversation about methods for gender equity, was presenting an argument that, in

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[46] It should be noted that men who want to be active parents are often pressured not to not take parental leave within the corporate environments in Canada and the U.S.A.

comparable applicant pools, hiring preference should be given to women as a method of challenging unequal representation. Whether he knew it or not, he was arguing that gender is the domain of female faculty and women's academic abilities are more limited than men's. Frustrated, but not necessarily surprised, at the conflict, Peace noted the modern, inferential sexism that is often covertly embedded in the culture and ideology of university actors:

> [S]o even in this space, academic space, where you expect that people have been exposed and know much, even in conversations or interpretations you still find that patriarchy in the way people think… you know because they think that women, they don't do as much as men
> (Peace).

6.4. Gender sensitization in university systems

Renowned feminist scholar Professor Dzodzi Tsikata[47] notes that for women in academia to "'succeed in the university, they would have to conform to certain norms and accept certain disadvantages as normal'" (Tsikata in Boateng, 2018, p. 23). In this environment, "[e]ncouraging 'flexibility and openness to change in one's approach to daily schedules, assignments, and work-related activities'" (Burke and Attridge in Boateng, 2018, p. 23) goes "a long way to chang[ing] the status quo" (Boateng, 2018, p. 23). This approach typically requires effort and flexibility to be manifested by women academics, facilitating the carving out of space within the confines of academia where position, privileges and processes seem ossified, "the privileged tend to view their

[47] Professor Dzodzi Tsikata is a Research Professor in Development Sociology, current Director of the Institute of African Studies (IAS) and former Director for the Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA) at the University of Ghana and President of Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA).

situations as ‘normal’ or ‘natural’”, and “those who are in positions of privilege would generally not want to relinquish their advantages” (Bozalek, 2015, p. 91). Peace regularly challenges these privileges and "requires acknowledgement that we are implicated in social conditions and structural injustices (Bozalek, 2015, p. 84).

The burdens of childcare, particularly for women, can be limiting to professional development and employment; this can result in situations where requests for special consideration are interpreted as refusals to perform, risking reputation and employment. As a mother of small children, being scheduled for early morning or afternoon lectures is burdensome for Peace; it is also something that she is willing to challenge. She argues that the registrar’s office needs to be gender sensitive to the informal ways that women’s experiences are impacted within the university setting. To do so, she explains the multiple impacts of the second shift, caring for small children, and the difference in the experience of male faculty who are not required to perform these gendered responsibilities. When Peace is scheduled for an early morning or afternoon lecture, she contacts the Registrar’s office and requests a schedule change. When asking for a schedule change and informing the Registrar that she could not work at 7am, the response that Peace received was: “well that’s it; you come, or you go” (Peace). When she told the Registrar that he was being gender insensitive, his tone changed and he asked for clarification. She informed him that she is the mother of a baby, and being scheduled for an early lecture is an unnecessary hardship.

When recounting this story to me, Peace’s face and movement became very expressive. As she discussed the Registrar’s comments to her, her expression, tone and posture become more tense, quick, forceful and resistant, taking a tone of frustrated exasperation. Her retelling demonstrated how power-holders can be triggered by

challenges to their power, performance or ideologies, elucidating the fragility of power-holders and structures which are habituated to not being challenged. As she communicated her response, her body language, expression and tone immediately changed. Her voice was firm, but gentle and steady; her breathing was calm and she smiled as she reiterated her part of the discussion. She, as women often do, engaged in a deescalation of tension. She defused a situation that was perceived as a threat to authority and systemic power, transitioning it into a descriptive conversation that explained her perspective and experience. Her actions developed an active audience. In this, she is the one who provided a safe space for a man who is an institutional power-holder. Peace uses nego-feminist methods to demonstrate power while exposing how power-holders resistance can be a manifestation of vulnerability. In creating a safe discussion space, she shaped an opportunity for those having their norms and power challenged to develop understanding and empathy. Unapologetic in her pursuits and actions, Peace's methodology demonstrates strength and conviction; it also encourages the opening of a doors by institutional gate-keepers. Peace's activism sensitizes actors within her professional environment; her transmission of knowledge makes power-holders responsible to engage with their ideologies, and act with knowledge of the impacts of their (in)actions.

It can be argued that the change Peace has achieved was contingent upon her finding a willing audience; but this would be an inaccurate assumption. Her discussions with the registrar were not a singular experience; she had repeated conversations over multiple semesters regarding the issue of scheduling. These conversations often resulted in a perception of frustration, hostility and a belief that she was refusing to perform her required duties. She had to engage in significant emotional labour, working over time, and overtime, to generate a willing audience. It was during her most recent discussion

(prior to our conversation) that a breakthrough of understanding had been developed, demonstrating the lengthy process of creating change. The administrator that she spoke with insisted on knowing, wanting to know, why standard processes were such a challenge for her, when other female faculty were not approaching him[48]. It may be that his question and desire for more context was borne out of frustration at not understanding the rationale, from responding to repeated requests from Peace, or from her raising the issue of gender sensitivity; but rather than engaging in adversarial discourse, Peace approached these questions as an opportunity to provide context and develop a willing audience and ally.

By making visible and audible this difference in the gender experiences of women in the university environment, Peace challenges, humanizes and makes visible inferential sexist beliefs, structures and subtle forms of discrimination that are immersed in this social and professional environment. She makes embedded, inferential sexism explicit. Peace demonstrates how modern sexism manifests in professional environments that self-identify as non-discriminatory and egalitarian institutions. She also demonstrates the need for gender sensitization and equity practices. Peace does this in a way that is conversational, encouraging power-holders to expand their institutional and empathetic understanding. She engages with power holders without releasing her own power, confidence or position. This negotiative methodology lessens resistance to challenges to the status quo and beliefs related to ossified ways of doing things:

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[48] His claim of not being approached by other women faculty is not surprising, given the context and narratives included in this study.

> [It is not] that you should make excuses for women; but provide the spaces and opportunities, and in terms of planning, and scheduling and everything, so that women too will have a chance to work
> (Peace).

Peace elucidates and challenges the inferential sexism within belief systems that form gender discrimination; biases that may be unnoticed by male colleagues. She clarifies, represents and validates the realities of gender inequality, and challenges the prejudicial beliefs embedded in the gendered micro-aggressions that ignore, invalidate and/or deny the challenges faced by working women (Basford et al., 2014, p. 341), that are used to maintain patriarchal power structures. Her actions make the informal barriers of a structure that was not designed to accommodate women visible within a sociocultural environment that has deeply embedded gender roles. This creates a conversation in which gatekeepers are provided reasonable, calm and clear explanation of a need for gender sensitivity. Her process creates situation in which they have to consciously decide, with knowledge of the implications, to maintain a status quo that disproportionately impacts women or act to create a more equitable environment.

Peace's methodology empowers all participants, and her discursive structure within a nego-feminist framework shows this: she challenges methods and rationale by negotiating within a system. Her engagement in these discussions questions, not reinforces, the ways that methods and processes are determined. She elucidates significant gaps in knowledge and consideration on the part of the overall structure, power-holders and gate-keepers within a decision-making process, creating effective knowledge sharing and system adaptation. By the end of the day, her schedule was changed:

> I think that a lot of us need to speak up, you know. We have been socialized not to speak up, or thinking that when we speak up we'll be labelled. You know, so it's about also finding ourselves not speaking up rudely or antagonistically, about making a point firmly, and nicely, and make the point
> (Peace).

That women must be approachable and 'nice' illustrates the systems of power that women operate within and the emotional labour that they engage in to navigate, and change, their environments. This can lead to an argument that nego-feminism's mobilization within these systems upholds or reinforces these power structures; but this framing is limiting, demanding a singularity of view that Nnaemeka argues against in her inclusive definition of nego-feminism: the propensity to 'invariably exclude' people from inclusive feminist practices and activism. Thus it is essential to not dismiss nego-feminism as upholding or reinforcing power structures and recognize its challenge to western dualism and its adversarial, us v. them, approach to conflict.

Gender activism necessitates critical discourse regarding the origins, constructions and perpetuation of inequality. Broad scale change requires motivating men and women to work collaboratively and build strategies to address inequality (Manuh, p. 137). As systems of power are unequally distributed, demanding that those pursuing equality of power and representation be responsible for doing so without using the structures in place further disenfranchises them. It places demands on the labour of the underrepresented by requiring them to create positions, systems and methods for the redistribution of power while power-holders simultaneously utilize entrenched systems of power to maintain their positions. As utilizing established systems are usually preferred methods for power-holders, as they uphold the systems from which they benefit, there is no impetus or need to change, adapt or reinvent how they organize and distribute representation and power. Often, the methods by which these systems can be changed are from the inside:

> If we keep these micro-movements as we sustain them, and we do it in ways that we have [a collaborative] audience… that, I feel, would work more effectively then having a big movement.… Let's chip at it, bit by bit, and [it] will work more completely than to take a sledgehammer and break it off at once (Doris).

This does not mean that partial advancements of rights and representation is the end goal; it is a lengthy pursuit, advanced by innumerable micro-level actions and changes and incalculable amounts of unpaid, 'voluntary' and emotional labour. The labour engaged in by participants demonstrates the long term efforts required to create social change. This responsibility, liability and expectation must not be borne only by those who are already burdened by underrepresentation. Nego-feminist methodologies empower all participants, demonstrating how micro-level systemic changes develop and how representatives of power can be engaged, incentivized and made responsible to facilitate processes that promote equity and systemic change. Recognition of these processes also challenges perceptions of passiveness within social and professional environments, where visibility can be limited to dominant viewers, obscuring the action, advocacy and agency of under-recognized actors.

Reiterations of ongoing inequalities mitigates the modern sexist belief that gender inequality is a thing of the past, preventing a 'post-feminist' approach that dismisses the need for continued advocacy and change. Problematizing covert discrimination demonstrates that managerialism (Alemán, 2014) has not resolved issues of inequality though metrics and evaluations that strip gender from formal assessment structures, creating a false belief in gender-neutral formal processes. Contrasting its ideology of equality, managerialism enables a "'new' masculinity as its 'new' sexism" (Alemán, 2014, p. 108) in which polices and people present as systems of equality and allies while

failing to remove gender bias beyond formal, evident structures. This form of neosexism shapes an presentation and impression where equality is enshrined, but where managerial standards, presented as rational and detached tools of assessment, ultimately uphold regimes of inequality through a lack of special consideration and equitable practices (Alemán, 2014, p. 108). Academic environments, where masculinity is, or has been, standardized, do not "'allow women a significantly different career path than the standard one developed around the male life course'" (Armenti in Alemán, 2014, p. 111). "'Instrumentalist' managerial practices" (Harris in Alemán, 2014, p. 111) and labour production, "measured by 'objective' metrics" (Alemán, 2014, p. 123), fail to account for gender complexities within sociocultural environments, inferential gender bias, and the power of arbitrary preference held by decision-makers (Alemán, 2014, p. 122). This absence of gender awareness requires women to engage in disproportionately more emotional labour, a lot of it overtime, to create a responsive audience.

Presumptions of how 'equality' is envisioned are shaped by the perspective of those who are defining it. These methods can make the gender work and experiences of women invisible by excluding it from the discourse. When the discourse is shaped in institutions, communities and professional spheres dominated by men, the social, cultural, professional and physiological experiences of women can be exceptionalized, omitted or obscured. For women to have a place, position and influence equal to that of men, full and formal recognition of their experiences including gendered childhood development, sociocultural expectations, different experiences of the body, such as pregnancy and breastfeeding, and recognition fo the embedded masculinist biases built into social, cultural and professional structures, must be taken into consideration so that arrangements can be made to facilitate more equitable environments. Intentional and unintentional biases impact policy, resulting in circumstances and procedures that create

gender-neutral approaches that disadvantage women: Peace's and other participants' actions reshape the responsibility of gender and inequality from being the work of women to being the work of all genders.

While gender work is typically considered the work of women, this is shifting: a result predominantly created through the activism of women. Doris, Peace, and other participants make men responsible for actively engaging in actions that promote and facilitate gender equity. They embody their ideologies and engage their male colleagues, students and university through their praxis. Doris' methods are rigorous; she clearly defines and engages with her parameters and expectations for equality, framing the intergenerational culture that she is creating. These spheres reverberate, impacting perspectives within her sister's family. Peace's methods are direct, but more negotiative, responding to formal power structures, to which she is subordinate. She shapes and presents an opportunity for male power-holders to facilitate change and promote equity, bettering her working conditions and providing gender context to seemingly equal and unbiased procedures. Peace's actions unveil the modern sexism and inferential biases embedded in the bureaucracy of the university and its processes. These biases exist because the systems of the university were never designed with women in mind; efforts for inclusion have emphasized a dismantling of barriers without sufficiently incorporating measures for equity. Beliefs embedded in meritocratic equality falsely embed perceptions of equality in opportunity and success built upon effort, rather than acknowledging the donated, 'voluntary' labour of women, and the labour required to restructure unequal systems. The communicative methods of nego-feminism act as effective methodologies for navigating unequal environments and acknowledging the gendered division of labour in the domestic sphere.

While the changes being advocated for are not directly challenging the power structure of the university, they clarify reasonable rationales for engaging in equitable practices and accommodating special considerations, and uproot excuses for power holders to not act. It can be anticipated that resistance to accommodating these requests is unlikely to be intractable, especially considering the impacts that gender sensitization can have on 'common sense'. Hickey and Nazneen (2019) discuss the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing of issues related to political activism and systemic political change, arguing that the use of problem definitions and policy solutions reduce the extent to which elite power-holders protect interests by fiercely ossifying and applying policy (p. 25), increasing underrepresented participation within the (re)creation of policies that defend women's interests within the institution (p. 33).

Through a symbolic interactionist lens (Macionis & Gerber, 2011, p. 16), Peace's engagement in ground-level activism generates systemic changes in relation to institutional gender sensitization. She, like other participants, identifies systemic problems, proposes solutions to diagnosed issues and advances arguments for change that provide herself and structural gatekeepers with an 'opportunity' to empower themselves to create potentially systemic change within their professional scope. In doing so, she works within a negotiative framework, reshaping the playing field, systems and processes from the inside. In a Gramscian sense, Peace is challenging the hegemonic forms of patriarchal power that are structurally embedded in the university system (Hickey & Nazneen, 2019, p. 25). By utilizing a negotiative framework, Peace increases the palatability of change for power-holders who, neither directly gain anything from it, nor experience an increase in their workload. With her labour, she shapes her arguments within the context of equity, articulating embodied, gendered experiences, and a rationale of reasonability. This double-pronged method undermines potential rejection while

increasing empathy for the gender subjectivities of women. Peace interrupts male power-holders' 'common sense' experience, to develop the empathy needed to internalize the complex subjectivities of women's experiences; experiences that, because of the deeply entrenched and dichotomous gender norms embedded in Ghana's patriarchal hegemonies, men are not conditioned to take into consideration.

Further, drawing upon Gramsci, Fontana (2002) would argue that Peace's "passion and experience are imbed[ed] with knowledge and reason" (p. 27). Her methodology facilitates the transition of the administrator's "common sense" to "good sense", challenging him to think coherently and critically: to engage in a "'critical consciousness' of self and cultural individuation and social differentiation" (Fontana, 2002, p. 27). She, like others, are "central to a movement" that seeks to "'replace common sense and the old concept of the world in general'" by providing detail and context to underrepresented experiences, challenging broader, hegemonic perceptions of culture, processes and institutions (Gramsci in Fontana, 2002, p. 27). These processes and protocols function as manifestations of hegemonic ideologies in which negative exclusionary policies (Butler, 2007, p. 3) enable systems of power to exist, facilitating the continuation of power imbalances without explicitly or directly excluding underrepresented participants. As women academics exist within professional constructs, and contracts, within systems of education, they are simultaneously "subjects" of systems that are designed to be judicial (Butler, 2007, p. 3) in application of systemic regulations and policies, and actors engaged within the critical analysis of said systems.

By aligning her interests with power-holders and identifying her interests and the universities interests as the same, Peace is more likely to engage with a receptive audience. Her argument for accommodation is a challenge to develop ways of assessing

the needs of women within overarching structures (Hickey & Nazneen, 2019, p. 34). Her discursive activities are reshaping her environment and the perception of institutional power-holders, having the potential to positively impact other women academics and shape conversations about gender equity. By engaging directly with individuals in charge of applying policies, Peace demonstrates nego-feminism's radical potential by challenging processes that have become deeply ingrained over time by embedding knowledge of how the life experiences of women academics significantly differ from their male counterparts; directly equivocating them with her university's values of equality and gender sensitivity. Peace goes to the root of issues, discursively raising questions about appropriateness, challenging application methods and providing alternative methodologies for equitable change. She creates effective, multi-directional strategies for (re)shaping cultures and institutions. Peace engages in a rejection of a liability model of responsibility in which one, often marginalized, group is identified as being responsible for changing structural inequalities (Bozalek, 2015, p. 94). Instead, she engages the registrar in a "social connection model of responsibility", in which "all parties in a shared responsibility for addressing privileges" (Young in Bozalek et al., 2015, p. 93-94).

Hickey and Nazneen (2019) would argue that the use of problem definitions and policy solutions reduces the level of elite power-holders in protecting interests in fiercely ossifying and applying policy; additionally, they have the additional benefit of participating in policy legacies that shape women's interests within the institution (p. 33), earning them recognition for promoting gender equity. Peace's approach is important, subversive and radical; she is challenging processes that have been deeply ingrained over time. Her discourse and activities are reshaping the social geography of the university and the perception of institutional power-holders, which has the potential to positively

impact other women academics and shape conversations about gender equity. Her emphasis on attending to the root of gender inequality in the workplace is essential in order for long term, effective, multi-directional and meaningful change to be established.

Sexism operates inferentially, within a context of implied benevolence, or through modern perceptions of falsely perceived equality. By applying nego-feminist methodologies, participants present reasonable and articulate arguments for gender equity; grounded rationales that are difficult to disagree with, without asserting overtly sexist ideologies. They deescalate tensions, render inequalities visible, and hold powerful men to account and act to promote equitable practices. My participants redefine gender roles, imbuing value into gendered 'female' labour. They clearly, visibly and audibly challenge bias, and sensitize work environments to taken for granted and unequal gender experiences. In environments of unequal distribution of power in Ghana, nego-feminism is an appropriate and effective method for creating change as actors can engage with, and make power-holders responsible for acting. They increase comprehension and compassion for gender experiences through an approach that decreases risk to their reputations and professional development, and increases allyship, rather than division.

Chapter 7. Systems of support

While academics have formal mentoring roles through supervisory committees, informal mentoring has significant impact on intellectual and professional development. In this chapter, I discuss the mentoring experiences of several participants, and the impacts that mentoring relationships have had on their personal and professional lives.

7.1. Mentoring

"Mentoring involves exposing and making visible the talents and abilities of women" (Noe in Tougas et al., 1998, p. 1489), increasing the likelihood of gaining recognition from peers (Kram in Tougas et al., 1998, p. 1489). It encourages, stimulates and shapes intellectual and professional development, providing essential intellectual, community and moral support, particularly for women whose underrepresentation leaves them at an institutional and gendered disadvantage. Having support from established colleagues is imperative, particularity when challenging norms. Akosua notes:

> I also think that, for myself, we are very conservative; this is a very conservative society. So sticking your neck out is not something that people are very good at doing in lots of ways. So we also have always had those who defy the norms, right, I mean one of the major troops in Ghanaian cultural history was Yaa Asantewaa (female Ashanti warrior) who, when the men, the Ashanti men were not willing to fight the British, said 'if you, the men, won't do it, I will'[49]. So she led one of the three wars against the British. So we have that too, but it's, very, I mean, to stick your neck out in this environment, the consequences of that are very grim. It may not be grave in a physical sense, but it is definitely grave in a social sense, right. So the advantage I have is that (chuckling), I don't really give

[49] The full quote of Yaa Asantewaa's call to arms is footnoted in Chapter 4, subsection 1. Gender hegemonies.

> a hoot: one. Two, in the circles in which I operate, what I do is not an aberration, it's the norm. So, I know that if Akosua Ampofo[50] heard that I told a student off for making a sexist remark, her response would be positive and not negative. I know Akosua (Ampofo) would be fully appreciative and approve it, I know that Dzodzi[51] wouldn't have a problem with that. So I have enough people around me who don't think that the way I think is crazy
> (Akosua).

That Akosua defines her culture as 'very conservative' and identifies non-conformance as carrying significant risk indicates the influence of social conformance as relative to risks of stigmatization. Within her close social and professional circles, Akosua is not an aberration and her activism, perspective and willingness to challenge power and norms is supported and respected. However, that she specifies that her perspectives, actions and activism are normalized and supported within these tighter spheres implies that within a broader sociocultural context, her actions and ideologies are divergent from the norm. Her discussion of the rebuke and censure that she received for challenging a government official[52] demonstrate her actions as deviant non-conformance.

> So that's a very strong sense of support that I have. And so for me, what is important to do for these young women is to let them see somebody who breaks (away from the norm) and is okay with that
> (Akosua).

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[50] Professor Akosua Ampofo is a renowned Ghanaian feminist scholar, specializing in gender, African studies and culture. She is President of the African Studies Association of Africa, Co-President of the Research Committee on Women and Society of the International Sociological Association, as well as former Director of the Institute of African Studies and founding Director of CEGENSA at the University of Ghana.

[51] Professor Dzodzi Tsikata is footnoted in Chapter 6, subsection 4.

[52] This experience is discussed in Chapter 5, subsection 2. Challenging microagressions.

Akosua's willingness to challenge power and risk labelling shows her ideological and activist commitment. She demonstrates the value and importance that she attaches to visibly and actively presenting and representing gender non-conformance.

Mentoring impacts one's exposure to resources and guidance, and different ways of developing a critical, analytic mind. It also holds the potential of developing strong friends and allies. Akosua's reference to the call of Yaa Asantewaa demonstrates not only the power and impact of Ghanaian women, but also the necessity to act and challenge systemic wrongs, especially when those who hold power refuse or neglect to do so. Akosua not only has supportive friends, colleagues and mentors, she reflexively benefits from the social and cultural capital that is furnished by her networks, particularly if she is faced with resistance to actions of gender advocacy. The academics that Akosua references are academic and feminist warriors. Their solidarity and activities as powerful social activists bolster women's supportive and collaborative culture, fostering their abilities to create meaningful dialogue and change the social geography of formally recognized systems and informal social environments. The social and cultural capital embedded in the recognition of their expertise and regard further fortifies the validity of their arguments for equity; should institutions seek to challenge them, they would have to undermine their own structures for recognizing expertise and intellectual merit. Within academic environments where labelling and damage to one's reputation can be devastating, particularly for women, these support systems are essential, protective and empowering.

Women's representation in positions of social, cultural and professional power are significant and impactful. They demonstrate capacity and provide examples for aspiring women academics. Their role and impact as mentors and allies is formative and motivating. A number of participants noted how formal and informal mentors have

supported them in different ways, including mentoring, co-authorship, and assisting them with school fees when they have faced hardships that could have ended their studies. Dzifa noted that if you get a good supervisor like she did for her Master's degree, they take a keen interest in your welfare, even outside of academia, and that is a major support system for keeping to one's academic journey.

One afternoon, I arrived at an interview and my participant was sitting with two other women, one a colleague who shares the office, the other I had not met before. After being introduced, the guest asked about my research, taking an immediate interest, encouraging me in my work and wishing me success. She identified herself as their, now-retired, former senior faculty member. She talked about how she visits the department every month and checks up on her women colleagues; they discuss challenges they are facing and she mentors them, listening to their ideas and struggles. She provides advice and connects them to other academics in her network. The informality of these relationships provides support and guidance through conversation, shaping discussions about personal and professional development within a social dialogue rather than a delineation of professional expectations. Although not a formal mentor, the spirit and intention of mentoring is equal to, or more than, a formal agreement, as she does this because she wants to and knows its importance. Engaged mentoring remains a significant part of her post-retirement activities and her relationships extend beyond professional walls. She is engaged with transferring experiential knowledge and facilitating women's professional development. This collaborative culture extended though her colleagues to me and their intention of encouraging my research and development. Akosua, as well, notes the importance of informal mentors:

> For me what what saved me was the older female faculty who took me under their wings. I mean, Professor Takyiwaa Manuh[53] … I would spend hours in her house in the evenings, you know she had this huge library, so I studied out of this library and we would just sit there and you could pick different books and you could read and so on …. I don't know that it was a conscious decision her part… [H]er's was a very informal networking that she did. Even now, she says things to me about my publishing record and scholarly interests and so on, that's very geared towards making me a better scholar then what I am; but it's a very informal, we never signed a mentoring contract, right. There are no rules of encounter. It just happened; but it's been very, very important for me.… And I have to say, I made a conscious decision to do it as well for other female scholars; because I think there's no better mentoring system than one that is much more one-on-one
> (Akosua).

> I think that is female faculty's burden that we don't have a choice about. You have to carry it. You have a responsibility to the female students and the female colleagues in which the men don't necessarily feel that responsibility
> (Akosua).

That Akosua identifies informal mentoring, in particular, as a burden of women academics demonstrates the inequities of women's experiences. Gendered labour limits time and opportunity for networking, writing, publishing; the underrepresentation of women limits opportunities for women to be formally mentored by senior women academics. These informal restrictions combine with the risks of stigmatization and

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[53] Takyiwaa Manuh is a renowned scholar and leading academic. She has held positions as a Professor and Director of the Institute for African Studies at the University of Ghana, Director of the Social Development Policy Division of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), member of the Governing Board of UNESCO's International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), Board Member of the African Gender Institute, Fellow of the Ghana Academy of Arts and Sciences, and recipient of Ghana's Order of the Volta (Officer Class), a civilian order of merit recognizing outstanding service to the Republic of Ghana.

damage to one's reputation that can develop from mentoring and social activities with male colleagues and faculty[54].

(In)formal mentoring can include beliefs and perceptions about obligations and intellectual and emotional labour used not only in the work, but concern about the wellbeing and development of women academics, concerns that may not be felt as strongly be men. Akosua notes the importance of mentoring to both the mentor and the mentee. Speaking specifically of Doris, to whom she is an informal mentor, she said:

> I'm very willing to do the one-on-one mentoring with her, and as we joke about it sometimes I take her to lunch, it's a mentoring relationship, but I like to think that she thinks of me as a mentor, in that sense. But that's been, my vision with her has been very conscious on my part. Once she sought me out, then I said, then I owe her beyond the one time thing
> (Akosua).

It is not only that these relationships hold personal, emotional, professional and activist value, Akosua expresses a deeply internalized responsibility to other women; an obligation to use her position, knowledge, resources and abilities to assist a woman student, now a colleague, in her development. Akosua considers this work to be a responsibility that she respects, rather than a burden; she is paying back her mentors for their support and advice, while (re)creating and instilling an ethos within her relationship with Doris. Doris sought out her and her advice, and Akosua feels a responsibility toward her. Akosua and Doris internalize nego-feminist methodologies, recognizing the importance of support, advocacy and dialogue, as well as engaging with an ideological perspective that focuses on inclusion and community, rather than individualism.

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[54] Issues of stigmatization, reputation and sexual harassment are discussed in Chapter 8, subsection 4. Stigmatization and Chapter 9. Reputation and sexual harassment.

7.2. Fostering mentoring relationships

Akua[55], is a prolific scholar and Associate Professor in the Department of Labour and Human Resource Studies, and is generous with her knowledge and support of women academics. She spoke of the relationships she maintains with two of her former graduate students in particular. In a deliberate effort to maintain her connection with them, she checks in on their academic and professional development. But equally importantly, she checks in on their emotional and psychological well being. These relationships are not formal mentorships, but Akua takes them just as seriously. She talks with them about the challenges they have faced beyond the academic pressures of graduate school: stress management, professional development and sexual harassment[56]. Finding spaces for private, personal conversations, she connects with them and listens to them. Akua's empathy and advice plays a central role in facilitating development, normalizing what can be perceived as shameful, and assisting in developing safety techniques and knowledge of formal systems for protection. Her engagement helps other women build confidence and an internalized understanding of their experiences, and ambitions as understood and experienced by them[57].

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[55] Interview date: February 21, 2018.

[56] Issues of sexual harassment are discussed further in Chapter 9. Reputation and sexual harassment.

[57] Noting that our conversation has reminded her to call them, Akua regretted how the busyness of her life has distracted her from staying as actively connected to them as she would want, demonstrating her internalization of engagement, care and compassion. This deeply held compassion and engagement with mentorship is prominent throughout participants experiences. It shapes their experiences, success and development, and becomes a central mantra for their professional lives.

This deep internalization of supporting others is a central component of how participants in my research exist within their personal and professional environments. Hark[58], a centred, compassionate and energetic academic and Dean in Business, discussed with emphasis, how her engagement within the university and community is essential to her life and ideology. She considers an essential aspect of her professional work to be a representative of women's capacity, demonstrating to, and for, students what women can achieve. Her status proves that women standing in the top ranks of universities is not only possible, but also appropriate, removing any 'justification' for stemming women's professional development.

Discussing the importance of fostering mentoring relationships, Doris and Akosua both discussed their mentoring relationship. When Doris was writing her dissertation, she noticed that she needed advice and critique beyond what was available to her through her own networks. She researched and approached Akosua, hoping that she would be willing to provide some critique and advice on her dissertation. The relationship would have a fundamental impact on her research, as well as her personal and professional development:

> I was in a very difficult situation. I got good supervision, but I felt I wasn't getting critical analysis of what I was putting out. So, they were looking at the science of what I was doing; but because it wasn't their field, they weren't putting in the critical things to consider. I met Akosua for 15 minutes; she said 'I am going to be a shadow supervisor for you. I'll read your work. I'll critique it for you. I'll point you to the right literature that you need to review'. And she greatly shaped my work, that I feel like I owe the whole work to her contribution. And she even went beyond just shaping my work to the extent that days that I needed someone to care for my child or my children, she would. I would just have to call her 'I'm looking for someone to take care of the kids for two hours'.

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[58] A pseudonym. Interview held: January 29, 2018.

> She would take them and I would go and come back six hours later and she wouldn't complain. She would say 'oh I enjoyed having them'. So we've become friends and she's impacted me a lot; she still does, and one time I told her 'Akosua I really appreciate everything you have done for me. I feel I should let you know in words that I appreciate your friendship and the role you play in my life and my career'. And she said 'I'm glad you appreciate it; but do for one what I have done for you. And I remember it, and I told myself 'she's asked me to do for one; but I will do it for more than one'. So these two people (the former supervisor and Akosua), are two women that have shaped what I have become, and I'm not sure that they even were conscious (of it) while they were doing it (Doris).

Doris's recounting of the impact that Akosua has had on her professional development demonstrates the meaning mentoring has for women academics; it also highlights variations of support that are shaped by women's gendered experiences. Akosua's support has fundamentally impacted Doris' academic and intellectual development, career trajectory, and the praxis through which she engages with her profession and position. The holistic and gendered understanding that Akosua brings to their relationship is shaped by knowledge of professional expectations, processes and gendered subjectivities. Doris sought mentoring support for professional development; but she also needed community support as her role as a mother strained her already limited time for writing. Akosua's willingness to assist in childcare satisfied a need and activity that would be unlikely to arise in male mentoring relationships. Akosua's contextualized understanding of gendered circumstances depended upon her performing emotional labour beyond 'traditional' masculinized expectations of intellectual guidance, where the 'voluntary', unpaid and gendered work associated with childcare is externalized, transferred to the periphery. It is not just out of sight, but out of mind, disconnected from intellectual, professional, academic work. Akosua's support in all of these areas is not just instrumental, it is fundamental, compensating for gaps in institutional and personal support systems. In caring for Doris' children, she (re)presents a solidarity of peer

support and rebuilds extended realms of community; relationships that have been disrupted through modernization and urbanization. This collaborative effort and connection challenges nuclear-style familial ideologies, recreating and recognizing the need for, and value of, extended support systems. Women's embodiment within the university makes gendered experiences part of academia. It establishes needs for equitable measures, beyond the informal and unpaid work of women mentors, to accommodate the special considerations of women academics. Institutional ideologies for the inclusion of women necessitate the expansion of formal policies to create institutional support systems for the special considerations of women.

Akosua noting that she owed it to Doris to assist her demonstrates the deeply embedded value of support systems, empathy, cooperation and collaboration, as well as the need for extended networks of support for women academics - systems of support that are well established for male counterparts via professional networks, and time and support they benefit from due to the question of domestic work. Doris sought Akosua out for assistance, she put in work to find her and ask her for help, and Akosua felt that she owed her the support. Akosua demonstrates the internalization of an ideological obligation to support those who reach out and demonstrate their intention to develop. This is a distinct difference in comparison to the, often isolating and limiting, beliefs of individualistic meritocracy, wherein internalized resistance to the use of time for the benefit of others challenges cultures of individualism and self-interest, in favour of collaborative and community development. Akosua also extended her ideology and community of support to me. I researched and sought her out to interview while doing my graduate course work. She made time for me then and again during my field research where she acted as a participant and informal mentor. She connected with her network to open doors for interviews and directed me towards research materials; her support

validated my study within her network and community. She showed interest and encouraged me in my research, readily assisting in whatever way she could. Doris, who has also internalized this praxis of mentorship, extended this ethos of mentoring to me; she encouraged me to take the same approach that she and her mentors have taken to her: to actively look for at least one person to encourage in the same way that I have been encouraged, and to participate in broadening networks for women.

7.3. Collaboration and networking

Methodologies of collaboration translate traditionally held community and kin-based systems of cooperation and support into individualistic professional environments. Women academics understanding of gender experiences connect collaboration and support with knowledge about gendered domestic and professional challenges:

> Sometimes I'll be here, someone will send me an email, and all the person is asking you is 'what are you working on this year? You need to have some research going. And then you tell the person, okay this is what I am doing, and they want to follow you. Someone will call you, 'do you want to do lunch with me on this day? And you go and sit down and they're asking about your career, your challenges. Sometimes it's not even the career challenges, but the family challenges that are also preventing you from focusing on your career. And they're giving you advice because they've gone through it, they've been through the phase that you are currently in and they are telling you how you will be able to make it work. So I think it's very important, what is happening now. I don't know if it's only here at the university of Ghana. I haven't, my colleagues in other universities, I haven't heard them talk about such things happening for them; but I know that over here, it is happening. It is
> (Doris).

Compassion, communication and the navigation of barriers is central to nego-feminist methodologies and women's ideologies of systems and support. Recognition of these existing collaborative support systems is growing, as is the need for their continued development and expansion. The lack of (in)formal, embedded networks focusing on women has spurred women academics to create their own systems. Doris notes how, increasingly, women academics are reaching out from across the university to network and cooperatively develop:

> I've also noticed that, increasingly, women in academia are recognizing that, that there is that lack, that deficiency [of female support systems]. So, I see that, informally, people are taking on younger faculty to mentor them. So here, Awusi[59] and myself are here, and our head of department, who is also female, has (pause), she does, sometimes she does things that you might think is not conscious; but I also see it as her way of mentoring us. So she would come in here, sit down, have a conversation with us, informally; but before she leaves, she's asking you 'what are you writing?' Or 'you know that you need to be writing and you need to be publishing. Can we do something together? It's just the three of us, but let's do research and publish'
> (Doris).

These collaborative methodologies create new methods of facilitating professional development, challenging commonly held, institutionalized notions of how requisites are met, and the methods by which they are achieved[60].

Mentoring acts as a valuable and essential system of support for women as they pursue their professional and personal goals. It provides knowledge, insight and solidarity as women challenge systemic bias and the impacts of gender inequality; all necessary elements for creating spaces for women. These methods of collaboration

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[59] A colleague, name redacted.

[60] I discuss this further in Chapter 8, subsection 1. Collaborative methodologies.

challenge the individualistic propensity of academia by emphasizing and internalizing the importance of creating and participating in support systems; actions and values that build networks and professional communities.

Chapter 8. Professional development

In this chapter, I discuss the ways in which women are underrepresented in academia, the methods that women use to collaboratively create and expand professional networks, challenge gender bias and vertical segregation, facilitate professional development and how sexism hinders women's professional development.

8.1. Collaborative methodologies

The underrepresentation of women in academia creates persistent challenges, including the embeddedness of male superiority, institutional bias and gender expectations. Women academics in Ghana challenge these informal barriers, pressing for recognition of the second shift, (in)formal gender bias and advocating for measures to facilitate their equitable development. The perpetuation of 'old boy' networks and embedded male favouritism within masculinist structures remains an ongoing problem. It determines how higher education is managed, who holds gatekeeping positions and who represents and regulates the shaping and enacting of policies. By engaging in co-authorship, participants challenge commonly held, institutionalized notions of how prerequisites are met and the methods by which they are achieved. Doris discussed how she collaborates with colleagues to write articles, collectively increasing their list of publications:

> [W]e do the research, I publish one, she'll publish one, you'll publish one. She (a colleague) takes the responsibility for one, I do, Awusi does. [We] wind up having three publications with our names on it, and that experience helps us to also have our own capacity, to do our own research and have our own publications. And I see that, increasingly, that is being done across different departments. Sometimes people from other departments and other schools within

> the University… and they take that kind of interest in you to help you build up what you need to build up to also be successful
> (Doris).

This method of collaborative co-authorship where several women academics, often in different departments, write sections of papers for publication and take turns as lead author not only enables women to develop intellectually and professionally but engages in a division of labour creates diverse and complex interdisciplinary research. Emphasizing collaborative work is both practical and productive: it focuses on overall collective benefit rather than individual prestige. It redefines how publications are performed and valued and challenges customs of professional academic development; transitioning from predominantly individualistic labour to a collaborative co-learning and community-engaged co-development. In a professional environment where domestic work and childrearing are significant hinderances to career development and promotion, collaborative writing enables Ghanaian women to simultaneously circumvent formal barriers and engage in the networking that is so central to professional development. By moving away from the prestige-focused, singular practices of sole authorship, participants decrease the role of ego in their publishing, creating opportunities for multiple scholars to develop complex, often interdisciplinary, work. Their labour and inclusionary practices shape a new methodology that challenges the hyper-individualistic proclivity of academia, embedding African feminisms into academe.

Although co-authorship, particularly among men, is common in the sciences, some may challenge these collaborative methodologies, arguing that the sharing of labour results in less-intensive authorship than the same number of papers written by a sole author. But this purported equivalencing between intensity and quality raises questions that must be addressed: does academic merit require sole authorship? And what role does

gender bias play in devaluing co-authorship? When considering whether academic merit ought to demand sole-authorship, focus must be on the value of research; the development of comprehensive and in depth knowledge must be the key focus of academic work. Collaborative authorship remains subject to the same demands of academic rigour as sole authorship; thus demands for adherence to sole authorship is myopic, unnecessarily restricting the development of knowledge. Methodologies that produce qualitative academic work ought to be recognized, regardless of the number of authors, as opposition to innovations in methodology inevitably hinders interdisciplinary research and development. It is essential to consider how overt and covert sexism can impact professional criticism. This raises questions about whether collaborative authorship would be so readily challenged if it was championed my male academics, embedded with the social and cultural capital of institutional power and prestige, rather than a methodology created by women academics as a strategy for circumventing gender barriers and pursuing professional development.

As Dillard (2018) notes, academics need to be "ready to examine more culturally indigenous ways of knowing research and enacting leadership in the academy" (Dillard in Dillard, p. 620); this ought to include the collaborative, experiential and cultural knowledge of women, as well as their equitable representation within social and professional environments. University systems and environments were not created to include women; however, the labour and success of men has been contingent upon the obscured labour of 'othered' people. This essential domestic work, maintained predominantly by women, is not only necessary for survival, but also for flourishing; core structures that are essential for the professional development of men, are commonly

enjoyed with privileged irresponsibility. Emphasis on sole authorship[61], which limits the potential for interdisciplinary development, is representative of how the absence of women has not only deprived women of opportunity, but also deprived academia of different ways of seeing, perceiving and working.

Diminishing collaborative methodologies circumvents the purposes of formal learning: to develop knowledge, either by creating new knowledge, or by reshaping and redeveloping contemporary knowledge. Resistance to innovative methods, particularly those utilized by underrepresented people, reinforces systems of power and relations of ruling that seek to maintain education and institutional power. Unequally favouring men and reinforcing patriarchal relations of ruling, these action are means of social control, reinforcing embedded unequal representation by rejecting or diminishing methods that enable women, burdened by unequal constraints, to professionally develop. When overrepresented power holders influence and determine who is, and is not, endowed and affirmed as having the power of knowledge, biased perspectives are reinforced, maintaining unequal systems of power. Constraints upon who is invited to be decision-making power holders in academe is managed through a gendered lens and women's underrepresentation has been part of a persistent methodology for maintaining patriarchal hegemonies, securing decision-making powers over institutions, societies and cultures. Institutional power positions exist as codified, ratified and, often, reified authorities of how structures ought to be; women's underrepresentation in these positions can be used

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[61] It is important to note that co-authorship is the broader norm in the physical sciences, as is the dominance of male representation (Isaac et al., 2012; Romito and Volpato, 2005). This correlation of of masculinity and normalized processes raises questions regarding how processes and expectations are normalized, and how gender and gender bias impacts expectations of processes, performance and within varied disciplines.

to ‘justify’ continued inequality, creating a circular system of reinforcing inequality by recreating what seems to be ‘natural’.

8.2. Creating new networks

Communication, collaboration and networking are effective methods of navigating toxic environments that contain microaggressions. Individuals who share similar experiences are more likely to recognize, empathize and validate the experiences of others, identifying exclusionary hegemonic structures and ideologies. My participants actively challenge and explicate the complexity of what is often unsaid: gendered assumptions embedded in social, political and institutional spaces and the appropriateness of women embodying traditionally masculine spaces and roles. Personal experiences of gender bias and inequality, challenges to social mobility and recognition of sociocultural expectations, facilitate social comparisons, which, in turn, can create class consciousness (Marx, 1990, p. 808). Differences in experiences, expectations, opportunity, access, class and status between advantaged and disadvantaged groups are distinguished, resulting an a conceptualization of “collective relative deprivation” and a rejection of the status quo (Tougas et al., 1998, p. 1488). Recognition of collective experiences has shaped one way that women academics in Ghana are challenging the impacts of these ‘othered’ status groups: they are creating new, women-centred networks that focus on developing new streams of networking, professional development and women’s activism. These new systems of professional engagement are reshaping university environments to be more gender inclusive.

The informal networking that women academics have been creating is becoming increasingly formal. Suggestions and references from colleagues, collaborations and co-

authorship are transitioning into formal groups focusing on professional development, research and advocacy. Leading women academics, including several of my participants are, or have been, active participants in creating formalized, recognized and publicized structures designed to support the advancement of women in academia. Organizations like the Network for Women's Rights in Ghana (NETRIGHT), Women Advancement Forum, International Exchanges, Research and Academia (WAFIRA), and Gender Centre for Empowering Development (GenCED) work to develop and expand women's professional networks, some in cooperation with non-profit organizations like DAAD Ghana. Networking and workshops facilitate connection, solidarity and visibility, reaffirming an essential understanding that the experiences of women in academia are not singular and, although they may be perceived as isolated, they are not. Networking and collaboration shapes how women see themselves, each other and their experiences within their respective institutions. They demonstrate and present examples of how women are working, pursuing professional development and (re)creating institutions from the inside.

8.3. Professional advancement

During her interview, Efua[62], a calm and thoughtful Lecturer, initially noted that she felt that she was treated equally in her department; but as we talked, she noted challenges that she experienced while trying to develop her career. As a faculty member in the Sciences, she is an example of the underrepresentation of women in STEM and the overrepresentation of women within the lower professional levels of academia: the pink

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[62] Interview held: March 20, 2018.
Due to this participant's concern about being identified, ratios of faculty by gender are provided as percentages rather than numbers in order to provide her with maximal confidentiality.

ghettos (Tougas et al., 1995, p. 842) and the challenges women face in achieving vertical mobility. At the time of our discussion, Efua had been teaching in her department for ten years. Women represented 16% of her department's faculty roster, 25% of the lower level positions of Lecturer, Assistant Lecturer, Visiting Scholar, and 17% of the upper level positions of Assistant Professor, Professor and Department Head. When we began our discussion, Efua noted that she has experienced significant support from male leaders in her department, not just as a faculty member but also during her studies, through mentoring, advocacy and the partial payment of school fees[63] when she faced significant financial hardship. As we talked about professional development, she discussed how her major obstacle has been vertical mobility. Although she has met and exceeded the requirements for promotion, her attempts to be assigned second or third year courses have not been successful.

Happy to be teaching at her university and perceiving, in part, that she was 'paying her dues' by teaching first year lecture halls, she continued without protest for a number of years, until a new, male, department hire with less experience and fewer publications than her was assigned second and third year courses. When she spoke to her Department Head, she was asked why she was standing in the way of her colleague's development. Efua was shamed and criticized for seeking equal opportunity and treatment. Her professional development was hindered, not by formal structures, but by the internalized and inferential sexism beliefs of male supremacy within the department. Benevolent sexism and gender norms demanded that she be passive and obliging in her position and ambition. Male supremacy, patriarchal structures and microaggressions reinforced her male colleague's ambition as natural, appropriate and hierarchically more

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[63] This is not uncommon in Ghana. Several faculty members that I hope with mentioned assisting students in paying, or partially paying, their school fees.

important and her ambition as selfish and ill-mannered. Frustrated, but professional, she informed the Department Head that she was seeking exactly what her male colleague was: professional development. She provided him with an overview of her performance in the faculty, length of teaching and list of publications, demonstrating her capacity and justification for professional development; development that suggested she was being overlooked because of her gender. Although she did not specify any intention, Efua engaged in nego-feminist methodologies: she removed her ego from the discursive process and engaged calmly and respectfully with an institutional power holder. She discussed the structure of the promotion system, detailed her abilities and qualifications, and compared them with a newer male faculty member. She invited her Department Head to engage in a discussion, and her negotiative framework encouraged him to be an active, engaged ally. At the time that we spoke, Efua had begun teaching second year courses and since our interview I have learned the she has been promoted.

Efua's time spent in 'the frozen middle' of professional development and her experience holding a position within a "lower priority and subordinate rank" (Alemán, 2014, p. 127) is an example of the ongoing maintenance of a historically embedded, patriarchal power structure and its impacts on the professional development of women. The subtle and insidious nature of gender discrimination demonstrates how the power and preference experienced by men perpetuates pink ghettoization and hinders women's attempts to break though the glass ceiling. Akosua, as well, noted the difficulty experienced by women seeking professional development: "I know at this department, for example, we have not had a female full professor before. I'm the second (Associate Professor in her department) in the 70 year history of this university".

I discussed the impacts of women's representation in the upper levels of academe with Hark, who notes how she represents a significant presence as a role model to female students. As a Dean in Business, she holds a high status university position that is underrepresented by women; the importance of this is not lost on her. She spoke of how her embodiment as a Faculty Dean shapes the perspective of female students and university culture. As her university focuses on developing skills for professional roles in public and private realms, her representation as an academic, leader and authority figure (un)consciously shapes the perspective of her students, the student body and the administration of the university; her leadership inspires women academics[64], shaping how they may envision themselves. Her representation is noticed by students like Dzifa, who spoke of the importance of women being represented throughout her studies and how their presence significantly impacting her decision to pursue an academic career.

But making space within university systems is challenging. Doris notes the difficulty of confronting gender norms and stratification, and the nego-feminist methodologies she uses to navigate these challenges:

> It is a way of going around something; someone says 'no' to you and then you take it by force, that person is going to fight with you and take it back. When the person says 'no' to you, then you ask 'may I know why you don't want me to have this? Do you think if you let me have this, it takes anything away from you? What is it that it takes away from you when I have that? What can I do to help you feel better about losing that which you are losing, so that I also have what I have?' This is something that may be easier said than done; but whether it is power we are looking for, or it's money, or it's voice, or whatever, if we are able

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[64] This deeply internalized culture of support was extended to me. As Dean, she had the authority to approve a survey I had written to be disseminated within her department. She not only approved this, but assisted me in the printing, dissemination and collection of the surveys. Additionally, she introduced me to a leading woman Ghanaian academic who also became a participant in my research.

> to get people to let us know what they are losing by giving us that, and look for ways that we can make them feel better about losing, or ceding, that to us, it will then be easier for them to give that to us, than for them to say 'no' (Doris).

That men can feel that they are losing power by 'allowing' women to have increased power over their own autonomy and careers demonstrates masculinist conceptions of power as being the power to dominate, rather than a power to engage, in relation to women,: "[w]ithin patriarchy, male power is not a property that is owned but rather a relation that structures interactions between women and men in all spheres in life" (Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2004, p. 18). Nego-feminist emphasis on discourse facilitates a defusing of this power model through methods that focus on making one's humanity visible and tangible. When faced with dehumanizing structures, nego-feminism contextualizes inequality, making its impacts explicit, while its emphasis on inclusivity invites engagement, pressing those in power to 'justify' inequality or change their approach and systems. The tension and muddiness of environments of inequality represents the pressure and turbidity of ideological and systemic gender oppression and bias. That nego-feminism can navigate this murkiness demonstrates its ability to facilitate social, professional and political change, (re)shaping social geographies.

While integrationist approaches that focus on the inclusion of women into the masculine world are necessary, they are also insufficient because they fail to appropriately account for sociopolitical context. They enable managerialist box-ticking rather than a systematic, critical accountability for women's concerns. It is "technocratic" rather than "transformative" and fails to understand how hierarchies and masculine cultures co-opt gender experiences (Joseph, Gouws & Parpart, 2011, p. 11). These issues raise questions regarding how the best methodologies for creating spaces of gender inclusivity are determined. The collaboration demonstrated by my participants is

representative of a valuable methodology for (re)creating cultures of mutual respect and support; their process of embodying these ideologies changes the cultures of their respective universities and beyond, through their activities and representation. Just as Akosua supported Doris, other academics and me, her conscious and unconscious acts are reshaping the culture of her university. This is shown in how her actions have shaped the way Doris approaches mentoring. Doris felt that she needed to support me, just as Akosua had supported her. Her reinforcing and (re)creating a culture of informal mentoring has become part of her praxis; she does this with intention and encourages others to embody the ideology. Akosua and Doris' efforts demonstrate how collaborative, intersectional approaches combine to create (in)formal institutional changes that transform university culture.

8.4. Stigmatization

Universities remain a social and political space where women's underrepresentation places them at a professional and reputational disadvantage. Gender bias and masculinized social structures embed gender barriers into network development and hold potential ramifications for women and women's reputations as they build professional standing - reputations that can be easily damaged. Concerns about stigmatization and being labeled a trouble-maker is a common concern of many of my participants. For some, the fear of labelling and stigmatization acts as a form of social control. Concern that they may find themselves labelled as deviant or problematic by challenging entrenched systems of power has left some participants feeling isolated. Kukua[65], a PhD candidate in Social Sciences, told me about her feelings of isolation and

[65] A pseudonym. Interview held: March 9, 2018.

how she struggles with a lack of support systems. While her family supports her ambitions, they do not talk about her studies or experiences. She has a supervisor but feels that she lacks mentorship; with the exception of a network of a handful of colleagues who have become her friends, she lacks systems of support. This seriously impacts her wellbeing; when she has had serious concerns, she feels it is better to remain silent rather than risk being labelled. Experiences such as Kukua's demonstrate that, while women in academia are conscientiously engaging in mentorship, not all women graduate students have that relationship and the impact is significant. Kukua's concern regarding stigmatization inhibits her belief that she can raise issues without being labelled, reinforcing the need for strong university systems of support and advocacy; systems that are often created as a result of ongoing challenges and activism. Although the burden of mentoring upcoming women in academia is predominantly borne by women academics, it should be considered the work of women only; men must also act as supporters, advocates and allies.

Gender advocacy has created changes to universities, including through the institution of gender and advocacy centres and anti-harassment policies. The Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA)[66] was established at the University of Ghana in 2006, creating an institutionalized centre for advocacy and research as well as an investigative arm of the university's anti-harassment policy. The Centre for Research, Advocacy and Documentation (CEGRAD)[67] at the University of Cape Coast was

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[66] The Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA) was established in 2005, co-created and led by leading women academics, at the University of Ghana. CEGENSA is the institution at the University of Ghana from which all issues regarding sexual harassment are adjudicated.

[67] The Centre for Gender, Research, Advocacy and Documentation (CEGRAD) officially opened in 2015 at the University of Cape Coast.

established, in response to the need to correlate informal and differential methods of navigating the "unwritten codes and conventions" related to gender disparity within the university and beyond (Britwum et al., 2014, p.5). The formalization of these informal institutionally gendered structures has fundamentally changed the shape of the university. It establishes, without question, women's validity in the university and recognizes special considerations related to women's experiences, gender research, advocacy and the adjudication of sexual harassment complaints. The existence of these centres is a response to institutional, academic and sociocultural problems that necessitated specialized attention.

Women's representation within universities, particularly in higher ranks, shifts the gender demographics of the university environment, having positive impacts on fellow women and shaping beliefs of what is possible.

Sexism, however, continues to hinder women's professional development, increasing women's vertical segregation, overall underrepresentation, and overrepresentation in the lower ranks of faculty. Underrepresentation results in fewer networks for women. To challenge this systemic issue, women academics create new, collaborative networks and systems to assist in their professional development. To advance their professional development, women facilitate co-authorship, collaboratively advancing their careers while creating innovative, interdisciplinary research. The removal of formal restrictions regarding women's participation is necessary but insufficient to support women's professional development. Women have also co-created new institutions to promote and formalize respectful practices and policies of behaviour, (re)shaping institutions and institutional practices. Institutional change cannot be satisfied only by the removal of formal barriers; an environment of active inclusion, including equity practices and formal

policies designed to rectify and counteract the impacts of longstanding gender biases are essential in order to transform deeply embedded masculinist structures and culture.

Chapter 9. Reputation and sexual harassment[68]

In this chapter I discuss the challenges faced by women, including: safeguarding their reputations, harassment, masculinized perceptions of impunity and the expectations that women outperform their male counterparts in order to be perceived as equivalent.

9.1. Power, reputation and sexual harassment

Professional development in academia places high expectations on scholarship and performance; these less partial influences combine with subjective perceptions of a candidate's personal reputation impacts their assessment for promotion. As women build professional reputations, carving spaces for themselves within universities, networking and collaborative work is essential, but this leaves women and their reputations vulnerable to rebuke and risks of sexual harassment. The underrepresentation of women and overrepresentation of men in positions of seniority can enable sexual harassment can be a "hidden norm of organisational life" (Morley, 2011, p. 102). Stigmatization associated with sexual harassment can result in "hidden, silenced and displaced" symbolic and actual violence (Morley, p. 103) that negatively impact women's satisfaction in their academic and professional experiences, impeding their participation. Most participants noted that they, or female colleagues, had been subject to inappropriate behaviour or sexual harassment from male colleagues, raising the question of how they navigate these experiences. Gender roles shape expectations that girls and women ought to be submissive, conforming and obedient (Etta in Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000, p.

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68 In this study, I am specifically focusing on the experiences of women in academia. This does not mean that male students or faculty do, or do not, experience harassment, or that same-sex harassment does not exist within this context; this line of inquiry is beyond the scope of this study.

14), habituating men to internalize power and rights of access over women's bodies. While married women are "protected in the sense that they are considered to belong to other men" (Tsikata, 2007, p. 36), women face significantly more scrutiny and risk in relation to their reputations; any perceived blemish can be used to damage their reputation and hinder their professional development. Women's respectability and reputation is marked in ways that their male counterparts are not, creating a vulnerability in their professional and social positions. Questions about a woman's moral character can be particularly damaging, making it a significant concern.

Multiple participants discussed their concern regarding the risks associated with reputation and the measures they take to protect their reputations; some noted the length to which they, and other women colleagues, go to safeguard themselves. They asserted that it is essential for women to protect their reputation at all times, as any perceived deviant behaviour can raise questions that undermine their personal, and therefore, professional character, as defined by others. Women faculty members, for example, are less likely to engage in one-on-one, late afternoon, evening or closed-door meetings with men. They decline or avoid (in)formal networking with male colleagues because of the likelihood that they will be subject to questions or rumours regarding their behaviour, thereby missing out on networking and collaborative opportunities valuable to professional development. Requests for, and approval of, special considerations such as scheduling changes, mentoring or promotions can be subject to malicious gossip as meetings become socially flagged as 'private meetings', suggesting impropriety; pernicious rumour mills have the potential to derail the professional development of women academics. Risks of censure for nonexistent actions or behaviours that subvert gender hegemonies and social norms often result in significant amounts of self-policing. Women modify their actions and behaviours in order to minimize any possible

misperceptions of 'inappropriate' behaviour. This patriarchal double standard stigmatizes women (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000, p. 15), while enabling a culture of permissibility to men. By informally restricting women's ability to network, it reinforces implicit sexist beliefs about women's capacity being 'naturally' lessor and therefore 'appropriately' subject to scrutiny. It also represents the differential expectations of sexualized virtue, an expectation not imposed upon male colleagues.

> The underlying imbalance in power between the sexes, any attempt to address the issue must treat the two sexes against the backdrop of the respective positions of influence and power they enjoy. It is clear that in academic life the question of sexual harassment disproportionately affects women over men….[s]imply because men in positions of power and dominance far outnumber women (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000, p. 13-14).

Recognition of preexisting, implied tolerance of harassment and lapses in accountability for actions of harassment demonstrates the need for formal policies against sexual harassment and stigmatization that may impact promotion. Associate Professor Ellen Bortei-Doku Aryeetey's[69] rigorous research on sexual harassment, Coming to Terms with Sexual Harassment in Ghana, includes case studies on behaviours "identified as components of sexual harassment" experienced by study participants at the University of Ghana (Boateng, 2018, p. 26). This research played a central role in the establishment of gender sensitizing anti-harassment policies at the University of Ghana, demonstrating the impact women academics have in fundamentally changing their professional environments. Universities in Ghana have taken action to combat issues related to sexual harassment by establishing formal anti-harassment policies, and gender research and

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[69] Associate Professor Ellen Bortei-Doku Aryeetey is an Associate Professor of Sociology at the Centre for Social Policy Studies (CSPS) at the University of Ghana.

advocacy centres which have been co-created with the expertise and backing of leading women academics within the universities.

The creation of formal policies and institutions to challenge sexual harassment in Ghanaian universities has been significant. Formal awareness campaigns define sexual harassment and identify resources. Policies prohibit inappropriate behaviours and establish enforcement procedures and mechanisms for adjudicating complaints and punishing individuals, when found culpable. Overall, these policies contribute to the (re)shaping of the social and cultural consciousness of the university environment; by framing harassment as unacceptable, facilitating discourse, and clearly delineating harassment. These clear, public institutional polices are essential for shaping knowledge and formalizing standards; they removes the 'justifications' of ignorance that can be used to enable ongoing, inappropriate behaviour. Gender advocacy centres promote active anti-harassment campaigns, indicating a shift in the internalization of the importance of women's safe inclusion within universities. They also demonstrate the impacts of women academics who have been central figures in the advancement of women's professional development, representation and inclusion. The existence and operation of centres like CEGENSA and CEGRAD formalize and institutionalize the experiences, concerns and rightful place of women within universities; their establishment demonstrates a need for formal attention to be paid to the specialized concerns of women. The existence of gender and advocacy centres as entities within universities are part of a methodology of facilitating equal opportunity for women within university structures. The need for their development acknowledges, in part, that the broader institutions have not adequately addressed the needs of women academics. It also indirectly highlights the historical informal exclusion of women. As Boateng notes:

> Several African scholars (Assie-Lumumba, 2005; Mama, 2003; Tamale and Oloka-Onyango, 1997; and Tsikata, 2007) have spoken to the impacts of colonialism on the gendered nature of campuses across Africa. Fundamental to all their arguments is the fact that colonialists' conception of education being the preserve of men was handed down to African Universities and ensured that for many decades, women were kept out of the walls of institutions of higher learning. Women were eventually allowed entry, as both students and faculty, but not for them to compete with men for space, recognition and promotion. However, culturally and socio-politically, the notion of women in the public sphere is not completely alien even though it had to a large extent, eroded during colonial rule. Prah (2004) argues that it was rather the imposition of Victorian values during colonial times that resulted in men being regarded as heads of households which relegated women to the background in terms of access to education, health and decision making
> (Boateng, 2018, p. 22).

It is essential to note that the university system in Ghana exists for Ghanaians and is focused on the education of Ghanaians. However, the misogyny embedded in colonial structures is not an appendage of British colonization; it remains active, combining with patriarchy to maintain systems of power in masculinist relations of ruling. While technocratic solutions, such as the removal of formal barriers, are essential, they can mask inequality by presenting an impression of equal opportunity, while gender bias and sexism continue to permeate the university culture. Thus, it is essential to attend to the (in)formal barriers embedded in institutions, and phallogocentric (Holm & Cilliers, 1998, p. 385) ideologies that dominate masculinist structures.

Joseph, Gouws and Parpart (2011) identify gender barriers as existing within the "deep structure[s]" of organizations (p. 13) where a "'collection of values, history, culture and practices … form the unquestioned, 'normal' way of working'" (Rao et al. Joseph, Gouws & Parpart, 2011, p. 13). University systems in Ghana, like university systems in Canada and across the globe, were not designed for the education of women, and so the

needs, experiences and gendered cultural expectations of women academics were not embedded into the institutional and cultural structure. Instead, as Professor Amina Mama[70] (in Boateng, 2018) notes, gender inequalities are built into the ideological frameworks of universities:

> [W]omen have never been excluded from Africa's post-independence universities, the fact remains that culturally and numerically, universities across Africa remain male dominated spaces with sub-cultures and norms that prevent women from progressing as fast as men (Britwum et al., 2013). It is worthy of note, that although universities are the "frontiers of discovery", they also "guard the heritage of the past" (Assie-Lumumba, 2005:5) and one of those heritages of Post-colonial African universities is their male domination
> (Boateng, 2018, p. 22).

This is not an experience singular to Ghana: "even in supposedly advanced context such as the USA where women's studies departments abound, there has not been a fundamental restructuring of gender relations broadly" (Tamale & Oloka-Onyango, 2000, p. 9). Changes have been made over time to address inequality; however, while formal barriers do not prohibit women's participation and development within universities, informal barriers and embedded beliefs and perceptions of male superiority perpetuate unequal treatment, often under a false perception of meritocratic equality.

Allyship with institutional power holders is valuable for further advancing equitable measures for women academics. Because gender equality is often misperceived by men as taking something away from them, acts of solidarity by men have the potential to assuage fears and salve concerns about loss that are commonly associated with fears of

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[70] Professor Amina Mama is a widely recognized Nigerian/British feminist, activist, scholar, author and researcher. She is a Professor of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies, and Director of the Feminist Research Institute at University of California, Davis.

losing power over others. Men benefit from social capital and amplified voices; this can be used to project women's concerns to those who are less attentive to women, all while facing fewer risks of repercussions. Some participants noted the ally-ship and collaborative work that they have engaged in with male colleagues - male colleagues who identify as feminists and allies. While old-boy systems and patriarchal ideologies remain a constant undercurrent to the gender experiences of women in academia in Ghana, participants have noted an increase in male colleagues supporting their careers and advocating for their promotion and representation. This demonstrates a shift in culture within universities, in that diverse groups of actors in university environments are challenging systems, advocating with and alongside women. This solidarity assists in shifting the perceptions of advocacy for gender inequality from being the work of women, or a 'special interest' issue for a sub-sect of the university population to being an issue for the university and beyond.

Additional risks to professional development that are deeply embedded within unequal divisions of power, include sexual harassment. In line with the model proposed by Taylor and McKirnan (1984), personally experienced sexual barriers are expected to be generalized to the group level:

> Believing that sexual barriers have an impact over one's career advancement may be associated with dissatisfaction regarding the actual social status of men and women. Recognition of personal discrimination and its generalization to the group level has previously been confirmed with a group of female employees, including secretaries, professionals, and managers
> (Tougas et al. (1991) in Tougas et al., 1998, p. 1488).

When I asked Kukua if she had experienced sexual harassment at the university, her body suddenly became more tense; she looked around the large room, to the far side

where a few others were sitting. Speaking quietly, occasionally making eye contact and often looking away, she briefly discussed that she had experienced harassment from male faculty and colleagues[71]. During my multiple conversations with her, she was always quietly spoken; but her sudden drop in volume and visual assessment of the room indicated that she perceived a risk associated with others hearing this part of our discussion. Her actions presented a desire for privacy and suggested concerns regarding a risk, or internalization of stigmatization or that one of her harassers was in the room. Hesitant to provide details, Kukua spoke generally about the experiences. I asked if she was aware of the anti-sexual harassment policy, and if she had reported the incidents to the university. While she was aware of the university's policy, she had not reported the incidents. She felt that the risks to her reputation through stigmatization, blaming, shaming and retribution pressured her to be silent. Kukua's decisions demonstrate how risk, particularly within patriarchal and hierarchal structures, perpetuates a culture of silence among survivors and the perceived impunity of perpetrators. Overall, Kukua thought that reporting would cause her more suffering than secrecy. So she, as many women do, adapted her behaviour to avoid those who had harassed her. She dropped coded hints to warn other women and did her best to keep the issue from distracting her from her studies. Kukua felt this was the best methodology for navigating her experience.

It is not surprising that Kukua felt that the reaction of others would be to label her - to question her behaviour and morality, rather than question the behaviour and morality of the men who harassed her. Her concern about the (re)actions of others combined with her lack of known allies in positions of power, superseded her need to raise official and

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[71] Kukua did not specify how many men had harassed her, or the number of times each had done so. She did note that she experienced harassment from multiple different men: faculty members and academic colleagues.

overt challenges to the men who sexually harassed her. Kukua's risk assessment demonstrates how women exist in a state of vulnerability regarding their reputations. The impacts of damage to reputation can have ripple effects, impacting women's academic and professional development, families and their reputations within their families. Studying for a PhD is prestigious; the costs associated with lengthy study and the negative social risks associated with damage to reputation would be a significant concern. The impacts of harassment trauma, combined with the stress of charging a faculty member or colleague with harassment, could impact her ability to complete her program (Bortei-Doku Aryeetey, 2004, p. 7). It is not unreasonable to see how Kukua weighed the risk of speaking out, and found the costs to be too high.

Boateng (2018) argues that "people within academic circles have a good knowledge of what sexual harassment entails" but they are not deterred from "taking advantage of the lack of a policy to sexually harass their peers and subordinates" (p. 26). This perception of impunity and reinforcement of patriarchal systems of power is visibly demonstrated through action (Romito & Volpato, 2005). Foucault "encourages us to see the body as the site and origin of power (Wilson & Donnan, 2006, p. 44); sexual harassment is about embodied power over another. While anti-harassment policies exist, harassment continues. Kukua's experience demonstrates a need for increased allyship and feminist mentoring, university wide conversations about sexual harassment and publicized, visible proof of the implementation of university anti-sexual harassment policies.

Awareness campaigns about anti-harassment policies increase disclosures of misconduct, resulting in formal and informal consequences for perpetrators. Akosua argues that the first formal harassment case brought to her university, after the

implementation of the anti-harassment policy has had a significant impact on the university's culture:

> Because the adjudication of the first harassment case was very stern and fair, it set a tone that has carried on since … and a bunch of people have lost their jobs.
>
> There was a guy (name withheld) who has had to quit the University, and so on. So I think I would've liked to have seen more of its publicity about it, so that you know he quit because of this. In, because this is a small place, word travels; but it would be really nice to have it on the intranet that this guy has been let off because of this, then it's a very clear message
> (Akosua).

Enforcement of anti-harassment[72] policies signals a message of change in the university: positions of power and prestige do not equal immunity from responsibility. The changes that are expressed are the results of extensive work and development by women academics to change systems and cultures; to promote women's rightful inclusion within the university and to reshape the culture of the university as a place where sexual harassment is prohibited and punishable[73]. However, the lack of publication of dismissals resulting from proven sexual harassment, including publication limited to university

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[72] Policies against harassment are typically outlined in codes of conduct. Some universities have expanded policies of conduct to specifically specifically address issues of sexual harassment; for example, the University of Ghana has a formal code of conduct and an anti-sexual harassment policy.

[73] Recent investigative journalism (Sex for Grades: undercover inside Nigerian and Ghanaian universities - BBC News Africa documentary, published October 7, 2019) by BBC News Africa focuses on sexual harassment in universities in Nigeria and Ghana, including the University of Ghana. The investigation demonstrates the prevalence of sexual harassment, as well as the propensity for survivors of sexual abuse and harassment to not formally disclose their experiences due to the risks of stigmatization and damage to academic and professional development. This investigation is available through BBC News Africa's YouTube channel like embedded in the investigation title. Footage specific to the University of Ghana takes place between 17:45 - 33:50.

intranet, demonstrates a resistance on the part of university administration to communicate information that discusses negative experiences within the university. This silence emphasizes a need for the university to protect its reputation, and, intentionally or unintentionally, protect the reputation of male academics[74]. Policies that protect offenders present distinctly divergent attitudes towards survivors, for whom the dehumanizing experiences and damage to their reputation can be quick, devastating and causes lasting damage. This contributes to a culture of impunity where stigmatization and risk to reputation minimizes the likelihood that, regardless of the existence of formal policies, survivors of harassment are less likely to formally register complaints. In cases where university professionals are found guilty of harassment, the lack of formal internal or external publication of disciplinary actions and dismissals minimizes the social and professional costs to perpetrators. This protectionist framing masks the existence of harassment in the university environment, protecting the reputations of the university and the abusers at the cost of women's safety and humanity[75]. This shifts the responsibility of protection against harassment to potential survivors rather than making intolerance for

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[74] Following the release of the BBC News Africa documentary *Sex for Grades: undercover inside Nigerian and Ghanaian universities - BBC Africa Eye documentary*, the University of Ghana released a public statement (published on the University of Ghana website, October 8, 2019) that included a formal condemning of acts of sexual harassment. The university has reiterated the existence of their anti-harassment policy and provided an update relating to the university's current actions regarding the two lecturers featured in the BBC documentary. They also encouraged reporting of any acts of sexual harassment to their Anti-Sexual Harassment Committee, noting a new phone line and email have been established to facilitate connecting with the committee. The statement can be found in this document in Appendix 7 and via the university website.

[75] As the incidents presented in the above documentary are now in the public domain and part of international public discourse, the University of Ghana may reevaluate its communication guidelines regarding sexual harassment cases in favour of disclosure of confirmed incidents and repercussions, particularly if the conversations opened by the documentary result in declarations that constitute a broader institutional problem.

inappropriate behaviour unmistakable, demonstrating to potential perpetrators that they are culpable. It also perpetuates the need for women to rely on underground networks of information regarding potential abusers: a networking system that not only necessitates that women risk shame and stigma in order to protect others, but also that they initiate often covert communications with women that they perceive to be at risk. These policies of silence recreate ongoing cultures of violence and silence in which the vulnerable suffer to protect those in power from shame.

Withholding vital proof that survivors of sexual harassment are filing complaints and perpetrators are being punished perpetuates the disbelief that survivors will be protected by these rules, resulting in a counterintuitive yet effective use of anti-harassment policies to protect abusers. Continued cultures of silence discourage perpetrators from self-policing as a method of preventing them from harming others; a stark contrast to the self-policing that women engage in to protect themselves from stigmatization and sexual harassment. The existence of an anti-harassment policy with little to no communication about its effective use further isolates survivors of abuse as they, already concerned about risks of stigmatization, damage to reputation and retributive actions, have no demonstrable reason to believe that power-holders will be held accountable under these policies - policies that women academics and allies have worked diligently to create and implement.

9.2. The burden of exceptionalism

Informal, gendered expectations can slow women's professional development to the point where they can stagnate in the pink ghettos of lower-level faculty, missing opportunities to join committees and develop departmental and interdepartmental

professional recognition. Women seeking development may also be placed in positions where opportunities are limited to "glass cliff[s]" (Basford et al., 2014, p. 342): positions with an increased risk of failure or level or scrutinization that can diminish their success. Presented as opportunities, these positions carry risks, expectations and assessments that have an increased likelihood of invalidating women's achievement and work, and therefore their capacity, in ways their male colleagues are less likely to experience. Such cliffs, shrouded in the guise of equal opportunity and 'proven examples of failure', act as informal barriers preventing women's advancement.

These forces of informal suppression combine with the underrepresentation of women in faculties, particularly in upper level positions, creating invisible barriers formed by their absence and reinforcing gendered perceptions of position, role and capacity. Beliefs in meritocratic equal opportunity combine with sometimes tokenistic and commonly pink-ghettoized positions to create skewed expectations for women's performance assessments. This can create a substructure of biased expectations that sets exceptional standards for women, requiring them to surpass their male counterparts in order to be considered their equivalents. This burden of exceptionalism is a common experience for most of my participants and make women's professional experiences more vulnerable to precarity than men; most participants note that they feel the need to prove their validity in their positions by over-performing. Goski, a vibrant and energetic academic, notes the extent to which women experience demands to prove themselves beyond capable that has impacted her professional experiences[76]. Academically and professionally driven, Goski discussed how she has been determined to outperform every colleague to become the first full professor, male or female, at a university where she is a leading faculty member. This, along with being a prolific academic and co-developing a

[76] Interview held: March 6, 2018.

private university with her husband, is one of her many accomplishments. This ambition is fuelled in part by her own determination as well as a determination to prove, without question, that she and her female colleagues hold their positions because they qualify.

Gender expectations place additional demands on women academics to be engaged, approachable and caring; expectations not assigned to their male counterparts. Non-conformance to these gendered roles can result in impressions that negatively impact their colleagues opinions, risking damage to their reputations, thus risking their professional development. When combined with gender bias in performance assessments, the pressure on women to over-represent and overachieve can create intersectional burdens of exceptionalism. The propensity for women to do the majority of the work related to gender equality merges with the double burdens of exceptionalism: to provide outstanding rather than merely good academic scholarship and to nurture other upcoming women academics. This creates an environment where women are professionally pressured on all sides: academic performance, excellence in teaching, expectations of care and compensation for the absence of women's networks and support systems through mentorship. Committed to pursuing equity, women are vulnerable to becoming responsible for taking on the initial work of, and the push for, systemic change. In comparison, men may consider their only responsibility to be to do no more than allow women to pursue their goals, taking the opportunity to free themselves from obligations related to the pursuit of gender fairness and equity; distant contrast to the expectations for women and a far step from engaging in equity advocacy as active allies.

Women academics tread a fine line of scholarship, development, advocacy and professionalism; all embedded in expectations of exceptionalism. Under-recognition creates risks of professional stagnation. Gender sensitization and advocacy risk

stigmatization and censure from colleagues and an unimpeachable reputation is as essential as it is fragile. These informal expectations exist beyond the formal policies of professional evaluation; they are embedded deep within the (sub)conscious of hegemonic male superiority. For a woman to be considered equivalent, she must be exceptional. These unjust expectations uphold the prestige embedded in masculinity, enabling ongoing gender bias and stratification. Without this unequal treatment, conceptions of male superiority would deflate, ultimately challenging male supremacy.

9.3. Equitable Measures

Removing formal barriers to women's inclusion and advancement is essential but methods and policies must go beyond this to facilitate equitable practices and supersede the intergenerational and systemic sociocultural and institutional barriers that entrench inequalities. Solving inequity requires an ideological internalization and institutionalization of equity practices; this, combined with mixed methodologies, including methods established by my participants, has the capacity to significantly reshape university spaces.

In order to create exceptional change, exceptional acts are required. Adelina[77], an enthusiastic administrator in a private university, discussed with admiration the approach and impacts that her female Campus Director has had on her university. The director places a strong emphasis on female engagement and empowerment at the university. She focuses in particular on affirmative action; hiring and promoting women academics, particularly in STEM and business where women are habitually underrepresented. Her

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[77] Interview held: Feb 13, 2018.

actions follow a structure that requires atypical actions to create atypical results: in spaces dominated by men the usual hiring practices are insufficient and an emphasis on hiring and promoting women is necessary. Affirmative action acts as a method of facilitating gender parity through equitable measures, (re)shaping and instituting an educational environment that not only endorses gender representation across the university but that embodies it, thereby influencing the perspectives and social geographies of students and professional communities. Adelina's account stands out in contrast with Peace's experience in that her Campus Director's faculty roster cannot have enough women.

My research focuses on people who are in a position of privilege but their actions are not limited to their universities; their pursuit of equity extends to their communities and families. Most participants expressed solidarity and/or identification with others whose opportunities are limited by external constraints and many actively participate in various informal community support systems. Several participants financially support students and family by paying, in part or whole, for school fees and tuition. Others are active in community support groups. Hark, for example, dedicates much of her personal time to community care projects that collaboratively work to raise funds and provide social, medical and educational support services to hundreds of low-income people in her community. Hark's engagement and commitment to institutional and community advocacy demonstrates a dedication to equity and social justice. Such compassion, awareness and action permeates the activities of women academics, demonstrating that pursuing equity requires acting and advocating for others in addition to oneself.

The pursuit of equity can seem overwhelming, demanding and insurmountable; but when looking at micro-movements, change is tangible, lively and possible. Just as

Doris challenges and reshapes gender norms within her family, Akosua's consistent engagement with gender activism has shaped the ethos of her son:

> I have an 11-year-old son … who knows that I'm a gender activist and, (humour coming into her voice) I remember going out somewhere once and some guy, he's saying something really sexist and I say nothing, and he (her son) says "Mummy, are you letting that slide?"
> (Akosua).

Just as Doris has shaped her familial environment, transitioning sexism and rigid gender roles from conventional norms to inappropriate, sexist ideologies and behaviours that are not tolerable, Akosua's has shaped the culture of her family, creating an ethos of engagement and activism. Their actions, like the actions of other participants and their allies provide tangible examples of on the ground activism that has direct impact in the moment, on their social and professional cultures. They demonstrate possibility and provide proof, hope and inspiration. That she did not challenge this stranger in this circumstance is not significant. Self-censorship can be a reaction to an insecure environment, lack of knowledge about who is around you or a simple preoccupation with daily living. Akosua's flexible self-censorship demonstrates how, regardless of conviction, social forces and circumstances can prompt silence. It is the behaviour of her son that is important: he encounters this situation with a critical, activist approach; his actions demonstrate how dialogue and engagement shapes intergenerational, sociocultural change. Akosua's son has internalized a rejection of, and opposition to, gender bias and discrimination. He shows clear respect, admiration and expectation for his mother. He is an active engaged activist in the present and part of the future.

Women in academia not only have to work diligently to develop professionally by succeeding in the classroom and producing academic research but they also have to

manage this heavy workload, effectively demonstrating equal or greater skill than their male counterparts, all while safeguarding their reputations and engaging in gender sensitization. Women academics work rigorously to reshape university institutions and cultures, encouraging them to recognize the incongruity between the experiences of women and men. Research and advocacy spearheaded by women academics has rendered patterns of sexual harassment visible, resulting in the formal recognition of women's experiences within unequal systems of power that enable abuse and perceptions of impunity. Their efforts have laid the groundwork for establishing gender centres and anti-harassment policies, solidifying formal institutional change and establishing networks of allies. Participants' internalization of experiential inequality influences their activism; they act to deconstruct patriarchal structures and demonstrate the abilities and capacities of women. They engage in social support and mobility activities as methods of promoting equity practices within universities and beyond, into their extended communities.

Chapter 10. Conclusion

Women academics in Ghana are reshaping their social and professional environments by emphasizing inclusivity and equity practices. They pursue their self-defined interests and ambitions, redefine normalized gender ideologies and reshape discourse around gender representation and equitable practices. Through engagement with nego-feminist methodologies, participants engage in dialogue that raises issues and concerns about the inequalities experienced by women as a result of gender expectations, masculinist structures and sociocultural environments. These discourses humanize women's experiences within the formal, detached systems that often present and incorporate assumptions of equality while covert biases and expectations act to maintain the unequal status quo. By engaging with nego-feminist methodologies, my participants mitigate divisive practices, facilitate collaboration and make power-holders responsible for acting according to ideologies of equitable praxes.

Nego-feminism's focus on the removal of ego from the deliberative and negotiative process emphasizes the development of complex, empathetic knowledge; a method essential for understanding the special considerations and humanity of 'others'. To challenge overt, covert and subconscious biases, diverse perspectives must be heard, and deliberative, discursive, no-ego engagement is an invaluable part of this process. Nego-feminism prompts the consistent re-evaluation of ideas, beliefs and methods through active, discursive engagement with others; others who hold a range of ideas and experiences. This heterogeneity rejects a monolithic worldview and provides actors with flexibility in their pursuits of social justice. Nego-feminism's emphasis on inclusive feminism enables women to act and advocate for the human community while attending to specific circumstances. Overall, it is an effective method for social justice, particularly within systems of power that relegate women's interests to the periphery. Its gender

focus acknowledges and utilizes the ways women are often positioned to argue for their best interests: negotiating from within patriarchal structures where emphasis on approachability diminishes resistance to change and promotes allyship. Nego-feminism accounts for diversity of experience, perspective, ability, circumstance and relative power, facilitating self-determined methods that account for risks of resistance, hostility, stigmatization and threats of dismissal in response to activism.

The work of gender equity is almost exclusively the work of women (Manuh, p. 126), and "the causes of many inequalities of resources or opportunities among individuals lie in social institutions, their rules and relations and the decisions others make within them that affect the lives of the individuals compared" (Young, 2001, p. 8). Participants challenge gendered, sociocultural expectations regarding unpaid 'voluntary' domestic labour, redefining how work culturally ascribed to women ought to be perceived. They advocate for the inclusion of special considerations related to informal systemic barriers and affirmative action to address the intergenerational underrepresentation of women in academia; activism that moves equity into more common discourse. Participants challenge and explicate what is often unsaid: gendered power relations, marginalization, the impacts of masculinized spaces, the 'appropriateness' of women embodying traditionally masculine spaces and roles and the misogynistic pressure for women to be exceptional in order to be considered equivalent to men. Through their activism, participants illuminate the broadly established forms of covert, modern and inferential sexist ideologies and actions that have been embedded intergenerationally into institutional systems and cultures. They demonstrate the covert vigour of institutional and cultural inequalities, arguing for policies of inclusion and emphasizing a need for institutions, power-holders and actors to internalize gender sensitive perceptions rather than rely exclusively on removing formalized barriers.

All environments are social environments; and so, interactions are never impartial as deeply internalized biases are subject to ideological blindness. This results in institutions and cultures being ineffective to gender experiences while presenting a false descriptions of post-sexist workplaces, professions and cultures. When the gender 'equality' is defined only in terms of a lack of formal barriers and 'validated' by men in positions of power, women's voices must be brought to the centre to illuminate 'hidden' discrimination. Women must be at the centre of collaborative work that builds equity practices and policies to compensate for systemic biases and special considerations; if women are not represented, sexist inferential bias will thrive. By challenging false presumptions of equality, participants cut to the root of gender discrimination, pruning covert, subconscious and subversive discriminatory structures and practices, piece by piece, all while risking ridicule and resistance. Participants demonstrate how vertical segregation impacts women's professional development, hindering their ability to reach seniority positions and disadvantaging them from benefiting from the recognition, prestige and representation of serving on university committees and boards (Tsikata, 2007, p. 38). Women's underrepresentation, particularly in the upper levels of faculties reinforces gendered biases concerning women's hierarchical position, role and capacities.

Women's representation in masculinist spaces proves capacity, creating pathways for the development of women colleagues. It also makes the familiar seem strange (Macionis & Gerber, 2011, p. 3) and the undisguised, yet under noticed, obvious: the dominance of men in positions of power and influence. This visibility forces recognition. It requires that power-holders redefine their understanding of women's capacities and who is (and has not been) included within masculinist spaces. Equity and equitable practices require that power be ceded. This does not mean a transfer of systems of

inequity from one group of power holders to another, but a redefining of power based in an internalization of inclusivity where the the ceding of power is a reshaping of the perception of power, power based in the active, equitable inclusion and representation of systemically underrepresented people. Formal, structural changes develop in response to the long-term advocacy of women and the need to correlate informal and differential methods of navigating the "unwritten codes and conventions" related to gender disparity within the university and beyond (Britwum et al., 2014, p.5). Women act collaboratively to challenge sexist methods of maintaining patriarchal power by creating formal centres for the study and advocacy of gender issues and institutional policies for punishing acts of sexual harassment. In doing so, women challenge institutions to use these methods to promote the protection of women against sexual harassment and abuse of power. Kukua's experiences[78] demonstrate the ongoing pervasive issue of sexual harassment and the pernicious impacts of perceived impunity. Gender advocacy and a formal anti-sexual harassment policy combine with international publicity to challenge universities to reevaluate how they weigh the reputations of power holders and institutions against women's safety; including how institutions will choose to act moving forward and the degrees to which they will make accountability (in)visible.

Identity, culture and social environments exist in states that are constantly reproduced. Faulkner (2011) argues that "[t]he past is not dead. It's not even past" (p. 69). While he highlights the long-term, cumulative impacts that experience has on one's life, he is also alluding to an understanding of the intergenerational, socio-historical, cultural and political shaping of systems and institutions and their contemporary impacts on individualized, subjective experiences. Power imbalances established in the past are

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[78] As well as the BBC News Africa investigation footnoted in Chapter 9, subsection 1. Power, reputation and sexual harassment.

often perceived to be inert vestiges, particularly in spaces where narratives of equality are articulated. However, intergenerational impacts perpetuate 'justifications' for class and gender inequality by actively informing our perspectives, shaping (sub)conscious perceptions and beliefs over generations. The university system in Ghana, like the university system in Canada and other nations, was not designed for the education of women and so the needs, experiences and gendered cultural expectations of women academics were not taken into consideration. Perceptions of meritocracy mask inequalities embedded within structures, necessitating engagement with gender sensitization and methods of establishing equitable opportunities and representation. While changes have been made over time to address formal inequalities, cultures and institutions continued to be shaped by their respective histories and this shapes the experiences of women academics. From this purview, the input, experiences and perspectives of women academics are essential to developing equitable practices and environments. However, equitable and inclusive practices means ceding control, a cultural, ideological and power shift that is as essential as it is difficult.

Participant discourses recognize, value and illuminate the prevalence and extent of women's labour; they reframe and amplify discussions about social (re)organization, enabling the (re)creation of social structures and systems to promote equity. The methods that my participants use for navigating systemic barriers are insightful and effective. Their use of nego-feminism invites people and power-holders into discussions while identifying inequalities and advocating for equity compels people to be responsible and act. It demonstrates the work that is being done to pursue equity; work that can be, and is, performed in communities and institutions across the globe. My participants press for the ongoing, critical "unpacking of the embedded masculinist values and practices", in which an emphasis on non-coercive, consultative and ongoing dialogue shapes new

practices and policies is essential to further challenging patriarchal hegemonies (Joseph, Gouws & Parpart, 2011, p. 13).

While my study is based in Ghana, it is relevant beyond this nation's borders. Systemic gender inequality exists broadly in institutions and universities across the globe. My participants' activism and discourse raise issues of gender inequality within their own institutions and internationally, through academic research, network development and publication. How women academics in Ghana engage within their academic and professional environments is personal, professional, academic, social, cultural and political. While this research focuses on women's experience, roles and engagements within the university and its overarching system, it is essential to also scope is much broader. The personal is political (Hanisch, 2006) and the political manifests in micro-movements that are precursors to larger movements. The impacts of participants' activism is not limited to the classroom, the department, or the university; neither are the ambitions, influence and connection of women academics. Their activities shape their (in)direct environments and many participants directly engage with community projects, political activism and other methods of sociopolitical engagement. Although academia emphasizes individual achievement, collaboration creates complex, interdisciplinary research. Participants' methods of collaborative co-authorship facilitate professional development, encourage mentoring and build networks for women academics. These methodologies are widely applicable as examples of effective and alternative ideologies to hyper-individualism. By working collaboratively to construct and (re)create spaces for the inclusion of women and creating new ways of doing work, my participants challenge inequality by pursuing equity through increasing the representation of women and reshaping social and institutional geographies.

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[79] APA guidelines favour using authors surname followed by their initial(s). As social conditioning trains us to consider masculinity as default, I have intentionally included first of names of authors (as identified within their respective articles) in this bibliography to highlight women's academic work.

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[80] Translation: The more it changes, the more it stays the same.

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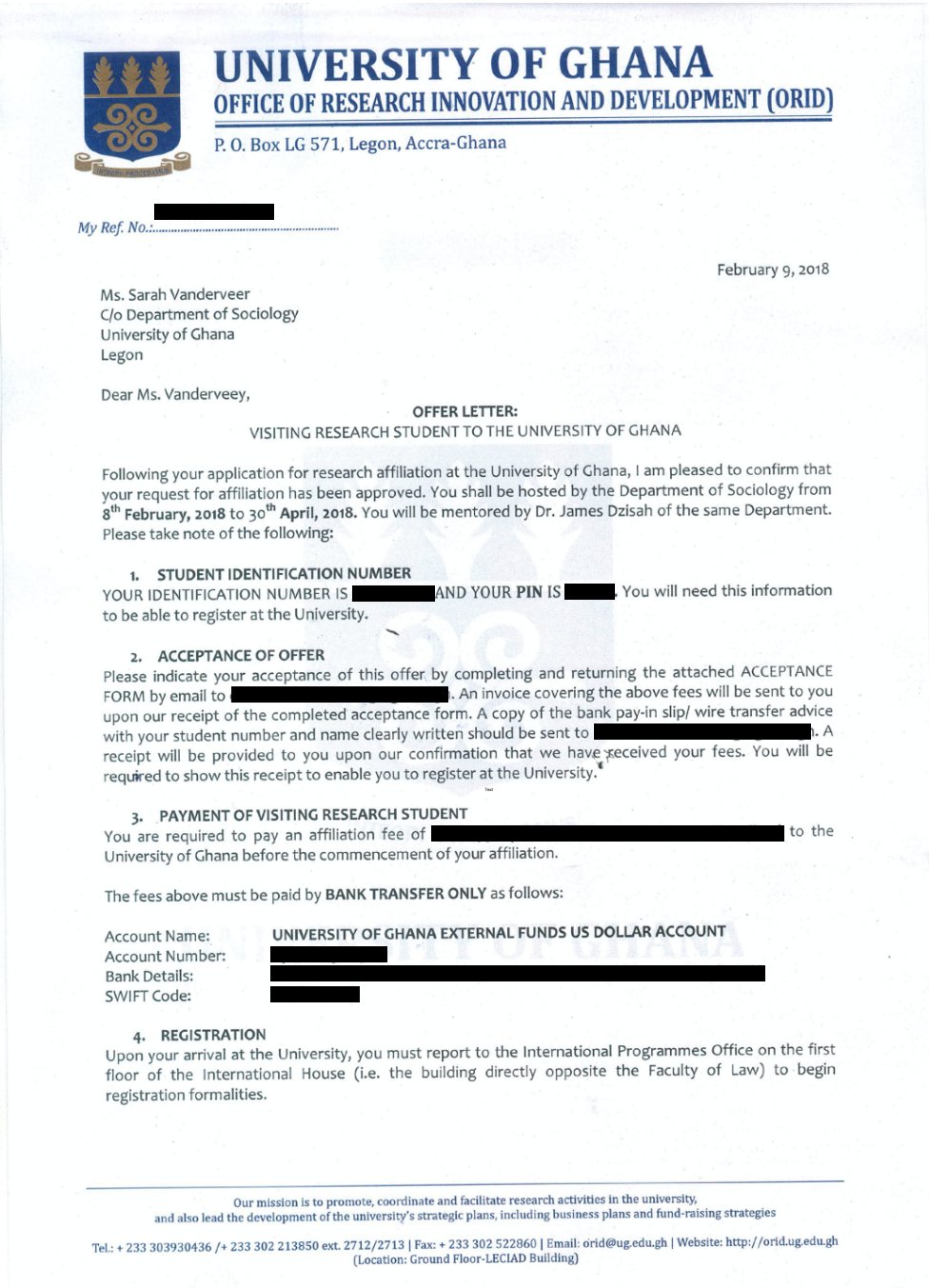
Appendixes

Appendix 1. Research affiliation with the University of Ghana



UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
OFFICE OF RESEARCH INNOVATION AND DEVELOPMENT (ORID)
P. O. Box LG 571, Legon, Accra-Ghana

My Ref. No.: [redacted]

February 9, 2018

Ms. Sarah Vanderveer
C/o Department of Sociology
University of Ghana
Legon

Dear Ms. Vanderveey,

OFFER LETTER:
VISITING RESEARCH STUDENT TO THE UNIVERSITY OF GHANA

Following your application for research affiliation at the University of Ghana, I am pleased to confirm that your request for affiliation has been approved. You shall be hosted by the Department of Sociology from **8th February, 2018** to **30th April, 2018.** You will be mentored by Dr. James Dzisah of the same Department. Please take note of the following:

1. **STUDENT IDENTIFICATION NUMBER**
YOUR IDENTIFICATION NUMBER IS [redacted] AND YOUR **PIN** IS [redacted]. You will need this information to be able to register at the University.

2. **ACCEPTANCE OF OFFER**
Please indicate your acceptance of this offer by completing and returning the attached ACCEPTANCE FORM by email to [redacted]. An invoice covering the above fees will be sent to you upon our receipt of the completed acceptance form. A copy of the bank pay-in slip/ wire transfer advice with your student number and name clearly written should be sent to [redacted]. A receipt will be provided to you upon our confirmation that we have received your fees. You will be required to show this receipt to enable you to register at the University.

3. **PAYMENT OF VISITING RESEARCH STUDENT**
You are required to pay an affiliation fee of [redacted] to the University of Ghana before the commencement of your affiliation.

The fees above must be paid by **BANK TRANSFER ONLY** as follows:

Account Name: **UNIVERSITY OF GHANA EXTERNAL FUNDS US DOLLAR ACCOUNT**
Account Number: [redacted]
Bank Details: [redacted]
SWIFT Code: [redacted]

4. **REGISTRATION**
Upon your arrival at the University, you must report to the International Programmes Office on the first floor of the International House (i.e. the building directly opposite the Faculty of Law) to begin registration formalities.

Our mission is to promote, coordinate and facilitate research activities in the university, and also lead the development of the university's strategic plans, including business plans and fund-raising strategies

Tel.: + 233 303930436 /+ 233 302 213850 ext. 2712/2713 | Fax: + 233 302 522860 | Email: orid@ug.edu.gh | Website: http://orid.ug.edu.gh
(Location: Ground Floor-LECIAD Building)

5. **Accommodation**

The University is interested in ensuring that its international students enjoy their stay and therefore has assigned some hostels specifically for international students. These are:

- International Students Hostel
- Bani Hall
- James Topp Nelson Yankah Hall
- Elizabeth Frances Sey Hall
- Jean Ackah Hall
- Alex A. Kwapong Hall
- Hilla Liman Hall
- Jubilee Hall

To see the full details of accommodation options available, please visit the following web pagehttp://www.ug.edu.gh/freshers/accommodation-campus**. Please take note that you will be responsible for the payment of all costs associated with your accommodation.**

6. **REPORTING OBLIGATIONS**

You are expected to submit a joint report with your Mentor at least one week to the end of your affiliation i.e., latest by **Monday April 23, 2018** to the Office of Research, Innovation and Development in the attached format. A copy of the reporting format has been sent to the email address you provided in your application.

Please refer to the attached document titled "Vital Information for International Students" and "Pre-departure Information" to obtain additional information which may be relevant to your stay at the University of Ghana.

We are pleased to have you join us and look forward to welcoming you to the University of Ghana.

Yours sincerely,

Professor Francis Dodoo
Pro-Vice Chancellor (RID)

cc. Director of Finance
Dean, School of Social Sciences
Head, Department of Sociology
Dr. James Dzisah, Department of Sociology
Snr. Accountant, External Funds (ORID)
Accountant, Students Account Office

Appendix 2. Sample interview questions/prompts

Personal/familial background, economic & intergenerational demographics:

- What age group would you identify with? 20-25, 26-30, 30-40, 40-50?
- Can you tell me a little bit about your family, family history as related to education?
    - How many people in your family have primary, secondary, tertiary education?
        - In general, what are their ages?
        - What do they do for work?
- Have women received the same amount of education as men in your family?
    - Was there reasoning?
    - In general, what are their ages?
    - What do they do for work?

ACCESS/BARRIERS

- How was your education financed?
- Who held authority in determining who has priority of access to education in a family or community?
    - Has this changed over time?If yes/or no, how so and what do you think has influenced this (lack of) change?
- Was financial instability a sources of stress for you/when you were studying?
- Can you tell me about your experiences in education?
    - What kind of barriers have you experienced?
        - Financial
        - Gender
    - In what ways did you overcome these barriers?
    - In what ways were you not able to overcome these barriers?
    - In what ways has this effected the decisions that you have made?

Employment and development:

- How is education perceived as being a vehicle towards identified goals?
    - What are these goals?
    - How are these goals defined? By whom?
    - Are there other ways of achieving these goals?
    - Has the education experienced assisted in attaining these goals?
    - If so/not, how and why?
- Is education adapting to accommodate specific needs such as gender, finance or accessibility?
    - If so, in what ways?
    - What ways is it not accommodating needs?

- Has migration been part of your career development plan?

Gender roles and expectations:
- In what ways is Ghana's tertiary education system adapting to accommodate specific, situational needs of women?
    - What needs do you believe are not being sufficiently addressed at this point in time?
    - Are you aware of plans to address these needs/concerns in the near future?
- Are capacities and achievements being recognized more if women continue to conform to gender norms?
- How do you perceive the social and cultural capital of gender relate to gender performance?
- Do you find it difficult to manage childrearing and your career?
    - In what ways: time, division of labour, expectations
    - How do you see the visibility of women in academia?

Social status & identity:
- How do you feel the education of women is perceived or valued by:
    - yourself?
    - the government?
    - women?
    - men?
    - the community?
- In what ways do you believe that education has effected how you see yourself or others?
- Do you think that your education has changed how people see you?

Barriers/Challenges/Networks:
- What barriers/challenges have you experienced as a women in academia?
- What kinds of support systems have you been a part of, or have assisted you, in your academic life?
    - IE: mentoring, social networks, financial supports, tutoring, formal organizations, informal networks
- How did/does this effect your:
    - Performance, endurance, morale
    - Feelings of security, insecurity, wellbeing
    - Ability to participate in education
    - In what ways were these systems not available to either benefit from or be a supporter

Harassment:
- In what ways could support systems be more accessible, expanded or advertised?

- Sexual harassment can be an issue for women. Have you, or someone you know experienced this?
    - What happened?
    - How did you/they manage the situation?
    - What were the results?
    - Was it reported?
    - Are you aware of anti-sexual harassment policies at your university?
    - Would you consider using it? If yes or no, why?

Appendix 3. Ethics consent form for general participants

SFU SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
ENGAGING THE WORLD

Hello, I am the Principal Investigator: Sarah Vanderveer, a graduate student in Sociology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., Canada. My contact information is [redacted] My Supervisor is: Dr. Ann Travers, [redacted]

In my research, *How Ghanaian Women are Engaging with the Restructuring of Education*, I am exploring how people view and experience education, about whether they feel that it is important to them, if they believe it effects their future, and whether or not they were raised in a family or community that believed education is important. I am also researching how Ghana's economy is changing, and how education fits into Ghana's economy, and whether or not people feel that these changes will be good for them, or for Ghana.

I am interested in talking to you about your life's experience as a student, about the kind of work that you do, and how you think these changes in Ghana's education and economy might effect you or your children. I would like to invite you to participate in a conversation with me to talk about your ideas, your life, the challenges you've faced, and what you think these changes in education and development might have on the future.

You are under no obligation to participate, and if you decide to participate, you may end your participation or withdraw at anytime. If there are any questions that you don't want to answer, you don't have to answer them.

If you agree to participate, our conversation will take approximately one hour. I will be asking you questions about your experiences in education, you and your family's background in work and in school, whether or not school has been important in your life, and whether or not you thought school would bring you opportunities, and if you did, what kinds of things happened, or didn't happen. I will ask you about whether or not you had trouble being able to go to school, the types of challenges you or you family faced, and what you think of, when you think about your children going to school. I will ask you about the changes to Ghana's economy and whether or not education is an important part of these changes. I will also ask you questions about whether or not education is accessible for members of your family or community.

This conversation will take place at a mutually agreeable place, that will be determined prior to the interview. If you would like a friend or member of your family to attend the interview with you, please let me know so that we can arrange a meeting place that will be comfortable for

everyone. If you are under 18 years of age, or under legal guardianship, then you, as well as your parent/guardian must approve your participation in this conversation.

My conversation with you will be part of my research related to how Ghanaian women are effected by education, have difficulty accessing education, and negotiate challenges in developing Ghanaian economy. My thesis will be submitted Simon Fraser University and will be published within the university. It will also be made accessible through academic research portals.

When my thesis is completed, all of the information that I have gathered, will be kept for personal reference and future academic research. E-data will be kept password protected and hard copies (hand written notes) will be locked in a secure filing cabinet, in my locked place of residence. The only other people that may have access to my field notes are my supervisor and/ or committee member; but only if it is absolutely necessary.

With your permission, I may use audio recordings or visual data of our conversation in my thesis. Unless you expressly permit or request, my field notes and recordings will not be made available for use by anyone else.

If you discuss anything with me that is illegal, it is not my intention to to disclose any of our conversation. However, if I am subpoenaed, I will be required to hand over all subpoenaed materials.

I will be audio recording our conversation and to protect your privacy, I will keep the recording in a locked compartment, along with any paper materials related to this interview. I will password protect any electronic files, such as a transcript or digital field notes. I plan on keeping the original voice recordings in the future, so that I can listen to your stories again and learn more from them. With your permission, I may take pictures or videos during our conversation. Any images that identify you specifically will be blurred, unless you consent to be identified in the research. I will only take images of you with your expressed permission.

I will not take any recordings or notes without your expressed permission.

You may choose to for your name to be used in this report, or have yourself identified only by a pseudonym. You will also decide if you want me to only use general descriptions of you, your work, how many people are in your family, or if I can use details like your age, your work, and how many people are in your family.

Participating in this conversation is voluntary and your time and insight is greatly appreciated; however there is no payment available to compensate you for time. There are minimal risks involved in taking part in this conversation, and I will make every possible effort to maintain your privacy. A benefit of taking part in this is the conversation we can have about issues that are important to both of us.

If either you or I would like to re-contact after the interview or study, would that be a conversation that you would like to have? If not, I will make no further attempts to contact you after our conversation.

If you have any questions about this interview, please contact Sarah Vanderveer, [redacted] or Dr. Ann Travers, [redacted]

Concerns and/or complaints should be addressed to Dr. Jeff Toward, Director, Office of Research Ethics, [redacted]

Best regards,

Sarah Vanderveer

PARTICIPANT CONSENT AND SIGNATURE

I understand that taking part in this study is entirely voluntary and that I have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If I decide to take part, I may choose to withdraw all or partial participation from the study at any time without giving a reason and without any negative impact.

My signature below indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records.

My signature indicates that I consent to participate in this study.

I understand that my name and other identifiers WILL appear in the final report.

_____
(initial for approval)

Or

I understand that my name and other identifiers WILL NOT appear in the final report.

_____
(initial for approval)

I will not have waived any of my legal rights by participating in this study. Upon signing this consent form I will receive a copy for my personal records.

_____

Participant NAME and SIGNATURE / MARK Date

_____

Parent/Guardian NAME and SIGNATURE / MARK Date

If participant cannot read and or understand the form themselves, a witness must sign here:

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

Name of witness

Signature of witness / Mark Date

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

Name of Person who Obtained Consent

Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent Date

Appendix 4. Ethics consent form for academics, researchers and professionals

SFU SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
ENGAGING THE WORLD

Hello, I am the Principal Investigator: Sarah Vanderveer, a graduate student in Sociology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., Canada. My contact information is [redacted] My Supervisor is: Dr. Ann Travers, [redacted]

In my research, *How Ghanaian Women are Engaging with the Restructuring of Education,* I am exploring how people view and experience education, about whether they feel that it is important to them, if they believe it effects their future, and whether or not they were raised in a family or community that believed education is important. I am also researching how Ghana's economy is changing, and how education fits into Ghana's economy, and whether or not people feel that these changes will be good for them, or for Ghana.

I am interested in talking to you about your experience as a student, about the kind of work that you do, and how you think these changes in Ghana's education and economy might effect you or your children. I would like to invite you to participate in a conversation with me to talk about your ideas, your life, the challenges you've faced, and what you think these changes in education and development might have on the future.

You are under no obligation to participate, and if you decide to participate, you may end your participation or withdraw at anytime. If there are any questions that you don't want to answer, you don't have to answer them.

If you agree to participate, our conversation will take approximately one hour. I will be asking you questions about your experiences in education, you and your family's background in work and in school, how education has influenced your life, what opportunities you thought school would facilitate and how you perceive education changing in Ghana. I will ask you about the changes to Ghana's economy and how education is changing in relation to development practices, and how issues of education accessibility are being addressed by the Ghanaian government.

This conversation will take place at a mutually agreeable place, that will be determined prior to the interview. If you would like a friend or member of your family to attend the interview with you, please let me know so that we can arrange a meeting place that will be comfortable for

everyone. If you are under 18 years of age, or under legal guardianship, then you, as well as your parent/guardian must approve your participation in this conversation.

My conversation with you will be part of my research related to how Ghanaian women are effected by education, have difficulty accessing education, and negotiate challenges in developing Ghanaian economy.My thesis will be submitted Simon Fraser University and will be published within the university. It will also be made accessible through academic research portals.

When my thesis is completed, all of the information that I have gathered, will be kept for personal reference and future academic research. E-data will be kept password protected and hard copies (hand written notes) will be locked in a secure filing cabinet, in my locked place of residence. The only other people that may have access to my field notes are my supervisor and/ or committee member; but only if it is absolutely necessary.

With your permission, I may use audio recordings or visual data of our conversation in my thesis. Unless you expressly permit or request, my field notes and recordings will not be made available for use by anyone else.

If you discuss anything with me that is illegal, it is not my intention to to disclose any of our conversation. However, if I am subpoenaed, I will be required to hand over all subpoenaed materials.

I will be audio recording our conversation and to protect your privacy, I will keep the recording in a locked compartment, along with any paper materials related to this interview. I will password protect any electronic files, such as a transcript or digital field notes. I plan on keeping the original voice recordings in the future, so that I can listen to your stories again and learn more from them. With your permission, I may take pictures or videos during our conversation. Any images that identify you specifically will be blurred, unless you consent to be identified in the research. I will only take images of you with your expressed permission.

I will not take any recordings or notes without your expressed permission.

As an expert representative in this field, your name will be used in this report.

Participating in this conversation is voluntary and your time and insight is greatly appreciated; however there is no payment available to compensate you for time. There are minimal risks involved in taking part in this conversation. A benefit of taking part in this is the conversation

we can have about issues that are important to both of us, and the development of knowledge of Ghanaian education and identity formation in a Canadian academic setting.

If either you or I would like to re-contact after the interview or study, would that be a conversation that you would like to have? If not, I will make no further attempts to contact you after our conversation.

If you have any questions about this interview, please contact Sarah Vanderveer, [redacted] or Dr. Ann Travers, [redacted]

Concerns and/or complaints should be addressed to Dr. Jeff Toward, Director, Office of Research Ethics [redacted].

Best regards,

Sarah Vanderveer

PARTICIPANT CONSENT AND SIGNATURE

I understand that taking part in this study is entirely voluntary and that I have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If I decide to take part, I may choose to withdraw all or partial participation from the study at any time without giving a reason and without any negative impact.

My signature below indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records.

My signature indicates that I consent to participate in this study.

I understand that my name and other identifiers WILL appear in the final report. _____ (initial for approval)

I will not have waived any of my legal rights by participating in this study. Upon signing this consent form I will receive a copy for my personal records.

_____

Participant NAME and SIGNATURE / MARK Date

_____

Parent/Guardian NAME and SIGNATURE / MARK Date

If participant cannot read and or understand the form themselves, a witness must sign here:

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

Name of witness

Signature of witness / Mark Date

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

Name of Person who Obtained Consent

Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent Date

Appendix 5. Letter of introduction

SFU SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
ENGAGING THE WORLD

Hello, I am the Principal Investigator: Sarah Vanderveer, a graduate student in Sociology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., Canada. My contact information is [redacted] My Supervisor is: Dr. Ann Travers, [redacted]

In my research, *How Ghanaian Women are Engaging with the Restructuring of Education,* I am exploring how people view and experience education, about whether they feel that it is important to them, if they believe it effects their future, and whether or not they were raised in a family or community that believed education is important. I am also researching how Ghana's economy is changing, and how education fits into Ghana's economy, and whether or not people feel that these changes will be good for them, or for Ghana.

I am interested in talking to you about your experience as a student, about the kind of work that you do, and how you think these changes in Ghana's education and economy might effect you or your children. I would like to invite you to participate in a conversation with me to talk about your ideas, your life, the challenges you've faced, and what you think these changes in education and development might have on the future.

You are under no obligation to participate, and if you decide to participate, you may end your participation or withdraw at anytime. If there are any questions that you don't want to answer, you don't have to answer them.

If you agree to participate, our conversation will take approximately one hour. I will be asking you questions about your experiences in education, you and your family's background in work and in school, how education has influenced your life, what opportunities you thought school would facilitate and how you perceive education changing in Ghana. I will ask you about the changes to Ghana's economy and how education is changing in relation to development practices, and how issues of education accessibility are being addressed by the Ghanaian government.

This conversation will take place at a mutually agreeable place, that will be determined prior to the interview. If you would like a friend or member of your family to attend the interview with you, please let me know so that we can arrange a meeting place that will be comfortable for

everyone. If you are under 18 years of age, or under legal guardianship, then you, as well as your parent/guardian must approve your participation in this conversation.

My conversation with you will be part of my research related to how Ghanaian women are effected by education, have difficulty accessing education, and negotiate challenges in developing Ghanaian economy.My thesis will be submitted Simon Fraser University and will be published within the university. It will also be made accessible through academic research portals.

When my thesis is completed, all of the information that I have gathered, will be kept for personal reference and future academic research. E-data will be kept password protected and hard copies (hand written notes) will be locked in a secure filing cabinet, in my locked place of residence. The only other people that may have access to my field notes are my supervisor and/ or committee member; but only if it is absolutely necessary.

With your permission, I may use audio recordings or visual data of our conversation in my thesis. Unless you expressly permit or request, my field notes and recordings will not be made available for use by anyone else.

If you discuss anything with me that is illegal, it is not my intention to to disclose any of our conversation. However, if I am subpoenaed, I will be required to hand over all subpoenaed materials.

I will be audio recording our conversation and to protect your privacy, I will keep the recording in a locked compartment, along with any paper materials related to this interview. I will password protect any electronic files, such as a transcript or digital field notes. I plan on keeping the original voice recordings in the future, so that I can listen to your stories again and learn more from them. With your permission, I may take pictures or videos during our conversation. Any images that identify you specifically will be blurred, unless you consent to be identified in the research. I will only take images of you with your expressed permission.

I will not take any recordings or notes without your expressed permission.

As an expert representative in this field, your name will be used in this report.

Participating in this conversation is voluntary and your time and insight is greatly appreciated; however there is no payment available to compensate you for time. There are minimal risks involved in taking part in this conversation. A benefit of taking part in this is the conversation

we can have about issues that are important to both of us, and the development of knowledge of Ghanaian education and identity formation in a Canadian academic setting.

If either you or I would like to re-contact after the interview or study, would that be a conversation that you would like to have? If not, I will make no further attempts to contact you after our conversation.

If you have any questions about this interview, please contact Sarah Vanderveer, [redacted] or Dr. Ann Travers, [redacted]

Concerns and/or complaints should be addressed to Dr. Jeff Toward, Director, Office of Research Ethics [redacted].

Best regards,

Sarah Vanderveer

PARTICIPANT CONSENT AND SIGNATURE

I understand that taking part in this study is entirely voluntary and that I have the right to refuse to participate in this study. If I decide to take part, I may choose to withdraw all or partial participation from the study at any time without giving a reason and without any negative impact.

My signature below indicates that I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records.

My signature indicates that I consent to participate in this study.

I understand that my name and other identifiers WILL appear in the final report. _____ (initial for approval)

I will not have waived any of my legal rights by participating in this study. Upon signing this consent form I will receive a copy for my personal records.

_____

Participant NAME and SIGNATURE / MARK Date

_____

Parent/Guardian NAME and SIGNATURE / MARK Date

If participant cannot read and or understand the form themselves, a witness must sign here:

I was present while the benefits, risks and procedures were read to the volunteer. All questions were answered and the volunteer has agreed to take part in the research.

Name of witness

Signature of witness / Mark Date

I certify that the nature and purpose, the potential benefits, and possible risks associated with participating in this research have been explained to the above individual.

Name of Person who Obtained Consent

Signature of Person Who Obtained Consent Date

Appendix 6. Referral letter

SFU SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY
ENGAGING THE WORLD

Hello, I am the Principal Investigator: Sarah Vanderveer, a graduate student in Sociology at Simon Fraser University in Burnaby, B.C., Canada. My contact information is [redacted] My Supervisor is: Dr. Ann Travers, [redacted]

I was referred to you by an associate/friend who thought that you would have insight and interest in the interviews that I am conducting.

In my research, *How Ghanian Women are Engaging with the Restructuring of Education*, I am exploring how people view and experience education, about whether they feel that it is important to them, if they believe it effects their future, and whether or not they were raised in a family or community that believed education is important. I am also researching how Ghana's economy is changing, and how education fits into Ghana's economy, and whether or not people feel that these changes will be good for them, or for Ghana.

My conversation with you will be part of my research related to how Ghanaian women are effected by education, have difficulty accessing education, and negotiate challenges in developing Ghanaian economy. My thesis will be submitted Simon Fraser University and will be published within the university. It will also be made accessible through academic research portals.

I am interested in talking to you about your life's experience as a student, about the kind of work that you do, and how you think these changes in Ghana's education and economy might effect you or your children. I would like to invite you to participate in a conversation with me to talk about your ideas, your life, the challenges you've faced, and what you think these changes in education and development might have on the future.

You are under no obligation to participate, and if you decide to participate, you may end your participation or withdraw at anytime. If there are any questions that you don't want to answer, you don't have to answer them.

If you agree to participate, our conversation will take approximately thirty minutes to one hour. I will be asking you questions about your experiences in education, you and your family's background in work and in school, whether or not school has been important in your life, and whether or not you thought school would bring you opportunities, and if you did, what kinds of

things happened, or didn't happen. I will ask you about whether or not you had trouble being able to go to school, the types of challenges you or you family faced, and what you think of, when you think about your children going to school. I will as you about the changes to Ghana's economy and whether or not education is an important part of these changes. I will also ask you questions about whether or not education is accessible for members of your family or community.

This conversation will take place at a mutually agreeable place, that will be determined prior to the interview. If you would like a friend or member of your family to attend the interview with you, please let me know so that we can arrange a meeting place that will be comfortable for everyone. If you are under 18 years of age, or under legal guardianship, then you, as well as your parent/guardian must approve your participation in this conversation.

I will not take any recordings or notes without your expressed permission.

Participating in this conversation is voluntary and your time and insight is greatly appreciated; however there is no payment available to compensate you for time. There are minimal risks involved in taking part in this conversation, and I will make every possible effort to maintain your privacy. A benefit of taking part in this is the conversation we can have about issues that are important to both of us.

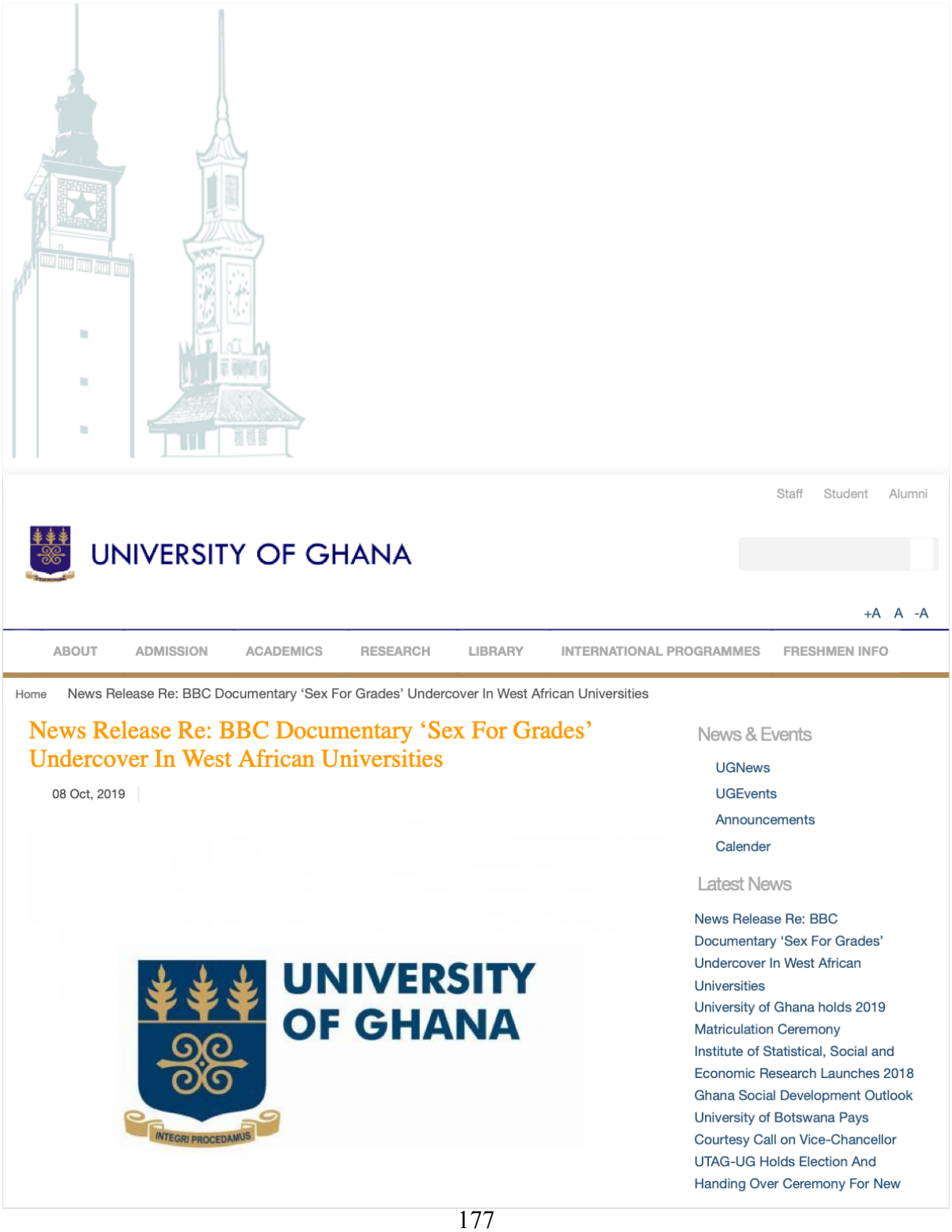
Should you be interested in participating in this study, we can discuss my research in more detail, including the how our conversation will be recorded, the ways in which I can protect your privacy, and how you choose how much you want to participate and how you can withdraw from participating at any time without penalty.

If you would like to participate in this study, or have any questions about this interview, please contact Sarah Vanderveer, [redacted] or Dr. Ann Travers, [redacted] Concerns and/or complaints should be addressed to Dr. Jeff Toward, Director, Office of Research Ethics, [redacted]

Best regards,

Sarah Vanderveer

Appendix 7. University of Ghana public statement regarding BBC News Africa documentary



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Home News Release Re: BBC Documentary 'Sex For Grades' Undercover In West African Universities

News Release Re: BBC Documentary 'Sex For Grades' Undercover In West African Universities

08 Oct, 2019

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News Release Re: BBC Documentary 'Sex For Grades' Undercover In West African Universities
University of Ghana holds 2019 Matriculation Ceremony
Institute of Statistical, Social and Economic Research Launches 2018 Ghana Social Development Outlook
University of Botswana Pays Courtesy Call on Vice-Chancellor
UTAG-UG Holds Election And Handing Over Ceremony For New

The University of Ghana's attention has been drawn to a BBC documentary entitled *'Sex for Grades' Undercover in West African Universities* fully aired in the evening of October 7, 2019. We would like to state unequivocally that the University places great importance on issues of sexual harassment and misconduct, and condemn any of such acts.

Given that commitment, the Business and Executive Committee of the University has taken a decision to interdict Prof. Ransford Gyampo and Dr. Paul Kwame Butakor, the two lecturers featured in the documentary to allow for further investigations into the matter. In line with University regulations, the two will be invited by the Anti-Sexual Harassment Committee in the next few days to assist with further investigations into the BBC documentary.

While the University of Ghana believes sexual harassment is fundamentally about exploiting power imbalance and voicelessness, we also understand the harmful impact it has on individuals, families and institutions. It is for this reason that the University has taken steps to encourage students and employees to report any form of sexual harassment and misconduct, and has also instituted measures to punish anyone found guilty of the offence. In all instances where the University has been provided with information and/or evidence of sexual harassment or misconduct, our Anti-Sexual Harassment Committee has investigated the matter, interviewed the parties involved, and after making a determination, we have applied the appropriate sanctions as outlined in the policy, including dismissals. The University will prosecute the current matter under investigation, in addition to all outstanding cases before the Committee.

We would like to state emphatically that the University of Ghana does not and will not shield any employee or student found to have engaged in sexual harassment or misconduct. No member of the University is considered above the law.

The University would like to assure all members of the university community, including students, employees, our stakeholders and the public that it will continue to actively fight against sexual harassment/misconduct, and other acts of indiscipline. Further, to assure members of the university community and the public that the University of Ghana will use the existing structures to handle all matters of sexual harassment and misconduct, while protecting the rights of the victims.

Meanwhile, members of the University community are reminded of the provisions of the Anti-Sexual Harassment Policy, and also encouraged to report any acts of sexual harassment and misconduct accordingly. To facilitate this process, additional communication channels have been created; Telephone: 050-736-8053 Email: hearmystory@ug.edu.gh

Stella A. Amoa

Director of Public Affairs

October 8, 2019